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CALENDAR FOR 1943

JANUARY

S		3	10	17	24	31
M		4	11	18	25	
T		5	12	19	26	
W		6	13	20	27	
Th		7	14	21	28	
F	1	8	15	22	29	
S.	2	9	16	23	30	

FEBRUARY

S		7	14	21	28
M	1	8	15	22	
T	2	9	16	23	
W.	3	10	17	24	
Th	4	11	18	25	
F	5	12	19	26	
S	6	13	20	27	

MARCH

S		7	14	21	28
M	1	8	15	22	29
T	2	9	16	23	30
W	3	10	17	24	31
Th	4	11	18	25	
F.	5	12	19	26	
S	6	13	20	27	

APRIL

S		4	11	18	25
M		5	12	19	26
T		6	13	20	27
W		7	14	21	28
Th	1	8	15	22	29
F.	2	9	16	23	30
S.	3	10	17	24	

MAY

S		2	9	16	23	30
M		3	10	17	24	31
T		4	11	18	25	
W		5	12	19	26	
Th		6	13	20	27	
F		7	14	21	28	
S	1	8	15	22	29	

JUNE

S		6	13	20	27
M		7	14	21	28
T	1	8	15	22	29
W	2	9	16	23	30
Th	3	10	17	24	
F	4	11	18	25	
S	5	12	19	26	

JULY

S		4	11	18	25
M		5	12	19	26
T		6	13	20	27
W		7	14	21	28
Th	1	8	15	22	29
F	2	9	16	23	30
S	3	10	17	24	31

AUGUST

S.	1	8	15	22	29
M.	2	9	16	23	30
T	3	10	17	24	31
W.	4	11	18	25	
Th	5	12	19	26	
F.	6	13	20	27	
S.	7	14	21	28	

SEPTEMBER

S.		5	12	19	26
M		6	13	20	27
T.		7	14	21	28
W.	1	8	15	22	29
Th.	2	9	16	23	30
F	3	10	17	24	
S	4	11	18	25	

OCTOBER

S		3	10	17	24	31
M		4	11	18	25	
T.		5	12	19	26	
W.		6	13	20	27	
Th		7	14	21	28	
F	1	8	15	22	29	
S.	2	9	16	23	30	

NOVEMBER

S		7	14	21	28
M	1	8	15	22	29
T	2	9	16	23	30
W	3	10	17	24	
Th	4	11	18	25	
F.	5	12	19	26	
S.	6	13	20	27	

DECEMBER

S		5	12	19	26
M.		6	13	20	27
T		7	14	21	28
W	1	8	15	22	29
Th.	2	9	16	23	30
F.	3	10	17	24	31
S.	4	11	18	25	

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ANNUAL REGISTER
JANUARY—JUNE 1943
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Administration of India 1943

British India consists of the 11 Provinces of Assam, Bengal, Bihar, Bombay, Central Provinces and Berar, Madras, North West Frontier, Orissa, Punjab, Sind and the United Provinces, plus the Chief Commissionerships of British Beluchistan, Delhi, Ajmer-Merwara, Coorg, the Andamans and Nicobar Islands, Panth Piploda, and does not include any Indian States.

Reigning Sovereign---His Majesty George the VI

India Office

Secretary of State for India—The Right Hon. Mr. L. S. Amery, (April, 1940.

Permanent Under-Secretary of State Sir Find-later Stewart, G.C.B., G.C.I.E., C.S.I., LL.D.

Parliamentary Under Secretary of State—The Earl of Munster

Advisers to the Secretary of State Sir H. Strakosh G.B.E. Sir H. Williamson C.I.E., M.B.E., Sir I. Clay, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., O.B.E., Lt. Col. Sir H. Suhrawardy, O.B.E. Sir J. A. Woodhead, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., Dewan Bahadur S. E. Ruganadhan, Sir Courtenay Latimer, K.C.I.E., C.S.I. Sir G. Wiles, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir A. C. Chatterjee, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I.

High Commissioner of India—Sir Azizul Huq, Kt. C.I.E.

Trade Commissioner for India Sir David Meek Kt., C.I.E., O.B.E.

Government of India

(Area—1,808,679, Sq. miles and a population of 352,8[illegible],77[illegible] people—nearly one-fifth of human race)

Viceroy & Governor General

His Excellency The Most Hon'ble The Marquess of Linlithgow K.G., K.T., G.M.S.I., G.M.I.E., O.B.E., D.L., L.D., *(18th April 1936)*

Members of the Executive Council

His Excellency General Sir Claude John Eyre Auchinleck G.C.I.E., C.B., C.S.I., D.S.O., O.B.E., A.D.C., Commander-in-Chief in India (*War*).

The Hon'ble Sir Reginald Maxwell, K.C.S.I., C.I.E. *(Home)*

The Hon'ble Sir Jeremy Raisman, K.C.S.I. C.I.E. *(Finance)*.

The Hon'ble Dewan Bahadur Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar, K.C.S.I. *(Supply)*

The Hon'ble Sir Sultan Ahmed Kt. Bar-at-Law *(Information)*

The Hon'ble Malik Sir Firoz Khan Noon, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E. *(Defence)*.

The Hon'ble Sir Edward Benthall *(War Transport)*

The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Sir Mohammad Usman, K.C.I.E. *(Post and Air)*

The Hon'ble Dr B. R. Ambedkar *(Labour)*

The Hon'ble Sir J. P. Srivastava, K.B.E. *(Food)*

The Hon'ble Sir Jogendra Singh *(Education, Health and Lands)*.

The Hon'ble Sir Muhammad Azizul Haque, C.I.E. D.LITT *(Commerce, Industries and Civil Supplies)*

The Hon'ble Dr N. B. Khare *(Indians Overseas)*

The Hon'ble Sir Asoke Kumar Roy *(Law)*

President, Legislative Assembly—The Hon. Sir Abdur Rahim, K.C.S.I.

President, Council of State—The Hon. Sir Maneckji Byramji Dadabhoy, K.C.S.I. K.C.I.E. LL.D. Bar-at-Law

Numerical Strength of Parties

(a) IN CENTRAL ASSEMBLY

Congress Party	[illegible]
Muslim League Party	25
Non Party	25
Independent Party	10
Congress Nationalists	11
European Group	9
Officials	20
TOTAL	[illegible]

(b) IN COUNCIL OF STATE

Independent Progressive Party	10
Congress Party	6
Muslim League	6
TOTAL	22

Government of Bengal

Area—[illegible] sq. miles. Population—[illegible] (Provisional to the nearest thousand)

Governor

H. E. Sir John A. Herbert, G.C.I.E.

H. E Sir Thomas George Rutherford, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., (assumed office on 6-9-43)

Council of Ministers

Coalition formed on 24th April 1943

(1) The Hon'ble Khwaja Sir Nazimuddin, K. C I E, Chief Minister and Minister for Home Department (*Including Civil Defence Co-ordination*) (*Muslim Bengal Coalition*)

(2) The Hon'ble Mr. Husseyn Shaheed Suhrawardy, Civil Supplies, (*Muslim-Bengal Coalition*).

(3) The Hon'ble Mr. Tulsi Chandra Goswami, Finance (Caste Hindu—Bengal Coalition).

(4) The Hon'ble Mr. Tamizuddin Khan, Education, (*Muslim-Bengal Coalition*).

(5) The Hon'ble Mr. Barada Prosanna Pain, Communication & Works, (*Caste Hindu—Bengal Coalition*).

(6) The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Saiyed Muazzamuddin Hosain, Agriculture, (*Muslim-Bengal Coalition*).

(7) The Hon'ble Mr Tarak Nath Mukherjee, M B. E Revenue (*Caste Hindu-Bengal Coalition*).

(8) The Hon'ble Musharruff Hossain, Khan Bahadur, Judicial and Legislative (*Muslim-Bengal Coalition*)

(9) The Hon'ble Mr Khwaja Sahabuddin C B E, Commerce, Labour and Industries (*Including Post-War Reconstruction*) (*Muslim-Bengal Coalition*).

(10) The Hon'ble Mr. Premhari Barman, Forest and Excise, (*Scheduled Caste-Bengal Coalition*).

(11) Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Maulvi Jalaluddin Ahmed, Public Health and Local Self-Government (*Muslim-Bengal Coalition.*)

(12) The Hon'ble Mr Pulin Behary Mullick, Publicity (*Scheduled Caste-Bengal Coalition*).

(13) The Hon'ble Mr. Jogendra Nath Mandal, Co-operative Credit and Rural Indebtedness. (*Scheduled Caste-Bengal Coalition*).

Parliamentary Secretaries

(1) Khan Bahadur Mohammad Ali (*Muslim-Bengal Coalition*).

(2) Nawabzada K. Nasarullah, (*Muslim-Bengal Coalition*)

(3) Mr. Abdullah Al-Mahmood (*Muslim-Bengal Coalition*)

(4) Mr. Serajul Islam, (*Muslim-Bengal Coalition*)

(5) Mr. *Biren Roy* (*Caste Hindu—Bengal Coalition*).

(6) Khan Sahib Mafizuddin Ahmed (*Muslim-Bengal Coalition*).

(7) Mr. Atul Chandra Kumar (*Caste Hindu-Bengal Coalition*).

(8) Mr. Rasik Lal Biswas (*Scheduled Caste-Bengal Coalition*)

(9) M. Jatindra *Nath Chakravarty* (*Caste Hindu-Bengal Coalition*).

(10) Mr. Syed Abdul Majid (*Muslim-Bengal Coalition*).

(11) Khan Sahib Hamiduddin Ahmed (*Muslim-Bengal Coalition*)

(12) Mr. Banku Behari Mondal, (*Scheduled Caste-Bengal Coalition*).

(13) Khan Bahadur A. F. M. Abdur Rahman (*Muslim-Bengal Coalition*).

(14) Mr. Fazlul Rahman (*Muslim-Bengal Coalition*)

(15) Mr. Mesbahuddin Ahmed (*Muslim Bengal Coalition*).

(16) Rai Sahib Anukul Chandra Das (*Scheduled Caste-Bengal Coalition*).

(17) Mr. Yusuf Ali Chowdhury (*Muslim-Bengal Coalition*).

Party Analysis in the Bengal Legislative Assembly—(Total Seats—250)

Government Supporters

1	Muslim League	79
2.	Bengal Swarajya Party	5
3.	Bengal Legislature Scheduled Caste party.	20
4.	European Group	25
5	Labour Party	2
6.	Independent	4
7	Indian Christian	1
8.	Anglo Indians	4
		140

Opposition

1.	Progressive Party	24
2.	Krishak Proja Party	17
3.	Nationalists	13
4.	Congress (Official)	25
5.	Congress (Bose Group)	19
6	Indian Christian	1
7	Independent	1
8.	Scheduled Caste	8
		108

(One seat is vacant. The Hon'ble Speaker is not included)

Party Analysis in the Bengal Legislative Council.

(Total Seats - 63)

Government Supporters

1.	Muslim League	23
2.	Unattached	7
3.	Europeans	6
		36

Opposition

1	Progressive Party	7
2.	Congress (Bose Group)	5

3.	Congress (Official)	6
4.	Nationalists	6
5.	Unattached	2
		26

(The Hon'ble President is not included).

Capital and its population—

Calcutta—21,09,000 (Provisional to the nearest thousand)

Summer Capital and its population

Darjeeling—25,900 (Provisional to the nearest thousand)

Receipt and Expenditure on Revenue Account for the current year—
Receipts—Rs 18,43,89,000/-
Expenditure Rs. 25,80,57,000/-

Government of the Punjab

(*Area—136,330 Sq. miles, Population—28,190,557*)

Council of Ministers

(a) The Hon Lt. Col. Nawabzada Malik Khizar Hyat Khan Tiwana (*Muslim-Unionist.*)

(b) The Hon Rao Bahadur Chaudhri Sir Chhotu Ram, Minister of Revenue (*Hindu-Unionist*).

(c) The Hon. Sir Manohar Lal, Finance Minister (*Hindu-National Progressive*).

(d) The Hon. Mian Abdul Haye, Minister of Education, (*Muslim-Unionist*).

(e) The Hon. Sardar Baldev Singh, Minister of Development, (*Sikh Punjab United Sikh Party*)

(f) The Hon. Major Sardar Shaukat Hyat Khan, Minister of Public works (*Muslim-Muslim League*).

Political designation of the Ministry—*Unionist.*

Date of formation of Ministry—December 30, 1942

Parliamentary Secretaries .

(a) Mir Maqbool Mahmood, (*Muslim-Unionist*)

(b) Mian Allah Yar Khan Daultana (*Muslim-Unionist*)

(c) Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan (*Muslim Unionist*).

(d) Sheikh Faiz Muhammad M. B. E. (*Muslim Unionist*).

(e) Rai Sahib Thakur Ripudaman Singh (*Hindu-National Progressive*).

(f) Chaudhari Tikka Ram, M. B. E. (*Hindu Unionist*).

(g) Sardar Jagjit Singh Man, M. B. E. (*Sikh-Punjab United Sikh Party*)

(h) Sardar Gopal Singh (*Depressed Class Unionist*)

Parliamentary Private Secretaries

(a) Syed Amjad Ali Shah, M. B. E. (*Unionist-Muslim*).

(b) Bhagat Hans Raj (*Depressed Class-Unionist*)

(c) Sir William Roberts, Kt. C. I. E.

(d) Mian Sultan Mahmud Hotiana (*Muslim-Unionist*).

(e) Sufi Abdul Hamid Khan (*Muslim-Unionist*).

Numerical Strength of Parties

The total number of seats in the Legislative Assembly is 175 including the Hon'ble Speaker They are divided into parties as follows —

Government Supporters :— Unionist Party 97; Punjab United Sikh Party 17; Independent 3, National Progressive 4, Total 121

Opposition :—Congress Party 36, Independent Members 17, Total 53

Capital and its population—Lahore—4,29,71[illegible]

Summer capital and its population—Simla 18,111

Receipts and Expenditure on Revenue Account for the current year—1943-44—Revenue Estimate Rs 15,19 lakhs—Expenditure Rs [illegible] lakhs

Government of Sind

(*Area—[illegible] Sq miles Population—4,5[illegible]5,00[illegible]*).

Governor

Sir Hugh Dow K.C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S., (April 1, 19[illegible].)

Council of Ministers

Coalition—Formed on 10-10-1942

The Hon'ble Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah K.C.S.I., (Premier in charge, Finance Department) (*Muslim League*)

The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Muhammad Ayub Khuhro (Minister in-charge Revenue Registration and Co-operative Societies). (*Muslim League*)

The Hon'ble Pir Illahi Bakhsh Nawazali (Minister-in charge, Education, Excise, Forests, Agriculture, Rural Reconstruction, and Labour Departments) (*Muslim League*)

The Hon'ble Haji Muhammad Hashim Gazdar (Minister in-charge, Home, Legal, Political and Miscellaneous Departments) (*Muslim League*).

The Hon'ble Rao Saheb Gokaldas Mewaldas Rochlani (Minister-in charge, Public Works Department and Local Self Government Department) (*Hindu Mahasabha*)

The Hon'ble Dr Hemandas Rupchand Wadhwani (Minister-in-charge, Medical, Public Health, Veterinary and Industries Departments) (*Hindu Mahasabha*).

Parliamentary Secretaries

(1) Khan Bahadur Allah Bakhsh K. Gabole. (*Baloch*).

(2) Syed Nur Muhammad Shah (*Muslim League*).
(3) Mrs. Jenubai Ghulamali Allana (*Muslim League*).
(4) Mr. Muhammad Yusif Khan Chandio (*Muslim League*).
(5) Seth Lolumal Rewachand Motwani (*Hindu Mahasabha*).

Numerical Strength of Parties

Total Seats. 60.

Congress 10; Hindu Independent Party 9; Muslim League 28; Hindu Mahasabha 3; Europeans 3; No Party 7

Capital and its Population :—Karachi—386, 655.

Budget for 1943-44—Revenue Receipts Rs. 4,96,41,000.

Expenditure on Revenue Accounts Rs. 5,09,37,000

Government of Orissa

(*Area—32,000. Sq. miles; Population—87,28,544.*

Governor

H. E. Sir William Hawthorne Lewis K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., I.C.S., J P., (April 1, 1941).

Council of Ministers

Coalition, formed Nov. 24, 1941. *Personnel* :—

(1) Hon'ble Captain Maharaja Sri Sri Krishna Chandra Gajapati Narayan Deo of Parlakimedi (*Prime Minister*)-*Home Affairs* (*excluding Publicity*) *Local Self-Government and Public Works.*

(2) Hon'ble Pandit Godavaris Misra—*Finance, Home Affairs* (*Publicity*), *Development and Education.*

(3) Hon'ble Maulavi Abdus Sobhan Khan—*Law and Commerce, Revenue and Health.*

Speaker, Legislative Assembly—Hon'ble Sri Mukunda Prasad Das.

Numerical Strength of Parties

Total Seats—60

Congress 31; Nationalist Coalition 26, Independent 3.

Capital and its population, Cuttack 74,297. No Summer Capital.

Receipts and Expenditure on Revenue Account for the current year. Receipts Rs. 212.21 lakhs; Expenditure— Rs 2,16.07 lakhs.

Government of Assam

(*Area—67,334 Sq miles, Population—10,930,238*).

Governor—Sir Andrew Gourlay Clow, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S., (May 4, 1942);

Council of Ministers

Coalition formed August 25, 1942, *Personnel* :—

(1) Maulavi Saiyid Sir Muhammad Saadullah, M A., B.L., (*Muslim League*) *Prime Minister*

(2) Naba Kumar Datta (*Assam United Party*).

(3) Maulvi Munawwar Ali, B.A. L.L.B. (*Muslim League*).

(4) Hirendra Chandra Chakrabarti, B. A., (*Assam United Party*).

(5) Khan Sahib Maulavi Mudabbir Hussain Chaudhuri, B.L., (*Muslim League*).

(6) Dr. Mahendra Nath Saikia, L.M.P., (*Assam United Party*).

(7) Khan Bahadur Maulavi Sayidur Rahaman, M A., B.L., (*Muslim League*).

(8) Maulavi Abdul Matin Chaudhuri, B.L., (*Muslim League*).

(9) Miss Mavis Dunn, B.A., B. T., B.L., (*Assam United Party*).

(10) Rupnath Brahma, B.L., (*Assam United Party*). Appointed Minister on August 28, 1942).

No Parliamentary Secretaries.

Numerical Strength of Parties

Legislative Assembly :—Total seats—108		
Congress—	30	
Assam United Party—	58	(including 9 Europeans)
Assam Nationalist Coalition Party—	14	
Independent—	5	
Speaker—	1	
	108	

Legis Council :—Muslim 7—including the President, Mrs. Rahman, the rest belonging to the Assam United Party and also to the League Party; Europeans 2; Plains Tribal 1; Scheduled Hindu 1; Ahom Community 1; Caste Hindu 1 (the latter 4 members belong to the Assam Party); Independents 9 (Marwaries 3 and Caste Hindu 6).

Capital and its Population—Shillong—38, 192. No Summer Capital.

Receipts and Expenditure for current year :—Receipts Rs. 3,64,20,000, Expenditure Rs. 3,72,29,000.

Government of Madras

(*Area 1 24,363 Sq. Miles. Population—4 93,40 564*).

Governor :—Capt. the Hon. Sir Arthur Oswald James Hope, G.C.I.E., M.C; Assumed charge March 12, 1940.

Advisory Council

Advisory Council formed October 30, 1939; Present Personnel:

(1) Sir George Boag, K.C.I.E. C.S.I., I.C.S.

(2) Sir Hugh Hood, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., I.C.S.

(3) T. G. Rutherford, C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S.

(4) S. V. Ramamurty, C.I.E., I.C.S.

Numerical Strength of Parties

Legis Assembly; Total Seats 215 (vacant 30.) Congress 142 : Justice 14 ; Anglo-Indian 2 ; Muslim League 12 ; European 4 ; Independents 8 ; National Democrats 3 ; Total 185.

Legis. Council :—Total seats 55 (vacant 13) Congress 23 ; Justice 4 ; Muslim League 2 ; National Democrats 2 ; Independents 8. Those who have not intimated their party affiliation 3 ; Total 42.

Capital and its Population—Madras : 7,77,481.

Summer Capital and its Population Ootacamund : 292,850.

Receipts : Rs. 21,32,63,000.

Expenditure : Rs. 21,22,58,000.

Government of Bombay

(*Area :—76,443 sq. miles* ; *Population—20,849,840.*

Governor—Sir John Colville G C I E, T D. (24 March 1943.)

Advisory Council

Council formed Nov 4, 1939 ; Present Personnel:

H. F. Knight, Esq., C S. I., C I E. I. C. S. Portfolio : Finance.

C. H. Bristow, Esq.. C. I. E., I. C. S. Portfolio : Home.

G. F. S Collins, Esq , C. S. I , C. I. E. I. C. S. Portfolio : Revenue.

I H. Taunto, Esq., C. I. E., I. C. S. Portfolio : Education.

Numerical Strength of Parties

(a) *In Assembly*—(Total Seats--175) Congress 86 ; Muslim League 25 ; Independents 13 ; Independent Labours 14 ; Progressive 12 , Peasant and Peoples 7 ; Peasants and Workrs 7; Democratic Swaraj 4 ; Vaant Seats 70 ; Total 175

(b) *In Council*—(Total Seats 30) Congress 10 ; Mulim League 3 ; Independents 9 ; Progressive 1 , Democratic Swaraj 3 ; Liberal 1 ; Vacant Seats 3 ; Total 30.

Capital and its population—Bombay City—1,489,883

Summer Capital and its population—Poona—3,38,448

Receipts—Rs. 1,769, 20 lakhs.

Expenditure—Rs. 1,768,74 lakhs.

Govt. of the United Provinces

(*Area*—1,12,191 *sq. miles* ; *Population*—5,63,46,456).

Governor—H. E. Sir Maurice Garnier Hallett, K.C.I.E., C.I.E.. I.C S., (December 6, 1939).

Advisory Council—formed on November 4, 1939. Personnel :—

(1) Dr. Panna Lal, M.A., M.SC., LL B. (Cantab), D. Litt. (Agra), Bar-at-Law, C.S.I., C.I.E., I C.S.,—Education, Industries, Local-Self-Government and Public Health.

(2) Sir Tennant Sloan, M.A. (Glas.) K C.I E, C S I., I.C.S.—Home affairs, Finance, Justice and Jails.

(3) Mr. A. G. Shirref, B.A., J P., I.C.S.—Revenue, Rural Development, Agriculture, Forests, Communications and Irrigation.

Numerical Strength of Parties •

(a) In Assembly—(Total seats—228)

Government supporters : Congress 147, Opposition : Muslim League 36, Independent 24, Unattached (generally vote with Opposition) 21—Total 228.

(b) In Council—(Total seats—60) Government supporters: Congress 14 ; Opposition . Nationalist 13, Independent 8, Unattached (including 11 who have not intimated Party affiliations) 24: Total —59 (excluding President).

Capital and its population—
Allahabad, 2,60,630.

Summer Capital and its population—
Naini Tal—21,313.

Receipts and expenditure on Revenue Accounts for the current year :—

Receipts—Rs. 20,26,57,900

Expenditure—Rs. 20,18,28,700

Government of Bihar

(*Area—69,348 Sq. Miles* ; *Population*—36,340,000.

Governor—H. E Sir Thomas Alexandar Stewart, K.C.S.I., K.C I E., I.C.S. (August 6, 1939)

Advisory Council

Council formed Nov. 4, 1939.

Personnel

1. E R. J. R. Cousins C I E., I.C.S.
2. R. E. Russell, C S.I., C.I.E. I.C.S.

Numerical Strength of Parties

In Assembly—(a) Total number of members 147 (excluding 5 seats vacant due to death of members.)

(b) Number of Muslim member (seats) 38 (excluding 2 seats vacant due to death.

(c) Number of members belonging to Congress party 96 (excluding 2 seats vacant due to death of members.

(d) Number of Muslim League party in the Assembly. There is no such recognised party But there are five members who owe allegiance to Muslim League.

In Council—(a) Total number of members 29

(b) Number of seats retained by the Muslim members 8.

(c) Number of members belonging to the Congress Party 10.

(d) Members belonging to the Muslim League Party 2. There is no such recog-

nised party in the Council but two members have informed that they owe allegiance to the Muslim League.

Capital and its population—Patna—196,415.

Summer Capital and its population—Ranchi—62,562.

Receipts and Expenditure on Revenue Account for the current year:

Receipts—697 lakhs.

Expenditure—636 lakhs.

Government of C. P. & Berar

(Area—98 575 Sq. Miles ; Population—1,68,97,096.)

Governor—H. E. Sir Henry Twynam K.C.I.E., C.I.E., I.C.S (October 2, 1940).

ADVISORY COUNCIL

Council formed Nov 11 1939.

Personnel—(i) Sir Geoffrey Pownall Burton, K.C.I.E., I.C.S.

(ii) Henry Challen Greenfield, C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S.

Numerical Strength of Parties

Total Seats—112.

Congress Party	69
Independent Party	16
Muslim League Party	9
United Party	5
Independent (Unattached)	9
	108
Seats vacant	4
	112

Capital and its population—Nagpur, 3,01,957

Summer capital and its population—Panchmarhi, 6,696.

Receipts and expenditure on Revenue Account for the year 1942-1943 :

Receipts—Rs. 6,68,78,084.

Expenditure—Rs. 5 65,97,096.

Govt. of N W. F. Province

(Area—39,276 Sq. Miles ; Population—5,415,666)

Governor- H E. Sir George Cunningham, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., O.B.E., I.C.S. (March 2, 1937.)

Advisory Council—J G Acheson C.I.E., I.C.S., Adviser to H. E the Governor.

Numerical strength of Parties

Total seats—50, Congress—23, Nationalist—3, Muslim League—13, Liberals (Democratic)—2, Independents—3, No party 1. Died Convicted and resigned—5.

Population of the Capital—Peshawar City 130967. Peshawar Cantonment—42453.

Estimated revenue receipts—Rs. 2,06,94,000; Estimed revenue expenditure—Rs. 2,14,67,000.

(For Formation of Ministry, See p.264)

Federal Court of India.

Chief Justice of India—The Hon. Sir Patrick spens, O.B.E. (Apptd. in 1943).

Judges

The Hon. Mr. Justice Srinivasa Varadachariar, Kt., (App. in 1939).

The Hon. Mr. Justice Muhammad Zafrulla Khan, K. C. S. I. (Appointed in 1941).

Bengal Judicial Department.

High Court—Calcutta.

Chief Justice—The Hon. Sir Harold Derbyshire, M. C., K. C., Barrister at-Law, (12-11-1934)

Puisne Judges—The Hon'ble Mr. Justice Torick Ameer Ali, Kt., Barrister-at-Law (30-11-1931).

The Hon. Mr Justice George Douglas McNair, Kt., Barrister-at-Law, (16-11-1933).

The Hon. Mr. Justice Syed Nasim Ali, M. A., B. L (13-11 1933)

The Hon. Mr. Justice A'an Gerald Russell Henderson, B. A. (Oxon), I. C. S., (12-11-1934)

The Hon. Mr. Justice Rupendra Coomar Mitter, M. SC., M. L., (12-11-1934)

The Hon. Mr. Justice Nural Azeem Khundkar, B. A., LL. B., Barrister-at-Law, (8-11-1937).

The Hon. Mr. Justice Benegal Narsing Rau, Kt., C. I. E., I. C. S., (16-1-1939)

The Hon Mr. Justice Noeman George Armstrong Edgley, M A. (Oxon) I. C. S., Barrister-at-Law J. P (8-11-1937)

The Hon. Mr. Justice Bijan Kumar Mukherjea, M. A., D. L., (9-11-1936)

The Hon. Mr. Justice Charu Chandra Biswas, C. I. E., M. A., B. L., (1-3-1937)

The Hon. Mr. Justice Ronald Francis Lodge, B. A., (Cantab) I. C. S., J. P., (7-11-1938)

The Hon. Mr Justice Frederick William Gentle, Barrister-at-Law, (10-11-1941)

The Hon. Mr. Justice Amarendra Nath Sen, Barrister-at-Law, (7-11-1938)

The Hon. Mr. Justice Thomas James Young Roxburgh, C. I. E., B. A., (Cantab) I. C. S., Barrister-at-Law, J. P. (15-11-1939).

The Hon. Mr Justice Abu Saleh Mohamed Akram, B. L. (26-9-1943)

The Hon. Mr. Justice Sudhi Ranjan Das, B. A. (Calcutta) LL. B. (London) Barrister-at-Law, (Addl.) (1-12-1942).

The Hon. Mr. Justice Abraham Lewis Blank, M. A. (Oxon) I. C. S., Barrister-at-Law, J. P. (Addl) (2-2-1942).

The Hon. Mr. Justice Radhabinod

Pal, M. A., D. L., (Offg) (1-12-1942—to 22-6-1943).

Bombay Judicial Department

High Court—Bombay.

Chief Justice—Leonard Stone, The Hon'ble Sir, Kt., O. B. E. (1-10-43)

Puisne Judges.—Harilal Jekisondas Kania, The Hon'ble Sir, LL. B., Advocate (O S.), Kt. (19-6-1933)

Navroji Jehangir Wadia, The Hon'ble Sir, B. A. (Bom & Cantab) Bar-at-Law, I. C. S., Kt. (6-12-1933).

Harsidhbhai Vajubhai Divatia, The Hon'ble Mr. Justice, M. A, LL B., (19-6-1933).

Albert Sortain Romer Macklin, The Hon'ble Mr. Justice, B. A. (Oxon), I.C.S. (18-6-1935).

Kshitis Chandra Sen, The Hon'ble Mr. Justice, B. A. (Cal. & Cantab.), I. C. S. (4-8-1941).

Mahommedali Currim Chagla, The Hon'ble Mr. Justice, B. A (Oxon.), Bar-at-Law, (1-8 1941).

Narayan Swamirao Lokur, The Hon'ble Mr Justice, B. A. LL B. (24-8-1942).

Eric Weston, The Hon'ble Mr Justice, B. A (Cantab.), I C. S. (14-1-1943)

N H. C. Coyajee The Hon'ble Mr. Justice, B A. B. SC. (Econ), London Bar-at-Law. (1 3-1943).

John Basil Blagden, The Hon'ble Mr. Justice, (Cantab.), Bar-at-Law. (14-11 1942)

Ganpat Sakharam Rajadhyaksha, The Hon'ble Mr. Justice, M. A. (Cantab), Bar-at-Law, I. C. S., Addl. Judge, (14-6 1943)

Madras Judicial Department

High Court—Madras

Chief Justice—The Hon. Sir Lionel Leach (E). Bar-at-law. 10th Feb. 33.

Puisne Judges

The Hon. Mr. Justice V. Mockett, M.B.E. (E). Bar-at-law.

The Hon. Mr. Justice A. J King. (E). I C.S.

The Hon. Mr Justice S. Wadsworth. (E). I C S. Bar-at-law.

The Hon. Mr. Justice K P Lakshmana Rao, Diwan Bahadur (B) Advocate.

The Hon. Mr. Justice N. Chandrasekhara Iyer.

The Hon. Mr. Justice C. N. Kuppuswami Ayyar.

The Hon. Mr. Justice M. Shahabuddin

The Hon. Mr. Justice K. S. Krishnaswami Ayyangar. (B). Advocate.

The Hon. Mr. Justice B. Somayya. (B). Advocate.

The Hon. Mr. Justice M. Patanjali Sastri. (B). Advocate.

The Hon. Mr. Justice L. C. Horwill. (E). I.C.S. Bar-at-law.

The Hon. Mr. Justice A. C. Happell. (E) I.C.S

The Hon. Mr. Justice J. A. Bell. (E). Bar-at-law.

The Hon. Mr. Justice C. Kunhi Raman, Diwan Bahadur (N). B A., B.L. Bar-at-law.

The Hon. Mr. Justice J. A. Byers. (E). I.C S. Bar-at-law.

Behar & Orissa Judicial Dept.

High Court—Patna

Chief Justice—The Hon Sir Saiyid Fazl Ali, Barrister-at-law 19-1-1943.

Puisne Judges—The Hon Sir Clifford Monmohan Agarwala, Barrister-at-Law 11-7-1933.

The Hon. Mr. Justice Sukhdev Prasad Varma, Barrister-at Law. 22-1 1934

The Hon. Mr. Justice Francis George Rowland, I C.S., 21-8-1936.

The Hon. Mr. Justice Manohar Lal M A., (Cantab) Barrister-at-law. 3-6 1939.

The Hon. Mr Justice Subodh Ch. Chatterji, 28-9 1939

The Hon. Mr. Justice Herbert Ribton Meredith. I C S., 1-10-1940.

The Hon. Mr. Justice James Creig Shearer, I.C.S, Barrister-at-Law 19-1.1943.

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice Bhuvaneshwar Prashad Sinha. 6-12-43.

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice David Ezra Reuben, I C.S Addl, 14 8-43

The Hon'ble Mr Justice Saiyid Jafar Imam Barrister-at-Law, Addl. 25-10-43

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice R. B Bewor I.C.S. Addl. 8-11-43.

C. P. & Berar Judicial Dept.

High Court—Nagpur

Chief Justice—The Honourable Sir Frederick Grille, Kt, I C S.

Puisne Judges—1 The Honourable Mr Justice M. A. Niyogi, C I E. On leave from 1-11-43

2. The Honourable Mr Justice R. E. Pollock, I C.S.

3. The Honourable Mr. Justice Vivian Bose.

4. The Honourable Mr. Justice W. R. Puranik.

5. The Honourable Mr. Justice K. G. Digby, I C.S.

6. The Honourable Mr. Justice J. Sen.

7. The Honourable Mr. Justice M. R. Bobde—Officiating vice no. 1 from 1-11 43.

Punjab Judicial Department

High Court—Lahore

Chief Justice

The Honourable Sir John Douglas Young. 7th May, 1934.

The Honourable Sir Arthur Trevor Harries. 19th January, 1943

Puisne Judges

1. The Honourable Mr Justice Tek Chand, Kt., 27th January, 1927.
2. The Honourable Mr. Justice Dalip Singh, Kt., 4th October 1926.
3. The Honourable Mr Justice Monroe. 7th December, 1931.
4. The Honourable Mr. Justice Bhide, 2nd October, 1933.
5. The Honourable Mr Justice Abdul Rashed. 2nd October, 1933
6. The Honourable Mr. Justice Din Muhammad. 2nd May 1936.
7. The Honourable Mr. Justice Blacker 23rd November 1937
8. The Honourable Mr Justice Ram Lall. 9th February, 1938.
9. The Honourable Mr Justice Sale 14th November, 1939.
10. The Honourable Mr. Justice Beckett. 23rd September, 1940.
11. The Honourable Mr. Justice Muhammad Abdur Rahaman, Kt., 13th February, 1943.
12. The Honourable Mr. Justice Muhammad Munir. 28th September, 1942.
13. The Honourable Mr. Justice Mehr Chand Mahajan. 27th Sept. 1943
14. The Honourable Mr. Justice Marten. Additional Judge (except from 16 7-1943 to 26-9-1943.
15. The Honourable Mr. Justice Dhawan. (Acting from 29-1-1943 to 15-7-1943)
16. The Honourable Mr. Justice Teja Singh. (Acting 1-2-1943 to 15-7-1943. Additional from 17th Sept., 1943).

United Provinces Judicial Dept.

High Court—Allahabad

Chief Justice—Hon'ble Sir Iqbal Ahmad Kt., B.A., LL.B.

Puisne Judges—Hon. Sir H. J. Collister, Kt., J.P., I.C.S.

Hon. Mr. Justice J. J. W. Allsop, J.P., I.C.S.

Hon. Mr. Justice Mohammad Ismail, Khan Bahadur, Bar-at-law.

Hon. Mr. Justice K. K. Verma, B.A., LL.B.

Hon. Mr. Justice H.B.L. Braund, Bar-at-law, (on deputation)

Hon. Mr. Justice T. N. Mulla, Rai Bahadur, M.A., LL.B.

Hon. Mr. Justice A. H. deB. Hamilton, J.P., I.C.S.

Hon. Mr. Justice S. K. Dar. B.A., LL.B.

Hon. Mr. Justice R. L. Yorke, J.P., I.C.S.

Hon Mr. Justice G. P. Mathur, Rai Bahadur, B.A., LL.B. Additional Puisne Judge.

Hon. Mr Justice P. P. M. C. Plowden, J.P., I.C.S. Acting Puisne Judge.

Chief Court of Oudh—Lucknow

Chief Judge—Hon. Sir George Thomas, Kt., Bar-at-Law. (23-7-1938).

Judges—Hon. Mr Justice J. R. W. Bennet, I.C.S. (13-7-1940)

Hon. Mr. Justice Ghulam Hasan, (16-9-1940).

Hon. Mr. Justice Lakshmi Shanker Misra, Bar-at-Law. (11-5-43).

Hon. Mr. Justice W. Y. Madeley, I.C.S. Addl. Judge. (11-5-1941).

Chief Court of Sind

Chief Judge—The Hon. Sir Godfrey Davis, Barrister-at-Law. (15-4-1940)

Judge—The Hon. Mr Justice Charles M. Lobo, LL.B. (15-4-1940).

The Hon. Mr. Justice Hatim Badruddin Tyabji, Barrister-at-Law, (15-4-1940)

The Hon. Mr. Justice Dennis Neil O'Sullivan, Barrister-at-Law. (14-1-1943).

Indian States (with Salutes)

(Area—712,508 Sq. miles; Population—81,310,845).

Assam State

Manipur—H H Maharaja Sir Chura Chand Singh, K.C.S.I., C.B.E. Maharaja of—

Date of Birth—15th April, 1885
Date of succession—18th September, 1891
Area in Sq. miles—8638 (Approximately)
Population of State—4,45,606
Revenue—Nearly Rs. 9,59,620
Salute in guns—11.

Baluchistan State

Kalat—His Highness Beglar Begi Mir Sir Mahmud Khan, G.C.I.E., Wali of—

Date of Birth—1864
Date of succession—1893
Area of State in Square miles—73,278
Population of State—328,281
Revenue—Rs. 17,78,000 nearly
Salute in Guns—19.

Baroda State

Baroda—His Highness Farzand-i-Khas-i-Daulat-i-Inglishia Maharaja Sir Pratapsingh Gaekwar, G.C.I.E. Sena Khas Khel, Shamsher Bahadur, Maharaja of—

Date of Birth—29th June, 1908
Date of succession—7th. Feb. 1939
Area of State in sq. miles—8,164

Population of State—28,550,10
Revenue—Rs. 245·23 lacs
Salute in guns—21.

Bengal States

Cooch Behar—H. H. Maharaja Jagaddipendra Narayan Bhup Bahadur; Maharaja of—
Date of Birth—15th December, 1915
Date of succession—20th December, 1922
Area of State in sq. miles—131,835
Population of State—6,39,898
Revenue—About Rs. 38½ lakhs
Salute in guns—13.

Tripura—H. H. Maharaja Manikya Bir Bikram Kishore Deb Barman Bahadur, K.C.S.I., Maharaja of—
Date of Birth—19th August, 1908
Date of succession—13th August, 1923
Area of State in sq. miles—4,116
Population of State—382,450
Revenue—Rs. 33,42,104 (including the revenue of the zamindaries in British India)
Salute in guns—13.

Bihar & Orissa States

Kalahandi—H. H. Maharaja Pratapkeshori Deo, Maharaja of—
Date of Birth—5th October '19
Date of succession—19th September '39
Area in sq. miles—3,745
Population—5,99,751
Revenue—Rs. 6,43,000
Salute in guns—9

Mayurbhanj—Maharaja Sir Pratap Chandra Bhanj Deo, K.C.I.E. Maharaja of—
Date of birth—18th February, 01
Date of succession—23rd April, '28
Area in sq. miles—4,243
Population—9,89,887
Revenue—Rs. 34 lacs
Salute in guns—9

Patna—H.H. Maharaja Rajendra Narayan Singh Deo, Maharaja of—
Date of birth—31st March '12
Date of succession—16th January '24
Area in square miles—2,511
Population—16,32,220
Revenue—Rs. 11,02,251
Salute in guns—9

Sonpur—H. H. Maharaja Singh Deo, K.C.I.E. Maharaja of—
Date of birth—28th June 1874
Date of succession—8th August '02
Area in square miles—906
Population—226,751
Revenue—Rs. 3,74,000 nearly
Salute in guns—9

Bombay Presy. States

Balasinor—H H. Babi Shri Jamiat Khanji Munavvar Khanji Nawab Saheb Bahadur, Nawab of—
Date of birth—10th November 1894
Date of succession—31st December '15
Area in square miles—189
Population—52,525
Revenue—Rs 3,50,000 nearly
Indian State Forces—Cavalry—60, Infantry—177, Guns—10
Salute in guns—9

Bansda—H. H. Maharawal Shri Indrasinhji Pratapsinhji, Raja of—
Date of birth—16th February 1888
Date of succession—21st Sept. '11
Area in square miles—215
Population—40,125
Revenue—Rs. 7,98,000 nearly
Salute in guns—9

Baria—Lt. Col. His Highness Maharaol Shree Sir Ranjitsinhji, K.C.S.I., Ruler of—
Date of birth—10th July 1886
Date of succession—20th Feb '08
Area in sq. miles—813
Population—1 89,206
Indian State Forces—Cavalry (Irregular) Strength 17 ; 1 Company Ranjit Infantry, Strength 153 ; 1 Platoon Militia, Strength 50
Salute in guns—9

Bhor—H. H. Meherban Srimant Raghunathrao Shankarrao, Pant Sachib of—
Date of birth—20 September 1878
Date of succession—17th July '22
Area in square miles—925
Population—130,420
Revenue—Rs. 600,000 nearly
Salute in guns—9

Cambay—H. H. Nawab Mirza Hussain Yawar Khan Saheb Bdr Nawab of—
Date of birth—16th May '11
Date of succession—21st January '15
Area in sq miles—392
Population—87,761
Revenue—Rs. 10,00,000 nearly
Indian State Forces—113 Infantry ; 166 Police Forces, 15 Body guards.
Salute in guns—11

Chhota Udepur (Mohan)—H H. Maharawal Shri Natwarsinhji Fatehsinhji, Raja of—
Date of birth—16th November '06
Date of succession—29th August '23
Area in sq. miles—89,034
Population—1,62,145
Revenue—Rs 13,08,248
Salute in guns—9

Danta—H. H. Maharana Shri Bhavanisinhji Hamirsinhji, Maharana of—
Date of birth—12th September 1899
Date of succession—20th November '25
Area in sq miles—347
Population—19 541
Revenue—Rs. 1,75,000 nearly
Salute in guns—9

Dharampur—H. H. Maharana Shri Vijoyadevji Mohandevji, Raja of—
Date of birth—3rd December 1884
Date of succession—26th March '21
Area in sq. miles—704
Population—1,12,031
Revenue—Rs. 8,50,000
Salute in guns—9

Idar—H. H. Maharajadhiraja Shri Himmat Singhji Sahib Bahadur
Date of birth—2nd September 189?
Date of succession—14th April '31
Area in sq. miles—1 669
Population—3 07,798
Revenue—Rs. 24,66,000 nearly
Salute in guns -15

Janjira—H H. Nawab Sidi Muhammad Khan Sidi Ahmad Khan, Nawab of—
Date of birth—7th March '14
Date of succession—2nd May '22
Area in sq miles—379
Population—1,10 388
Revenue—Rs. 11 00,000
Salute in guns—11

Jawhar—Shrimant Yeshwantrao Maharaj, Raja of—
Date of birth— 11th December '17
Date of succession—11th December '27
Area in sq miles —308
Population 65,291
Revenue—Rs. 5,20,000
Salute in guns 9

Khairpur—H. H Mir Faiz Mahomed Khan Talpur, Mir of—
Date of birth—4th January '13
Date of succession —December '35
Area in sq. miles - 6,050
Population --227,168
Revenue—Rs 25 81 (lacs)
Indian State Forces—Khairpur "Faiz" Light Infantry, 215 , Khairpur Camel Transport Corps, 72
Salute in guns--15

Kolhapur—Col H H. Shri Sri Rajaram Chhatrapati Maharaj, G C.S I., G C I E. Maharaja of—
Date of birth—30 July 1897
Date of succession—6th May '22
Area in sq. miles--3,217·1
Population—9,57,157
Revenue--Rs. 126,86,527
Salute in guns--19

Lunawada—Lieut H. H. Maharana Shri Virbhadrasinhji, Rajaji Saheb of—
Date of birth—8th June '10
Date of succession—2nd October '30
Area in sq. miles—388
Population—95,162
Revenue—About Rs 5,50,000
Dynastic Salute—9 guns

Mudhol—H. H. Srimant Raja Bhairavsinh (minor), Raja of—
Date of birth—15 October '29
Date of succession —9th November '37
Area in sq. miles—369
Population—62,832
Revenue--Rs 1,85,000 nearly
Indian State Force—Mudhol Sajjan Sinh Infantry—115
Salute in guns—9

Rajpipla—Captain H. H. Maharana Shri Sri Vijaya Sinhji Chhatrasinhji, K.C.S.I.
Date of birth - 30 January 1890
Date of succession—26th September '15
Area in sq. miles —1,517 50
Population—2,48 068
Revenue—Rs 2132,000
Indian State Forces Rajpipla Infantry 152 ; Rajpipla Bodyguard 25
Salute in guns—13

Sachin—His Highness Nawab Sidi Muhammad Haider Muhammad Yakut Khan, Mubarizud Daula, Nusrat Jung Bahadur, Nawab of—
Date of birth—11th September '09
Date of succession 19th November '30
Area in sq miles -57 80
Revenue—Rs 4,00,00/-
Indian State Forces—Sachin Infantry 80
Salute in guns—9

Sangli—Captain H H Raja Shrimant Sri Chintamanrao Dhundirao alias Appasaheb Patwardhan K.C I E., Raja of—
Date of birth—14th Feb. 1890
Date of Succession—15th June 1903
Area in sq. miles—1,136
Population— 2,93,498
Revenue--Rs 16 80,214
Salute in guns 9

Sant—Maharana Shri Jorawarsinhji Partapsinhji, Raja of—
Date of birth—24th March 1881
Date of succession—31st August 1896
Area in sq. miles 394
Population—83,531
Revenue—Rs 185,826
Salute in guns— 9

Savantvadi--(Minor) H. H Raja Bahadur Shrimant Shivram Savant Bhonsle
Date of birth--13th August '27
Date of succession - 5th July '37
Area in sq. miles--930
Population—2,5?,170
Revenue—Rs 6,13,478
Salute in guns—9

Central India States

Ajaigarh—H. H. Maharaja Sawai Bhupal Singh Bahadur, Maharaja of—
Date of succession—7th June '19
Date of birth—13th November 1866
Area in sq miles—802
Population—84,790
Revenue—Rs. 5,00,000 nearly
Salute in guns— 11

Alirajpur—H. H. Maharaja Pratap Singh, K.C.I.E., Maharaja of—
Date of birth—12th Sept. 1881
Date of succession—14th February 1891
Area in sq. miles—836
Population—112,754
Revenue of the State—Rs 5,35,000
Salute in guns—11

Baoni—H. H. Azam-ul-Umara Iftikhar-ud-Daulah Imad-ul-Mulk Sahib-i-Jah Mihin Sardar Nawab Mohammad Mushtaq-ul-Hasan Khan Sardar Jung,
Date of birth—7th February 1896
Date of succession—28th October '11
Area in sq. miles—121
Population—25,256
Revenue—Rs. 2,25,000
Salute in guns—11

Baraundha (Pathar Kachar)—Raja Gaya Parshad Singh, Raja of—
Date of birth—186[illegible]
Date of succession—9th July '09
Area in sq. miles—218
Population—15,912
Revenue—Rs. 45,000 nearly
Salute in guns—9

Barwani—His Highness Rana Devisinghji
Date of birth—19th July '22
Date of Succession—21st April '30
Area in sq. miles—1,178
Population—1,76,632
Revenue—Rs. 11,04,510
Salute in guns—11

Bhopal—Lt.-Col. H. H. Iftikhar-ul-Mulk Sikandar Saulat Nawab Haji Muhammad Hamidulla Khan Bahadur, G.C.I.E., G.C.S.I., C.V.O., Nawab of
Date of birth—9th September 1894
Date of succession—17th May '26
Area in sq. miles—7,000
Population—700,000
Revenue—Rs. 62,10,000 nearly
Indian State Forces—Bhopal (Victoria Lancers—141; Bhopal Sultania Infantry—772; Bhopal Gohar-i-Taj Own Company—164
Salute in guns—19

Bijawar—H. H. Maharaja Govind Singh Minor, Maharaja of—
Date of birth—17th June '34
Date of succession—11th Nov. '41
Area in sq. miles—973
Population—1,[illegible],928
Revenue—Rs. 3,55,278
Salute in guns—11

Charkhari—H. H. Maharajadhiraja Sipahdar-ul-Mulk Arimardan Singh Ju Deo Bahadur, Maharaja of—
Date of birth—29th December '03
Date of succession—6th October '20
Area in sq. miles—880
Population—123,405
Revenue—Rs. 8,26,000 nearly
Salute in guns—11

Chhatarpur—H. H. Maharaja Bhawani Singh Bahadur, Maharaja of—
Date of birth—16th August, '94
Date of succession—5th April, '32
Area in sq. miles—1,130
Population—1,61,267
Gross Revenue Nearly—Rs. 12,00,000
Indian State Forces—412
Salute in guns—11

Datia—Major H. H. Maharaja Lokendra Sir Govind Singh Bahadur, K.C.S.I.,
Date of birth—21st June 1886
Date of succession—5th August '07
Area in sq. miles—911
Population—148,659
Revenue—Rs. 19,00,000 nearly
Indian State Forces—Datia 1st Govind—Infantry—200
Datia Govind Infantry (B Company)—117
Salute in guns—15

Dewas (Senior)—His Highness Maharaja Sir Vikramsinha Rao Puar, K.C.S.I., B.A., Maharaja of—
Date of birth—4th April '10
Date of succession—21st December '37
Area in sq. miles—449.50
Population—89,479
Revenue—Rs. 7,90,000
Salute in guns—15

Dewas (Junior Branch)—H. H. Maharaja Sadashivrao Khase Saheb Pawar, Maharaja of
Date of birth—13th August 1887
Date of succession—4th February '34
Area in sq. miles—419
Population—70,513
Revenue—Rs. 6,85,000
Salute in guns—15

Dhar—Lieut. H. H. Maharaja Anand Rao Puar Saheb Bahadur, Maharaja of—
Date of birth—[illegible]th November, '20
Date of succession—1st August '26
Date of Investiture 16th March '40
Area in sq. miles—1,799.34
Population—2,53,210
Revenue Rs. 3,000,00
Indian State Forces—Dhar Light Horse 66, Dhar Infantry (Laxmi Guard) 263
Salute in guns—15

Indore—H. H. Maharajadhiraja Raj Rajeshwar Sawai Shri Yeshwant Rao Holkar Bahadur, G.C.I.E. Maharaja of,
Date of birth—6th September '08
Date of succession—26th February '26
Area in sq. miles—9,902
Population—over 15,00,000
Revenue—Rs. 1,21,81,1[illegible]
Indian State Forces Indore Holkar Escort—111, Indore 1st Battalion, Maharaja Holkar's Infantry Companies "A" & "B"—380

Indore Holkar Transport Corps—266.
Salute in guns—19

Jaora—Lt. Col. H. H. Fakhrud-Daulah Nawab Sir Mohammad Iftikhar Ali Khan Bahadur, Saulat-i-Jang, G.B.E., K.C.I.E., Nawab of—
Date of birth—17th January 1883
Date of succession—6th March 1895
Area in sq. miles—601
Population—1,16,738
Revenue—Rs. 16,00,000
Salute in guns—13

Jhabua—H. H. Raja Udai Sing, Raja of—
Date of birth—6th May 1875
Date of succession—26th April 1895
Area in sq. miles—1,336
Population—123,932
Revenue—Rs. 3,50,000 nearly
Salute in guns—11

Khilchipur—Raja Rao Bahadur Sir Durjansalsingh K.C.I.E., Raja of—
Date of birth—26th August 1897
Date of succession—19th January '08
Area in sq. miles—273
Population—45,625
Revenue—Rs. 2,42,000
Salute in guns—9

Maihar—H. H. Raja Sir Brijnath Singhji Deo Bahadur. K.C.I.E. Raja of—
Date of birth—22nd February 1896
Date of succession—16th Dec. '11
Area in sq. miles—407
Population—68,991
Revenue—Rs. 5,00,000 (nearly)
Salute in guns—9

Nagod—(Unchehra)—H. H. Raja Mahendra Singhjee Deo Bahadur, Raja of—
Date of birth—5th February '16
Date of succession—26th Feb 26
Area in sq. miles—501·4
Population—87,911
Revenue—Rs. 3,00,000 (nearly)
Salute in guns—9

Narsinghgarh—H. H. Raja Sir Vikram Singhji Sahib Bdr. K.C.I.E. Raja of—
Date of birth—21 Sept. '09
Date of succession—23rd April '24
Area in sq. miles—734
Population—1,24,281
Revenue—Rs. 7,09,291 (nearly).
Salute in guns—11

Orchha—H. H. Saramad-i-Rajaha-Bundelkhand Shri Sawai Sir Vir Singh Dev Bahadur, K.C.S.I. Maharaja of—
Date of birth—14th April 1899
Date of succession—4th March '30
Area in sq. miles—2,080
Population—314,661
Revenue—Rs. 13,00,000 (nearly)
Salute in guns—15

Panna—H. H. Maharaja Mahendra Sir Yadvendra Singh Bahadur, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., Maharaja of—
Date of birth—31st January 1894
Date of succession—20th June '02
Area in sq. miles—2,596
Population—2,12,130
Revenue—Rs. 9,50,000 nearly
Salute in guns—11

Rajgarh—H. H. Raja Rawat Bikramaditya Singh Bahadur (minor), Raja of—
Date of birth—18th December '36
Date of succession— Do Do
Area in sq. miles—962
Population—1,48,609
Revenue—Rs. 8,63,200
Salute in guns—11

Ratlam—Major-General H. H. Maharaja Sir Sajjan Singh, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., K.C.V.O.
Date of birth—13th January 1880
Date of succession—29th Jan. 1893
Area in sq. miles—693
Population—1,26,117
Revenue—Rs. 10 lacs
Indian State Forces—Shree Lokendra Rifles—Authorised Strength—161
Salute in guns—13 permanent, local 15

Rewa—H. H. Maharaja Dhiraj Sir Gulab Singh Bahadur, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., Maharaja of—
Date of birth—12th March '03
Date of succession—31st October '18
Area in sq. miles—13,000
Population—18,20,306
Salute in guns—17
Revenue—Rs. 60,00,000

Sailana—H. H. Raja Sahib Sir Dileep Singhji Bahadur. K.C.I.E., Raja of—
Date of birth—18th March 1891
Date of succession—14th July '19
Area in sq. miles—297
Population—40,228
Revenue—Rs. 3,00,000
Indian State Forces—1. Cavalry 30; 2 Infantry 44; 3. Police 130
Salute in guns—11

Samthar—H. H. Maharaja Sir Bir Singh Deo Bahadur. K.C.I.E., Raja of—
Date of birth—20th August 1864
Date of succession—17th June 1896
Area in sq. miles—180
Population—33,216
Revenue—Rs. 3,50,000 nearly
Salute in guns—11

Sitamau—H. H. Raja Sir Ram Singh, K.C.I.E., Raja of—
Date of birth—2nd January 1880
Area in sq. miles—201
Population—26,549
Revenue—Rs. 2,55,076
Salute in guns—11

Gwalior State

Gwalior—H. H. Maharaja Mukhtar-ul-Mulk, Azim-ul-Iqtidar, Rafi-ush-Shan,

Wala Shikoh, Motasham-i-Dauran, Umdat-ul-Umra, Maharajadhiraja Alijah, Hisamus-Salta-nat George Jayaji Rao Scindia, Bahadur, Srinath, Mansur-i-Zaman, Fidwi-i-Hazrat-i-Malik-Muazzam-i-Rafi-ud-Darjat-i-Inglistan, Maharaja of—
Date of birth—26th June '16
Date of succession—5th June '25
Area in sq. miles—26,367
Population—3,523 070
Revenue—Rs. 241·81 lacs nearly
Indian State Forces—
Gwalior Ist Yayaji Lancers—526
„ 2nd Alijah „ —526
„ 3rd Maharaja Madho Rao Scindia's Own Lancers—526
„ 1st Maharani Sakhya Raya's Own Battalion—763
2nd Maharaja Jayaji Rao's Own Battalion—765
3rd Maharaja Scindia's Own Battalion—772
„ 4th Maharaja Bahadur Battalion—772
„ 7th Scindia's Battalion (Training)—488
„ Mountain Battery—260
Scindia's House Artillery—138
„ Sappers Artillery—178
„ Pony Transport Corps—479
Salute in Guns—21

Hyderabad State

Hyderabad—Lt.-General H. E. H Asaf Jah Muzaffar-ul-Mulk wal Mamalik, Nizam-ul-Mulk Nizam-ud-Daula, Nawab Sir Mir Usman Ali Khan Bahadur, Fateh Jang, Faithful Ally of the British Government, G.C.S.I., G.B.E., Nizam of—
Date of birth—6th April 1886
Date of succession—29th August '11
Area in sq. miles—100,465
Population—17,877,986
Revenue—Rs. 894·98 lacs
Indian State Forces—Hyderabad 1st Imperial Service Lancers, 544
Hyderabad 2nd Imperial Service Lancers, 544
Salute in guns—21

Jammu & Kashmir State

Jammu & Kashmir—Lieut-General H H Raj Rajeshwar Maharajadhiraj Maharaja Shri Harisinghji Bahadur, Indar Mahindar. Spar-i-Saltanat-i-Englishia, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., K.C.V.O., LL.D., Maharaja of—
Date of birth—September 1895
Date of succession—September 25
Area in sq. miles—84,471
Population—40,21,616
Revenue—Rs. 257·92 lacs
Indian States Forces—

1. 1st Line Troops (Fighting Service)
Jammu and Kashmir Body Guard Cavalry—653
2. 1st Jammu & Kashmir Mountain Battery 314
3. 2nd Jammu & Kashmir Mountain Battery 262
4. 1st „ „ „ Infantry 679
5. 2nd „ „ „ Rifles 690
6. 3rd „ „ „ „ 679
7. 4th „ „ „ Infantry 690
8. 5th „ „ „ Light „ 679
9. 6th „ „ „ „ „ 772
10. 7th „ „ „ „ „ 690
11. 8th „ „ „ „ „ 679
12. 9th „ „ „ „ „ 679

1st Line (Troops Administrative Service)
13 J. & L. A. T. C. 365
14 Jammu & Kashmir Infantry Training Battalion 1969
15. Jammu & Kashmir Army Training School 26
16. Auxiliary Service
17. Jammu & Kashmir Military Transport 299
18. Jammu & Kashmir State Band 68
19. „ Fort Dept. 117
30 Military Veterinary Corps 21
21. Military Medical Corps 40
Salute in guns—21

Banganapalle—H. H. Nawab Saiyid Fazle Ali Khan Bahadur, Nawab of—
Date of Birth—9th November '01
Date of succession—22nd January '22
Area in sq. miles—275
Population—44 631
Revenue—Rs. 3,53,758
Salute in guns—9

Cochin—H H. Sir Kerala Varma, Maharaja of—
Date of birth—29th Vrischigon 1039 M. E.
Date of succession—13th April '41
Area in sq. miles—1480
Population—1,422,875
Revenue—Rs 1,21,46,238
Indian State Forces—34 officers and 370 men
Salute in guns—17

Pudukkottai—H. H Sri Brihadamba Das Raja Rajagopala Tondaiman Bahadur,
Date of birth—23rd June '22
Date of succession—24th October '28
Area in sq. miles—1,179
Population—4,38,348
Revenue—Rs. 20,74,000 nearly
Salute in guns—11

Travancore—H. H. Sir Padmanabha Dasa Vanchi Pala Rama Varma Kulasekhara Kiritapati Manney Sultan Maharaja Raja Ramaraja Bahadur Shamsher Jang, G.C.I.E., Maharaja of—
Date of birth—7th November '12
Date of succession—1st September '24

Area in sq. miles—7 661·75
Population—6,070,018
Revenue—Rs. 280·73 lakhs
Salute in guns—19 ; Local 21

Mysore—H. H. Maharaja Sri Chamaraja Wadiar Bahadur, Maharaja of—
Date of birth—18th July '19
Date of succession—8th September '40
Area in sq. miles—29,493
Population—73·29 lakhs including Civil & Military Station, Bangalore
Revenue—Rs. 4,65,66,000 nearly
Indian State Forces—Mysore Lancers 495 ; Horse 136 ; Bodyguard 125 , 1st Infantry 774 ; 2nd Infantry 1130 ; Palace Guard 500
Salute in guns—21

Punjab States

Bahawalpur—Major His Highness Rukn-ud-Daula, Nusrat-i-Jang Saif-ud-Daula, Hafiz-ul-Mulk, Mukhlish-ud-Daula, Wa-Mutmud-Daula Nawab Al-Haj Sir Sadiq Muhammad Khan V Abbasi, Bahadur, G C I E, K.C S I., K.C V O, Nawab Ruler of—
Date of birth—30th September '04
Date of succession—4th March '07
Area in sq. miles—22,000
Population—Over one million
Revenue—Rs. 1,40,00,000 nearly
Indian State Forces—Bahawalpur 1st Sadiq Infantry , Bahawalpur 2nd Haroon Infantry ; H. H. the Nawab's Own Body Guard Lancers
Salute in guns—17

Bilaspur—(Kahlur)—H. H. Raja Anand Chand, Raja of—
Date of birth—26th January '13
Date of succession—18th Nov. '27
Area in sq. miles—448
Population—1,10,000
Revenue—Rs 3,00 000 nearly
Salute in guns—11

Chamba—H. H. Raja Lakshman Singh, the Ruler of Chamba State (minor)
Date of birth—8th December '24
Date of succession—7th Dec. '35
Area in sq. miles—3,127
Population—16,89,38
Revenue—Rs. 9,00,000 nearly
Salute in guns—11
Council of Administration appointed by the Government to carry on Minority Administration. President—Lt.—Col. H S. Strong, C.I E Vice-President & Chief Secretary—Dewan Bahadur Lala Madho Ram. Member—Rai Bahadur Lala Ghanshyam Dass.

Faridkot—Lt. H. H. Farzand-i Saadat Nishan-i-Hazrat-i-Kaisar-i-Hind Barar Bans Raja Har Indar Singh Bahadur,
Date of birth—29th January '15
Date of succession—23rd December '18
Area in sq. miles—643
Population—164,346
Revenue—Rs. 17,00,000 nearly
Indian State Forces—Faridkot Sappers-Headquarters 8. (Field Company) Sappers & Miners 129. Bodyguard Lancers 27. Infantry 12. Band 35
Salute in guns—11

Jind—Colonel H. H. Farzand i Dilband Rasikh-ul-Itikad Daulat-i-Inglishia Raja-Rajgan Maharaja Sir Ranbir Singh, Rajendra Bahadur, G.C.I.E. G.C.S.I., Maharaja of—
Date of birth—11th October 1879
Date of succession—7th March 1887
Area in sq. miles—1,259
Population—308,183
Revenue—Rs. 28,00,000 nearly
Indian State Forces—
Salute in guns—13

Kapurthala—Colonel His Highness Farzand-i-Dilband Rasikh-ul-Itkad Daulat-i-Inglishia Raja-i-Rajgan Maharaja Sir Jagatjit Singh Bahadur, G.C.S I., G.C I E., G.B.E, Maharaja of—
Date of birth—24th November 1872
Date of succession—5th September 1877
Area in sq miles—652
Population—3,78,380
Revenue—Rs. 34,00,000 roughly
Salute in guns—13

Loharu—Capt H. H. Nawab Mirza Amin-ud-Din Ahmed, Fakhar-ud-Daula Khan Bahadur, Nawab of—
Date of birth—23rd March 11
Date of succession—30th Oct. '26
Area in sq miles—222
Population—27,892
Revenue—Rs 1,33,000 nearly
Salute in guns—9

Malerkotla—Lt.-Colonel H. H. Nawab Sir Ahmad Ali Khan, Bahadur, K.C S.I., K.C.I E., Nawab of—
Date of birth—10th September 1881
Date of succession—23rd August '08
Area in sq. miles—168
Population—80,322
Revenue—Rs 15,61,000 nearly
Indian State Forces—Sappers—Headquarters 16 , Lancers (Bodyguard) 40 ; infantry 226 , Field Company Sappers & Miners 295
Salute in guns—11

Mandi—Major H. H. Raja Sir Joginder Sen Bahadur, K C S I., Raja of—
Date of birth—20th August '04
Date of succession—28th April '13
Area in sq miles—1,200
Population—2,07,465
Revenue—Rs. 12,50,000 nearly
Salute in guns—11

Nabha—H. H. Farzand-i-Arjmand, Aquidat-Paiwand-i-Daulat-i-Inglishia, Barar Bans, Sarmur Raja-i Rajagan Maharaja Pratap Singha Malvendra Bahadur, Maharaja of—
Date of birth—21st September '19
Date of succession—February '28
Area in sq. miles—928
Population—263 334
Revenue—Rs. 24,05,000 nearly
Salute in guns—13

Patiala—Dr. H. H. Farzand-i-Khas Daulat-i-Englishia Mansur-ul-Zaman, Amir ul-Umra Maharajadhiraj Raj Rajeshwar Shri Maharaja i Rajgan Shri Yadavindra Singhji, [illegible], Mahendra Bahadur, Maharaja of—
Date of birth—7th January '13
Date of succession—23rd March '38
Area in sq. miles—5,932
Population—1,625,520
Revenue—Rs. 1,57,00,000
Indian State Forces—

		Combatants :	Non Combatants
1.	1st Rajindar Lancers	475	178
2.	2nd Patiala Lancers	212	85
3.	War Strength 2nd P. Lrs.	60	[illegible]
4.	P. H A.	90	[illegible]8
5.	1st R. S Infantry	732	[illegible]
6.	2nd Yadavendra „	665	61
7.	3rd P. S.	662	51
8.	4th Patiala	662	51
9.	Training Battalion	[illegible]	15
10	Patiala Tranports Corps	99	[illegible]
11.	S M. Vety Hospital	5	[illegible]
12.	Army Trg School	[illegible]9	10
13	Patiala Wireless Section	4[illegible]	6
14.	Deputy Company	[illegible]27	10
		4[illegible]9	633

Salute in guns—17

Sirmur (Nahan) -H. H. Lt. Maharaja Rajendra Prakash Bdr. Maharaja of—
Date of birth—[illegible]0th January '13
Date of succession—Nov '33
Area in sq miles—1,141
Population—1,48 565
Revenue—Rs. [illegible],00,000 nearly
Indian State Forces—Sappers—Headquarters 5; Band 23; No 1 Company 142. No 2 Company 153, State Bodyguard Lancers 31
Salute in guns—11

Suket— H. H. Raja Lakshman Sen, Raja of
Date of birth—1894
Date of succession—13th Oct '19
Area in sq. miles—420
Population—54,928
Revenue—Rs 2,67,000 nearly
Salute in guns—11

Bashahr—H. H. Raja Padam Singh,
Date of birth—1873
Date of succession—5th August '14
Area in sq. miles—3,820
Population—86,077
Revenue—Rs. 3,34,600 nearly
Salute in guns—9

Rajputana States

Alwar—H H Shri Sewai Maharaj Tej Singhji Bahadur, Maharaja of—
Date of birth—19th March '11
Date of succession—22nd July '37
Area in sq miles—3217
Population -7,49,751
Revenue—About Rs. 40,00,000
Indian State Forces—1. Jey Paltan Infantry 8[illegible]; 2 Pratap Paltan Infantry 331; 3. Alwar Mangal Lancers 158; 4. Garrison Force 28
Salute in guns—15

Banswara—H H. Rai-i-Rayan Maharawal Sahib Shri Sir Pirthi Singhji Bahadur, K C I E Maharawal of—
Date of birth—15th July 1888
Date of succession—8th January '14
Area in sq. miles—1,946
Population—2,93 913
Revenue—Rs. 8,17,726
Salute in guns—15

Bharatpur—Lt Col H. H Maharaja Sri Brajindra Sawai Sir Kishen Singh Bahadur Bahadur Jang, K C S I,
Date of birth—4th October 1899
Date of succession—27th August 1900
Area in sq miles—1,982
Population 496,437
Revenue- Rs. 34,25,000 nearly
Indian State Forces—Jaswant Household Infantry 772, 2nd Ram Singh's Own Infantry—353; 3rd Baretha Infantry—353
Salute in guns—17

Bikaner—General H H Maharajadhiraj Rajeshwar Narendra Shiromani Maharaja Sri Ganga Singhji Bahadur, G C S I, G C I E, G C V O, G B E, K C B., A-D-C, LL D Maharajah of—
Date of birth—13th Oct 1880
Date of succession—31st Aug 1887
Area in sq miles—23,317
Population—1 293,000
Revenue—Rs 1,58,11 000
Indian State Forces—

Ganga Risala (Camel Corps)	532
Sadul Light Infantry	773
Dungar Lancers	
(including H H.'s Body Guard	342
Bijey Battery	246
Camel Battery	20
Artillery Training Centre	158
2nd Battalion, Bikaner State Infantry	697

3rd Battalion, Bikaner State Infantry 362
Training Battalion 413
Motor Machine Gun Sections 100
Salute in guns—Personal 19, Permanent 17.

Bundi—His Highness Hadendra Siromani Deo Sar Buland Raj Maharajadhiraj Saheb Bahadur, G.C.I.E
Date of birth—8th March 1893
Date of succession—8th August '27
Area in sq. miles—2,220
Population—2,49,374
Revenue—Rs. 15,50,000
Salute in guns—17

Dholpur—Lt.-Col. H. H. Rais-ud-Daula Sipahdar-ul-Mulk Maharajadhiraja Sri Sawai Maharaj-Rana Sir Udaibhan Singh Lokindar Bahadur Diler Jang Jai Deo, K.C.S.I., K.C.V.O., Maharaj-Raja of—
Date of birth—25th February 1893
Date of succession—29th March '11
Area in sq miles—1,200
Population—2 3),188
Revenue—Rs. 17,50,000 nearly
Indian State Forces—Dholpur Narsingh Infantry 164; Dholpur Sappers and Miners 75
Salute in guns—15

Dungarpur—H. H. Rai-i-Rayan Mahimahendra Maharajadhiraj Maharawal Sri Lakshman Singhji Bahadur, K.C.S.I., Maharawal of—
Date of birth—7th Mar. '08
Date of succession—15th Nov '18
Area in sq miles—1,460
Population—2,74,282
Revenue—Rs. 8,00,000
Salute in guns—15

Jaipur—H. H. Saramad-i-Rajaha-i Hindustan Raj Rajindra Sri Maharajadhiraja Sir Sawai Man Singh Bahadur, G C.I.E., Maharaja of—
Date of birth—21st August '11
Date of succession—7th September '22
Area in sq. miles—16,682
Population—26,3 ,775
Revenue—Rs. 1,46,00,000 nearly
Indian State Forces—Jaipur Infantry—772 Jaipur Lancers—526; Trpt. Corps—570
Salute in guns—17

Jaisalmer—H. H. Maharajadhiraj Raj Rajeshwar Param Bhattarak Sri Maharawalji Sir Jawahir Singhji Deb Bahadur Yadukul Chandrabhal Rukan-ud-Daula, Muzzaffar Jang, Bijaiman K.C.S I., Ruler of—
Date of birth—18th Nov. 1882
Date of succession—26th June '14
Area in sq. miles—16,062
Population—93,246
Salute in guns—15

Jhalawar—H. H. Dharmadivakar Prajavatsal Patit-pawn Maharaj Rana Shri Sir Rajendra Singh Ji Dev Bahadur, K.C.S.I. Maharaj Rana of—
Date of birth—15th July 1900
Date of succession—18th April '29
Area in sq. miles—813
Population—1,22,375
Salute in guns—13

Jodhpur—Air Commodore His Highness Raj Rajeswar Saramad-i-Rajai-Hind Maharajadhiraj Shri Sir Umaid Singhji Sahib Bahadur, G.C.S I., G.C.I.E., K.C.V.O., A.D.C, LL.D., Maharaja of—
Date of birth—8th July '03
Ascended the throne—3rd October, '18
Area—36,071 sq. miles
Population—21,34,848
Revenue—Rs. 157,71,521
Indian State Forces—
Jodhpur Sardar Rissala—508; Jodhpur Training Squadron—147; Jodhpur Sardar Infantry, including Training Coy. (163) and State Military Band (39)—864; 2nd Jodhpur Infantry—669, Jodhpur Mule Troops—50; Fort Guard—94;
Salute in guns—17

Karauli—H. H. Maharaja Sir Bhompal Deo Bahadur Yadukul Chandra Bhal, K.C.S I., Maharaja of—
Date of birth—18th June 1866
Date of succession—21st August '27
Area in sq. miles—1,242
Population—1,52,413
Estimated Gross Revenue—6,28,000
Salute in guns—17

Kishengarh—H. H. Umdae Rajhae Baland Makan Maharajadhiraja Maharaja Sumair Singhji Sahib Bahadur, (Minor) Maharaja of—
Date of birth—27th January '29
Date of succession—24th April '39
Area in sq. miles—858
Population—1,04,155
Revenue—Rs. 7,50,000
Salute in guns—15

Kotah—Colonel H. H. Maharao Sir Umed Singh Bahadur, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., G.B.E., Maharao of—
Date of birth—15th September 1872
Date of succession—11th June 1889
Area in sq. miles—5,684
Population—6,85,804
Revenue—Rs. 5368 lacs
Salute in guns—19

Pratabgarh—H. H Maharawat Sir Ramsinghji Bahadur, K.C.I.E., Maharawat of
Date of birth—'08

Date of succession—'29
Area in sq. miles—889
Population—91,967
Revenue—Rs. 5,82,000 nearly
Salute in guns—15

Shahpura—H. H. Rajadhiraj Umaid Singhji, Raja of—
Date of birth—7th March 1876
Date of succession—24th June '32
Area in sq. miles—405
Population—61,173
Revenue—Rs. 336,762 nearly
Salute in guns—9

Sirohi—H. H. Maharajadhiraj Maharao Sir Sarup Ram Singh Bahadur, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I. Maharao of—
Date of birth—27th Sept. 1888
Date of succession—29th April '20
Area in sq. miles—1,994
Population—2,33,870
Revenue—Rs. 11,48,771
Salute in guns—15

Tonk—H. H. Said-ud-daula Wazir-ul-Mulk Nawab Hafiz Sir Mohammad Sadat Ali Khan Bahadur Sowlat-i-Jung, G.C.I.E. Nawab of—
Date of birth—13th February, 1879
Date of succession—23rd June '30
Area in sq. miles—2,553
Population—3,53,687
Revenue—Rs.19,30,000 B. C. nearly
Salute in guns—17

Udaipur (Mewar)—Lt. Col. H. H. Maharajadhiraja Maharana Shri Sir Bhopal Singhji Bahadur, G.C.S.I., Maharana of—
Date of birth—22nd February 1884
Date of succession—24th May '30
Area in sq miles—12,753
Population—1,925,000
Revenue—Rs. 80,00,000 nearly
Salute in guns—19

Sikkim State

Sikkim—H. H. Maharaja Sir Tashi Namgyal, K.C.I.E., Maharaja of—
Date of birth—1893
Date of succession—5th Dec. '14
Area in sq. miles—2,818
Population—81 721
Revenue—Rs. 4,33,000 nearly
Salute in guns—15

United Provinces States

Benares—H. H. Maharaja Vibhuti Narayan Singh Bahadur (minor), Maharaja of—
Date of birth—5th November '27
Date of succession—5th April, '39
Area in sq. miles—875
Population—451,327
Revenue—Rs.30,42,921 nearly
Salute in guns—13 (Local 15)

Rampur—Captain H. H. Alijah Farzand-i-Dilpazir-i-Daulat-i-Inglishia Mukhlis-ud-Daula Nasir-ul-Mulk, Amir-ul-Umara, Nawab Sir Saiyid Mohammad Raza Ali Khan Bahadur Mustaid Jung, K.C.S.I., Nawab of—
Date of birth—17th Nov. '06
Date of succession—20th June '30
Area in sq. miles—892·54
Population—464,919
Revenue—Rs. 51,00,000 nearly
Salute in guns—15

Tehri (Garhwal)—Lt. Colonel H. H. Maharaja Narendra Shah, K.C.S.I., of—
Date of birth—3rd Aug. 1898
Date of succession—25th April '13
Area in sq. miles—4,502
Population—3,18,482
Revenue—Rs. 18,30,000 nearly
Indian State Forces—Tehri H. Q. Infantry and Band—100
Tehri Pioneers Narendra—101
" Sappers and Miners—129
Salute in guns—11

Western India States

Bhavnagar—Lt. H. H. Sir Krishnakumarsinhji Bhavsinghji, K.C.S.I., Maharaja of—
Date of birth—19th May '12
Date of succession—18th July '19
Area in sq. miles—2,961
Population—5,00,274
Revenue—Rs. 109,68,020
Indian State Forces—Bhavnagar Lancers—270; Bhavnagar Infantry—219
Salute in guns—13

Cutch—H. H. Maharajadhiraj Mirza Maharao Shri Sir Khengarji, Sawai Bahadur, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E. Maharao of—
Date of birth—23rd Aug. 1866
Date of succession—1st Jan. 1876
Area in sq. miles—8,249,5
Population—5,00,800
Revenue—Rs. 31,00,000 nearly
Salute in guns—17 Perm. 19 Local

Dhrangadhra—Major H. H. Maharaja Shri Ghanshyamsinhji Ajitsinhji, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., Maharaja of—
Date of birth—31st May 1889
Date of succession—February '11
Area in sq. miles—1,167
Population—95,946
Revenue—Rs. 25,00,000 nearly
Salute in guns—13

Dhrol—H. H. Thakor Saheb Shri Chandrasinhji Saheb, Thakor Saheb of—
Date of birth—28 Aug. '12
Date of succession—20th Oct. '39
Area in sq. miles—282·7
Population—27,639
Revenue—Rs. 289,281
Salute in guns—9

Gondal—H. H. Maharaja Shri Bhaga-

vatsinhji Sagramji G.C.S.I. G.C.I.E. **Maharaja of—**
Date of birth—24th Oct 1865
Date of succession—14th Dec. 1869
Area in sq. miles—1,024
Population—2,05,846
Revenue—Rs. 50,00,000 nearly
Salute in guns—11

Junagadh—Captain H. H. Nawab Sir Mahabatkhanji, Rasulkhanji K.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., Nawab of—
Date of birth—2nd Aug. 1900
Date of succession—22nd Jan. '11
Area in sq miles—3,336 9
Population—545,152
Revenue—Rs. 1,00,00,000
Indian State Forces—Junagadh Lancers —173 : Junagadh Mahabatkhanji Infantry 201
Salute in guns—15

Limbdi—Thakor Saheb Shri L. Chhatrasalji Digvijaysinhji, Thakor Saheb of—
Date of birth—19th Feb '04
Date of succession—6th Jan. '41
Area in sq. miles—343·96 (exclusive of about 207 sq miles in the Collectorate of the Ahmedabad).
Population—44,000 nearly
Revenue—Rs. 7,00,000 nearly
Salute in guns—9

Morvi—H. H. Maharaja Shri Lakhdhirji Waghji, G.B E., K.C.S I., Maharaja of—
Date of birth—26th Dec. 1876
Date of succession—11th Jan. '22
Area in sq. miles—822
Population—112,023
Revenue—Rs. 50 lacs nearly
Salute in guns—11

Nawanagar—Lt. Col. H. H Maharaja Jam Shri Sir Digvijaysinhji Ranjitsinhji Jadeja, G C.I.E., K.C.S I., A.D.C., Maharaja Jam Sahib of—
Date of birth—1st Sept. 1895
Date of succession—2nd April '33
Area in sq. miles—3,791
Population—5,04,006
Revenue—Rs. 94,00,000 nearly
Salute in guns—15

Palanpur—Lt. Colonel H. H. Nawab Shri Taley Muhammad Khan Bahadur, G.C.I E., K.C.V.O., Nawab Sahib of—
Date of birth—7th July 1883
Date of succession—28th Sept. '18
Area in sq. miles—1,774,64
Population—3,15,855
Revenue—Rs. 11,64,987
Salute in guns—13

Palitana—H. H. Thakor Saheb Shri Bahadursinhji Mansinhji K.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., Thakor Saheb of—
Date of birth—3rd April '00
Date of succession—29th Aug. '05
Area in sq. miles—288
Population—62,150
Revenue—Rs. 9,00,000 nearly
Salute in guns—9

Porbandar—Captain H. H. Maharaja Shri Sir Natwarsinhji, Bhabsinhji K.C.S.I., Maharaja Rana Saheb of—
Date of birth—30 June '01
Date of succession—10th Dec. '08
Area in sq. miles—642,25
Population—1,46,648
Revenue—Rs. 26,00,000 nearly
Salute in guns—13

Radhanpur—H. H. Nawab Saheb Murtazakhan Jorawarkhan Babi Bahadur Nawab of—
Date of birth—10th Oct. 1899
Date of succession—7th April '37
Area in sq. miles—1,150
Population—70,530
Revenue Rs. 8,000,00 to 10,00,000
Salute in guns—11

Rajkot—H. H. Thakor Saheb Shri Pradumnasinhji, Thakor Saheb of—
Date of birth—24th Feb. '13
Date of succession—17th August '40
Area in sq. miles—2824
Population—1,03,033
Revenue—Rs. 13,40 872 nearly
Salute in guns—9

Wadhwan—H. H. Thakore Saheb Shri Surendrasinhji, Thakore Saheb of—
Date of birth—4th January '22
Date of succession—27th July '34
Area. 242·6 sq. miles excluding the area in the British Indian District of Ahmedabad
Population—50,934
Revenue—Rs. 6 Lacs
Salute—Permanent 9 guns

Wankaner—Captain H. H. Maharana Shri Sir Amarsinhji, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., Maharana Rajsaheb of—
Date of birth—4th January 1879
Date of succession—12th June 1881
Area in sq. miles—417
Population—35,024
Revenue—Rs. 7,67,000
Salute in guns—11

Indian States (without Salute)

Baluchistan State

Las Bela—Mir Ghulam Muhammad Khan Jam of—
Date of birth—December 1895
Date of succession—March '21
Area in sq. miles—7,132
Population—50,696
Revenue—Rs. 3,78,000 nearly

Bihar & Orissa States

Athgarh—Raja Sreekoran Radhanath

Bebarta Patnaik, Raja of—
Date of Birth—28th Nov. '09
Date of succession—22nd June '18
Area in sq. miles—168
Population—55,508
Revenue—Rs.1,76,000

Athmalik—Raja Kishor Chandra Deo
Date of birth—10th November '04
Date of succession—3rd November '18
Area in sq. miles—730
Population—59,749
Revenue—Rs. 1,81,000 nearly

Bamra—Raja Bhanuganga Tribhuman Deb, Raja of—
Date of birth—25th February, '14
Date of succession—1st January '20
Area in square miles—1,988
Population—1,34,721
Revenue—Rs. 5,81,000 nearly

Baramba—Raja Sree Narayan Chandra Birbar Mangraj Mahapatra, Raja of—
Date of birth—10th January '14
Date of succession—20th August '22
Area in sq. miles—142
Population—52,924
Revenue—Rs. 1,03,000 nearly

Baud—Raja Narayan Prasad Deo of—
Date of birth—14th March '04
Date of succession—10th March '13
Area in sq. miles—1,264
Population—124,411
Revenue—Rs. 2,72,000 nearly

Bonai—Raja Indra Deo, Raja of—
Date of birth—6th January 1884
Date of succession—19th February '02
Area in square miles—1,296
Population—68,178
Revenue—Rs. 2 36,000 nearly

Daspalla—Raja Kishore Chandra Deo
Date of birth—16th April '08
Date of succession—11th December '18
Area in square miles—568
Population—53,833
Revenue—Rs. 1,41,993

Dhenkanal—Raja Sankar Pratap Mahendra Bahadur, Raja of—
Date of birth—5th November '04
Date of succession—16th Oct. '18
Area in square miles—1,463
Population—2,33,691
Revenue—Rs 5,13,000 nearly

Gangpur—Raja Bhawani Shankar Sekhar
Date of birth—14th May '1898
Date of succession—10th June '17
Area in square miles—2,492
Population—3,09,271
Revenue—Rs. 6,76,000 nearly

Hindol—Raja Bahadur Naba Kishor Chandra Singh Mardraj Jagadeb, M.R.A.S., F.R.S.A., Raja of—
Date of birth—14th June 1891
Date of succession—10th February '06
Area in sq. miles—312
Population—48,896
Revenue—Rs. 1,45,000

Keonjhar—Raja Shri Balabhadra Narayan Bhanj Deo, Ruler of—
Date of birth—26th December '05
Date of succession—12th August '26
Area in sq. miles—3,217
Population—529,786
Revenue—Rs. 15·56 lakhs nearly

Khandpara—Raja Harihar Singh, Mardraj Bhramarbar Ray, Raja of—
Date of birth—26th August '14
Date of succession—26th December '22
Area in sq. miles—244
Population—54,289
Revenue—Rs. 1,22,000

Kharsawan—Raja Sriram Chandra Singh
Date of birth—4th July 1892
Date of succession—6th February '02
Area in sq. miles—157
Population—44,805
Revenue—Rs. 1,18,000 nearly

Narsinghpur—Raja Ananta Narayan Mansingh Harichandan Mahapatra
Date of birth—9th September '08
Date of succession—5th July '21
Area in sq. miles—207
Population—48,448
Revenue—Rs. 1,29,000

Nayagarh—Raja Krishna Chandra Singh Mandhata, Raja of—
Date of birth—15th August '11
Date of succession—7th Dec. '18
Area in sq. miles—552
Population—1,61,409
Revenue—Rs. 3,92,210

Nilgiri—Raja Kishore Chandra Mardraj Harichandan, Raja of—
Date of birth—2nd Feb. '04
Date of succession—6th July '13
Area in sq. miles—284
Population—73,109
Revenue—Rs. 2,14,589

Pal Lahara—Raja Muni Pal, Raja of—
Date of birth—26th November '03
Date of succession—18th April '13
Area in sq. miles—452
Population—23,229
Revenue—Rs. 75,000 nearly

Rairakhol—Raja Bir Chandra Jadumani
Date of birth—1894
Date of succession—3rd July '06
Area in sq miles—833
Population—31,225
Revenue—Rs. 75,000 nearly

Ranpur—Raja Birbar Krishna Chandra Mahapatra, Raja of—
Date of birth—About 1887
Date of succession—12th July 1899

Area in sq. miles—203
Population—41,282
Revenue—Rs. 65,000

Seraikella—Raja Aditya Pratap Singh Deo, Ruler of—
Date of birth—30th July, 1887
Date of succession—9th Dec. '31
Area in sq. miles—449
Population—156,374
Revenue—Rs. 418,000 nearly

Talcher—Raja Kishore Chandra Birbar Harichandan, Raja of—
Date of birth—9th June 1880
Date of succession—18th December 1891
Area in sq. miles—399
Population—86,482
Revenue—Rs. 8,97,668 gross

Maratha States—(Bombay Presy)

Akalkot—Meherban Shrimant Vijayasingh Fatehsingh, Raja Bhonsle, Raja of—
Date of birth—13th Dec. '15
Date of succession—4th April '23
Area in sq. miles—498
Population—92,605
Revenue—Rs. 7,58,000 nearly

Aundh—Meherban Bhavanrao alias Bala Sahib, Pant Pratinidhi of—
Date of birth—24th Oct. 1868
Date of succession—4th November '09
Area in sq. miles—501
Population—88,762
Revenue—Rs. 3,38,275-12-1

Phaltan—Major Raja Shrimant Malojirao Mudhojirao alias Nana Saheb Naik Nimbalkar, Raja of—
Date of birth—11th September 1896
Date of succession—17th October '16
Area in sq. miles—397
Population—58,761
Revenue—Rs. 8,56,000

Jath—Lt. Raja Shrimant Vijayasinghrao Ramrao Dafle, Raja of—
Date of birth—21st July '09
Date of succession—14th August '28
Area in sq. miles—981
Population—91,099
Revenue—Rs. 4,25,000

Jamkhandi—Meherban Shankarrao Parashramrao alias Appasaheb Patwardhan, Raja Saheb of—
Date of birth—5th Nov. '06
Date of succession—25th Feb, '24
Area in sq. miles—524
Population—1,14,282
Revenue—Rs. 10,06,715

Kurundwad (Senior)—Meherban Chintamanrao Bhalchandrarao alias Balasaheb Patwardhan, Chief of—
Date of birth—13th Feb. '21
Date of succession—10th September '27
Area in sq. miles—182·5
Population—88,760
Revenue—Rs. 3, 76,000 nearly

Kurundwad (Jr).—Meherban Madhavrao Ganpatrao alias Bhausaheb Patwardhan, chief of—
Date of birth—6th Dec. 1875
Date of succession—29th July, 1899
Area in sq. miles—114
Population—34,288
Revenue—Rs. 2,88,000 nearly

Miraj (Sr)—Narayanrao Gangadharrao alias Tatyasaheb Patwardhan, Chief of—
Date of birth—6th September 1898
Date of succession—11th Dec. '39
Area in sq. miles—342
Population—93,938
Revenue—Rs. 4,41,000 nearly

Miraj (Jr)—Meherban Sir Madhavrao Harihar alias Baba Saheb Patwardhan, K.C.I.E., Raja of—
Date of birth—4th March 1889
Date of succession—16th Dec. 1899
Area in sq. miles—196½
Population—40,686
Revenue—Rs. 3,68,515 nearly

Ramdurg—Meherban Ramrao Venkatrao alias Rao Saheb Bhave, Chief of—
Date of birth—16th Sept. 1896
Date of succession—30th April '07
Area in sq. miles—169
Population—33,997
Revenue—Rs. 2,69,000 nearly

Savanur—Captain Meherban Abdul Majid Khan, Diler Jang Bahadur, Nawab of—
Date of birth—7th Oct. 1890
Date of succession—30th January 1893
Area in sq. miles—70
Population—16,830
Revenue—Rs. 1,69,000 nearly

Mahi-Kantha States

Ghodasar—Thakor Shri Fatehsinghji Ratansinji Dabhi, Thakor Saheb of—
Date of birth—7th. Aug. '09
Date of succession—31st May '30
Area in sq. miles—16
Population—6,708
Revenue—Rs. 51,000

Ilol—Thakor Shivsinghji, Thakor of—
Date of birth—31st Dec. '10
Date of succession—18th Oct. '27
Area in sq. miles—19
Population—3,349
Revenue—Rs. 41,000 nearly

Katosan—Thakor Takhatsinhji Karansinhji, Thakor of—
Date of birth—9th Dec. 1870
Date of succession—January '01
Area in sq. miles—10
Population—4,818

Revenue—Rs. 51,000 nearly

Khadal—Sardar Shri Fatehsinhji Rajsinhji, Thakor Shri of—
Date of birth—1899
Date of succession—7th February '12
Area in sq. miles—8
Population—2,825
Revenue—Rs. 35,000 nearly

Malpur—Raolji Shri Gambhirsinhji Himatsinhji—
Date of birth—27th Oct. '14
Date of succession—23rd June '23
Area in sq. miles—97
Population—16,582
Revenue—Rs 1,10,900 approx.

Pethapur—Thakor Fatehsinhji Gambhirsinhji, Thakor of—
Date of birth—3rd Oct. 1895
Date of succession—1896
Area in sq. miles—11
Population—3,938
Revenue—Rs. 34,000 (nearly)

Varsoda—Thakor Joravarsinhji of—
Date of birth—17th April '14
Date of succession—18th July '19
Area in sq. miles—11
Population—3,424
Revenue—Rs. 33,000 nearly

Vijayanagar—Rao Shri Hamir-sinhji
Date of birth—3rd January '04
Date of succession—27th June '16
Area in sq. miles—135
Population—12,000 (approx)
Revenue—Rs. 1,00,000 nearly

Rewa Kantha States

Bhadarwa—Shrimant Thakur Saheb Shree Natvarsinghji Ranjitsinhji, Thakor of—
Date of birth—19th November '03
Date of succession—26th April '35
Area in sq miles—27 (excluding several Wanta villages under Baroda State)
Population—13,520
Revenue—Rs. 1,14 000 nearly

Jambugodha—Meherban Rana Shri Ranjitsinhji Gambhirsinhji, Thakore Saheb of—Parmar Rajput. He enjoys full Civil and Criminal powers.
Date of birth—4th January 1892
Date of succession—27th September '17
Area in sq. miles—143
Population—11,385
Revenue—Rs. 142,000

Kadana—Rana Shri Chatrasalji, Thakor of
Date of birth—28th January 1879
Date of succession—12th April 1889
Area in sq. miles—130
Population—15,370
Revenue—Rs. 1,32,000 nearly

Naswadi—Thakor Ranjitsinhji, Thakor of—
Date of birth—24th March '05
Date of succession—13th Sept. '27
Area in sq. miles—1950
Population—4,197
Revenue—Rs. 33,000 nearly

Palasni—Thakor Indarsinhji, Thakor of—
Date of birth—16th Aug. 1885
Date of succession—30th May '07
Area in sq. miles—12
Population—1,766
Revenue—Rs. 22,000 nearly

Sihora—Thakor Mansinhjee Karansinhjee
Date of birth—14th November '07
Date of succession—13th June '28
Area in sq. miles—19 (approx)
Population—5300
Revenue—Rs. 36,000 nearly

Uchad—Thakor Mohomadmia Jitawaba
Date of birth—15th October 189?
Date of succession—24th June '15
Area in sq. miles—8·50
Population—2,330
Revenue—Rs. 41,000 nearly

Umetha—Thakor Ramsinhji Raisinhji
Date of birth—19 August 1894
Date of succession—1st July '22
Area in sq miles—24
Population—5,355
Revenue—Rs. 73,000 nearly

Central India States

Alipura—Rao Harpal Singh, Rao of—
Date of birth—12th Aug. 1882
Date of succession—26th March '22
Area in sq. miles—73
Population—14,580
Revenue—Rs. 70,000 nearly

Bakhtgarh—Thakur Rai Singh, Thakur of
Date of birth—3rd October 1839
Date of succession—30th May '12
Area in sq. miles—66
Population—10,414
Revenue—Rs 74,000 nearly

Garauli—Diwan Bahadur Chandrabhan Singh, chief of—
Date of birth—2nd April 1883
Date of succession—20th Dec. 1883
Area in sq. miles—31
Population—4,965
Revenue—Rs. 30,000 nearly

Jobat—Rana Bhimsing, Rana of—
Date of birth—10th November '15
Date of succession—20th May '17
Date of getting Ruling Powers—14th March '36
Area in sq. miles—131,20
Population—20,945
Revenue—Rs. 81,550/-

Kachhi-Baroda—Maharaj Benimadho Singh
Date of birth—3rd October '04
Date of succession—13th June '06
Area in sq. miles—34,53

Population—5000
Revenue—Rs. 71000/-

Kathiwara—Rana Thakur Sahib Onkarsinhji, Rana of—
Date of birth—5th December 1891
Date of succession—8th June, '03
Area in sq. miles—70
Population—6096
Revenue—Rs. 44,880

Kothi—Raja Bahadur Sitaraman Pratap Bahadur Singh, Raja of—
Date of birth—26th July 1892
Date of succession—8th August '14
Area in sq. miles—169
Population—20,087
Revenue—Rs. 70,000 nearly

Kurwai—Nawab Sarwar Ali Khan of—
Date of birth—1st December '01
Date of succession—2nd October '06
Area in sq. miles—142
Population—19,851
Revenue—Rs. 2,64,000 nearly

Mota Barkhera—Bhumia Nain Singh of—
Date of birth—7th November '07
Date of succession—4th June '12
Area in sq. miles—39
Population 4,782
Revenue—Rs. 53,000 nearly

Multhan—Dharmalankar, Dharm-bhushan, Dharm-Divaker, Shreeman Maharaj Bharat Sinhji Sahib, Chief of—
Date of birth—1893
Date of succession—26th August '01
Area in sq miles—100
Population—11,804
Revenue—Over Rs. 1,00,000

Nimkhera—Bhumia Ganga Singh, Bhumia
Date of birth—'11
Date of succession—27th March '22
Area in sq. miles—90
Population—5,358
Revenue—Rs. 62,000 nearly

Paldeo—Chaubey Shiva Prasad, Jagirdar of
Date of birth—1st March '08
Date of succession—3rd Oct. '23
Area in sq. miles—53·14
Population—9,038
Revenue—Rs. 50,000 nearly

Piploda—Rawat Mangal Singh, Rawat of
Date of birth—7th September 1893
Date of succession—5th Nov. '19
Area in square miles—35
Population—9,766
Revenue—Rs. 1,14,000

Sarila—Raja Mahipal Singh, Raja of—
Date of succession—11th Sep. 1898
Area in square miles—35,28
Population—6,081
Revenue—Rs. 1,00,000 nearly

Sarwan—Thakur Mahendra Singh
Date of birth—6th November '09
Date of succession—23rd April '21
Area in sq. miles—71
Population—7,199
Revenue—Rs. 60,000 nearly

Sohawal—Raja Bhagwat Raj Bahadur Singh, C.I.E., Raja of—
Date of birth—7th August 1878
Date of succession—23rd Nov. 1899
Area in sq. miles—218
Population—38,078
Revenue—Rs 1,04,000 nearly

Tori Fatehpur—Dewan Raghuraj Singh, Jagirdar of—
Date of birth—28.1.1895
Date of succession—7.4 '41
Area in sq. miles—36
Population—6,269
Revenue—Rs. 31,000 nearly

Central Provinces States

Bastar—Maharaja Pravir Chandra Deo
Date of birth—25th June '29
Date of succession—28th Feb. '36
Area in sq. miles—13,725
Population—6,34,915
Revenue—Rs. 13,20,699

Chhuikhadan—Mahant Bhudhar Kishore Das of—
Date of birth—April 1891
Date of succession—30th Sept. '03
Area in sq. miles—154
Population—26,141
Revenue—Rs. 1,22,000

Jashpur—Raja Bijay Bhushan Singh Deo
Date of birth—11th Jan. '26
Date of succession—8th Feb. '26
Area in sq. miles—1,923
Population—2,23,632
Revenue—Rs. 3,62,342

Kanker—Maharajadhiraj Bhanupratap Deo Chief of—
Date of birth—17th September '22
Date of succession—8th Jan. '25
Area in sq. miles—1,429
Population—122,928
Revenue—Rs. 3,88,000

Kawardha—Thakur Dharmraj Singh Chief of—
Date of birth—18th August '10
Date of succession—4th Feb. '20
Area in sq. miles—805
Population—72,820
Revenue—Rs. 2,93,175 nearly

Khairagarh—Raja Birendra Bahadur Singh, Raja of—
Date of birth—9th November '14
Date of succession—22nd October '18
Area in sq miles—931
Population—157,400
Revenue—Rs. 5,80,000 nearly

Korea—Raja Ramanuj Pratap Singh Deo, Raja of—

Date of birth—9th December '31
Date of succession—November '09
Area in sq. miles—1,647
Population—90,500
Revenue—Rs. 7,00,199

Makrai—Raja Drigpal Shah Hathiya Rai of
Date of birth—24th September '04
Date of succession—30th October '18
Area in sq. miles—155
Population—12,803
Revenue—Rs. 2,01,000 nearly

Nandgaon—Mahant Sarveshwar Das, of—
Date of birth—30th March '06
Date of succession—24th June '13
Area in sq. miles—871
Population—1 47,919
Revenue—Rs. 7,91,000

Raigarh—Raja Chakradhar Singh, Raja of
Date of birth—19th August '05
Date of succession—23rd August '24
Area in sq. miles—1486
Population—2,41,634
Revenue—Rs. 6,46,000 nearly

Sakti—Raja Liladhar Singh, Raja of—
Date of birth—3rd Feb. 1892
Date of succession—4th July '14
Area in sq. miles—138
Population—41 595
Revenue—Rs. 1,20,000 nearly

Sarangarh—Raja Bahadur Jawahir Singh
Date of birth—3rd Dec. 1888
Date of succession—5th Aug. 1890
Area in sq miles—540
Population—1,17,781
Revenue—Rs. 3,14,000 nearly

Surguja—Maharaja Ramanuj Saran Singh, Deo C.B.E., Maharaja of—
Date of birth—4th Nov 1895
Date of succession—31st Dec. '17
Area in sq. miles—6,055
Population—5 51,?07
Revenue—Rs. 7,58,500 nearly

Udaipur—Raja Chandra Chur Prasad Singh Deo, Raja of—
Date of birth—5th. June '23
Date of succession—8th Dec. '27
Area in sq. miles—1 052
Population—71,124
Revenue—Rs 3,23,000

Madras States

Sandur—Raja Srimant Yeshwantha Rao Anna Saheb, Rao Sahib, Hindu Rao Ghorapade, Mamlukatmadar Senapati Raja of—
Date of birth—15th November '08
Date of succession—5th May '28
Area in sq. miles—167
Population—11,684
Revenue—Rs. 2,03,000 nearly

Punjab States

Dujana—Jalal-ud-Daula Nawab Mohammad Iqtidar Ali Khan Bahadur, Mustaqil-i-Jan, Nawab of—
Date of birth—20th Nov. '12
Date of succession—21st July '25
Area in sq. miles—100
Population—25,833
Revenue—Rs. 1,65,000 nearly

Kalsia—Raja Ravi Sher Singh Sahib Bahadur, Raja Sahib of—
Date of birth—30th October '02
Date of succession—25th July '08
Date of investiture with full ruling powers: 6th April '22
Area in sq. miles—192
Population—59,848
Revenue—Nearly Rs. 3,50,000

Pataudi—Nawab Muhammad Iftikar Ali Khan Bahadur, Nawab of—
Date of birth—7th March '10
Date of succession—30th Nov. '17
Area in sq. miles—53
Population—18 097
Revenue—Rs 1,42,000 nearly

Simla Hill States

Baghal—Raja Surendra Singh Raja of—
Date of birth—14th March '09
Date of succession—13th Oct '22
Area in sq miles—124
Population—25 099
Revenue—Rs. 1,00,000 nearly

Baghat—Raja Durga Singh, Raja of—
Date of birth—15th Sept.. '01
Date of succession—30th Dec. '1941
Area in sq. miles—38
Population—9,595
Revenue—Rs. 1,10,000 nearly

Bhajji—Rana Birpal, Rana of—
Date of birth—19th April '06
Date of succession—9th May '13
Area in sq miles—96
Population—14 263
Revenue—Rs. 89,000 nearly

Jubbal—Rana Sir Bhagat Chandra Bahadur K.C.S.I., Ruler of—
Date of birth—12th Oct 1888
Date of succession—29th April '10
Area in sq. miles—288
Population—28,500
Revenue—Rs 8,50 000 nearly

Keonthal—Raja Hemendar Sen, Raja of—
Date of birth—21st January '05
Date of succession—2nd Feb. '16
Area in sq. miles—116
Population—25,599
Revenue—Rs. 1,80,000 nearly

Kumharsain—Rana Vidyadhar Singh,
Date of birth—1895
Date of succession—24th August '14
Area in sq. miles—97
Population—12,227
Revenue—Rs. 75,000 nearly

Nalagarh—Raja Jogindra Singh, Raja of—
Date of birth—1870
Date of succession—18th Sept. '11
Area in sq. miles—256
Population—52,737
Revenue—Rs. 2,71,000 nearly

Tiroch—Thakur Surat Singh, of—
Date of birth—4th July 1887
Date of succession—14th July '02
Area in sq miles—75
Population—4,219
Revenue—Rs. 1,30,000 nearly

Western India States

Bajana—Malek Shri Kamalkhan Jivankhan, Chief of—
Date of birth—6th December '07
Date of succession—2nd Feb. '20
Area in sq. miles—183,12
Population—14,017
Revenue—Rs. 1,82,424 average

Bantwa-Manavadar—Babi Ghulam Moyuddinkhanji Fatehdinkhanji, Chief of—
Date of birth—22nd December '11
Date of succession—October '18
Area in sq. miles—221·8
Population 14,984
Revenue—Rs. 8,46,000 nearly

Chuda—Thakore Shri Bahadursinghji, Jarovarsinhji, Thakur of—
Date of birth—23rd April '09
Date of succession—20th January '21
Area in sq. miles—782
Population—11,838
Revenue—Rs. 2,11,000 nearly

Jasdan—Darbar Shree Ala Knachar, Chief of—
Date of birth—4th November '05
Date of succession—11th June '19
Area in sq. miles—296
Population—86,632
Revenue—Rs 6,00,000 nearly

Kotda-Sangani—Thakore Shri Pradyumna-Sinhji
Date of birth—5th December '20
Date of succession—23 2-30
Date of Installation—10-12-40
Area in sq. miles—90
Population—12,165
Revenue—Rs. 1,50,000 nearly

Lakhtar—Thakore Saheb Shri Balavir-sinhji, Karansinhji, Thakore Saheb of—
Date of birth—11th January 1881
Date of succession—8th August '24
Area in sq. miles—247,438
Population—21,123
Revenue—Rs. 4,49,000

Lathi—Thakore Saheb Shri Pralhadsinhji, Thakore of—
Date of birth—31st March '12
Date of succession—14th October '18
Area in sq. miles—41·8
Population—8,35
Revenue—Rs. 1,86,000

Malia—Thakor Shri Raisinhji Modji, of—
Date of birth—14th February 1898
Date of succession—20th Oct. '07
Area in sq. miles—103
Population—12,660
Revenue—Rs. 3,02,000

Muli—Thakor Shri Harichandrasinhji, of—
Date of birth—10th July 1899
Date of succession—3rd December '05
Area in sq. miles—133·2
Population—16,390
Revenue—Rs. 1,57,000 nearly

Patdi—Desai Shri Raghuvirsinhji, of—
Date of birth—8th Jan. '26
Date of succession—25th Oct. '28
Area in sq. miles—39·4
Population—2,508
Revenue—Rs. 1,14,000

Sayla—Thakor Saheb Shri Madarsinhji, Vakhatsinhji, Thakor Saheb of—
Date of birth—28th May 1868
Date of succession—25th Jan '24
Area in sq. miles—222·1
Population—13,851
Revenue—Rs. 2,54,000

Thana Devli—Darbar Shri Vala Amra Laxman, Chief of—
Date of birth—28th Nov. 1895
Date of succession—12th Oct. '23
Area in sq. miles—94·21
Population—11,348
Revenue—Rs. 3,00,000 nearly

Tharad—Waghela Bhumsinhji Dolatsinhji Thakor of—
Date of birth 28th Jan. '00
Date of succession—19th Feb. '21
Area in sq. miles—1,260½
Population—52,839
Revenue—Rs 99,000 nearly

Vadia—Darbar Shree Suragwala Saheb Chief of—
Date of birth—15th March '05
Date of succession—7th Sept. '30
Area in sq. miles—90
Population—13,749
Revenue—Rs. about 2 lacs

Zainabad—Malek Shri Aziz Mahomed Khanji Zainkhanji, Talukdar of—
Date of birth—21st June '17
Date of succession—26th January '28
Area in sq. miles—80
Population—3,456
Revenue—Rs. 1,200,000 nearly

Chronicle of Events

January 1943

Mr. V. D Savarkar presided over the All-India Committee of the Hindu Mahasabha, which met at Cawnpore The Committee accepted a resolution authorising the President to select office-bearers for the next year. Among others—Dr Shyama Prosad Mukherji (Working President), Bhai Paramanand and Mr. N C. Chatterjee (Vice-Presidents), Dr B. S. Moonje and Mr Ashutosh Lahiri (General Secretaries) were selected office-bearers.

Allama Mashrique exhorted Khaksars in New Delhi to work for Hindu Moslem Unity and said that no humanity would win freedom by fighting other Communities.

The Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras sent a letter to the Editors of English and Vernacular papers in Madras which did not publish the New year Honours List, withdrawing the facilities to receive copies of Press Communiques, Press Notes and other materials officially released to Press

Mr. N. R Sarkar, Commerce Member, Government of India, stated in Calcutta —"If the present position in respect of foodgrains continued, exports of foodgrains from the country would be completely stopped after March, 1943".

The ban on Khaksars in Bengal was withdrawn

Mr L. S. Amery, Secretary of State for India, stated in London : "Whatever transformations or modifications there might be in the future constitution of India, the Ruling Princes in India and their able advisers were bound to play a very large part".

The Reserve Bank of India issued a Press communique stating that the Bank would shortly issue a Bank Note of the denomination of Rs 2 in accordance with the direction of the Central Government.

The Government of Madras issued orders, re · Press privileges, cancelling their earlier direction to the Heads of Departments and other officers not to give advertisements to them

The Central Government prohibited the bringing into British India of any document containing any words, signs, or visible representations of the nature described in Sub. Sec (1) of Sec 4 of the Indian Press Act.

M Atay, Leader of the Turkish Press delegation, at a Press Conference at Rawalpindi, said that the Treaty Alliance between Turkey and Great Britain had stabilised Anglo-Turkish relations.

Mr. L. S. Amery, in reply to Mr. Sorenson, in the House of Commons re : raising the ban on contact between non-Congress representatives and Congress leaders, said that as the decision was taken by Government of India, he was not prepared to interfere.

At the All-India Sikh Youth Conference, in Lahore, Sadar Bahadur Ujjal Singh presided. He exhorted the Sikh youths to join the Army in as large numbers as possible.

1st. The Nawab Bahadur of Dacca, Minister for Agriculture and Industries, in a New year Message to the people of Bengal gave an assurance that there was no cause for anxiety regarding the rice situation in the province as a whole.

The All-India Committee of the Hindu Mahasabha met at Cawnpore. Mr. V. D. Savarkar presided.—The Committee at the outset accepted a resolution authorising the President to select office-bearers for the next year. The Committee approved of the names proposed by Mr. Savarkar in consultation with Mahasabha leaders.—The following were selected office bearers for the ensuing year: Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukherji (Working President): Dr. P. V. Naidu, Mr. B. G. Khaparde, Mr. N. C. Chatterji, Rai Bahadur Harish Chandra, Bhai Paramananda and Sir Gokul Chand Narang (Vice-Presidents): Dr. B. S. Moonje and Mr. Ashutosh Lahiry (General Secretaries); and Mr. Chandra Gupta Vedalankar and Mr. G. V. Ketkar, (Secretaries).

2nd Mr. D. N. Wadia, in his presidential address at the 30th Session of the Indian Science Congress in Calcutta, made a suggestion for preventing world wars in the future. The method Mr. Wadia advocated was that the supply and the free movement of a few ferro-alloys and a few strategic key minerals for non-industrial uses should be controlled by some central organization.

Allama Mashrique who arrived in New Delhi from Madras exhorted Khaksars to work for Hindu-Moslem Unity and said no community would win freedom for itself or for the country by fighting other communities.

Ex-Premier Allah Bux as President of the Azad Muslim Board, in a statement on the decisions of the Hindu Mahasabha at Cawnpore, said: "I appeal to Mr. Jinnah at this juncture to take the initiative in his hands and bring about a settlement with the Congress. We, Azad Muslims, welcome ever more for a National Government based on a Congress-League settlement."

3rd. Mr. N. R. Sarker, Commerce Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council, met representatives of a number of Chambers of Commerce and Commercial Associations at a Conference at the Bengal National Chamber of Commerce in Calcutta, when the food supply problem was discussed. The Commerce Member admitted that the control schemes initiated by the Government had not yielded the results they had expected. It should be appreciated that in the absence of any scheme for control, the situation would have been even worse.

The Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras sent to the editors of English and Vernacular papers in Madras which did not publish the New Year Honours List, the following letter.—"I am directed to state that as you have not published the New Year Honours List, the Government have decided to withdraw the facilities given to your reporters to go over to the secretariat to receive copies of Press Communiques, Press Notes and other materials officially released to the Press. This decision will take effect immediately."

4th. Mr. Nalini Ranjan Sarker, Commerce Member, Government of India, in his presidential address at the 6th Session of the Indian Statistical Conference in Calcutta, stressed the important role played by Statistics in modern civilized life.

The Indian Science Congress concluded its deliberations in Calcutta—Subjects relating to different branches of Science including Anthropology and Archaeology, Physics, Medical and Veterinary, Botany and Physiology were discussed.

5th. Mr. N. R. Sarker, Commerce Member, Government of India, at a meeting he had with the Committee of the Indian Chamber of Commerce, in Calcutta, stated "If the present position in respect of foodgrains continued, exports of food-grains from the country would be completely stopped after March, 1943."

In the Central Legislative Assembly, formula for a political settlement was suggested in a resolution admitted for discussion.

6th. A notification in the Calcutta Gazette stated that the ban on Khaksars in Bengal had been withdrawn.

The Government of the N. W. F. Province withdrew the ban on Khaksars.

Dr P. V. Naidu, Vice President of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha, expressed the view in Madras, that the British government must immediately concede the demand for the constitution of a National government for India, that they must not encourage any proposal emanating from any party, whatever its importance might be, jeopardising the integrity of the country.

The Committee of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry, in a communication to the Government of India expressed anxiety over "the serious shortage of cloth and the consequent abnormal rise in its price which is causing great hardships to the masses in the country." The Committee requested them to put an embargo on export of cloth till such time as enough stocks were available in the country to meet the local requirements.

7th. Mr. A. K. Fazlul Haque, leader of the Progressive Coalition Party in the Bengal Legislature, in a Press statement, suggested certain alternative schemes to those recommended by the Bengal Land Revenue Commission.

Mr. L. S. Amery, Secretary of State for India, speaking at a luncheon of the Overseas League, given in honour of the Jam Sahib of Nawangar, in London, said: "Whatever modifications or transformations there might be in the future constitution of India, the Ruling Princes in India and their able advisers were bound to play a very large part."

8th. The Bengal Association of Master Printers and Allied Industries in a resolution adopted by them, made the suggestion that instead of commandeering 90 per cent of the production of paper-mills, the government of India should release ⅓rd. of such production for the use of the public.

9th. The Rt. Hon'ble V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, addressing a gathering in Madras, declared that the great ideal that had inspired him from the time of his entry into politics and which he had scrupulously tried to practise during the course of his public life was to pursue the path of forbearance (shanti) and not to give place to temper politics.

Sir Henry Twynam, Governor of C. P., opening the Lakshminarayan Institute of Technology at Nagpore, paid a tribute to the munificence of the late Rai Bahadur Lakshminarayan, who donated Rs 35 lakhs for the Institute.

Dr. T. S. Rajan, ex-Minister commenting on the Madras Government's action in withdrawing Press privileges from newspapers, observed "It is a silly expression of impotent anger against the popular press by the Madras Government."

The Government of Orissa issued a Press Note addressing all Oriyas, who left their employment in Calcutta following the air raids on the City to return there as soon as possible in their own interests.

10th. The General Council of the Anjuman Himayat-i-Islam, Lahore at a meeting unanimously resolved to commemorate the memory of the late Sir Sikander Hyat Khan by (a) building a "Sikander Hall" in the Islamia College for girls and (b) by founding Sir Sikandar Military Academy in the Islamia College for boys.

11th. Sir Jogendra Singh, Member for Education, Health and Lands, at a Press Conference in New Delhi, reviewing the results of the "grow more food" campaign, gave figures to indicate that the increase of 7.6 million acres under rice and millets, which was set as the goal for the previous year had been achieved.

Sir Azizul Haque the High Commissioner for India in a broadcast from London, made an appeal to the people of Britain to help the victims of the Cyclone, which occurred in Midnapore in S. W. Bengal.

12th. Mr. Jayathiram, Chief Secretary to the C. P. Government at a special Press Conference at Nagpur announced the news of a settlement between Professor Bhansali and the C. P. Government, leading to the former undertaking to break his fast.

Mr. Jayathiram said that the order issued under the Defence of India Rules banning publication of all news about Professor Bhansali on December, 1942, had been withdrawn.

Mr. N. R. Sarker, Commerce Member, Government of India, had discussions in New Delhi, with the Assam Governor, Sir Andrew Clow in regard to the food position in Assam vis-a-vis the disposal of the province's surplus of 40,000 tons of rice.

Her Highness the Dowager Maharani Gajaraja Sahiba of Gwalior passed away at Gwalior at the age of 49.

13th. The Directorate of Civil Supplies, Government of Bengal, drew up a comprehensive scheme for the distribution of sugar in Calcutta and the districts of Bengal.

The Government of Orissa issued a Press Note on the damage caused by the Cyclone in Puri district on November 15, 1942.

14th. Sir Maurice Hallett the Governor of the United Provinces, addressing the opening session of the Central Advisory Board of Education at Lucknow, stressed education's part in post-war reconstruction and the importance of discipline in Schools, Colleges and Universities.

15th. The Reserve Bank of India issued the following Press Communique:— *"The Reserve Bank of India will shortly issue from its Issue Offices in India a* Bank note of the denomination of Rs. 2 in accordance with the direction of the Central Government *in terms of the provisions of Sec. 24 of the Reserve Bank* of India Act (II of 1934).

The Government of Bengal decided to take a census of the area of land under cultivation of various crops in the province and also their yields in 1943-44, in order to find the exact scope "of the grow more food" campaign in the province.

H. E. Sir Roger Lumley, Governor of Bombay, gave an assurance in Bombay, after his return from New Delhi, that allotments of food were made to Bombay province from other provinces which, provided they were fulfilled, should keep Bombay both in the city as well as in the districts well upto April.

16th. Mr. V. D. Savarkar, President of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha nominated the following to be members of the Working Committee: Mr. Gulab Chand Hirachand, Mr. A. S. Bhide, Mr. B. V. Gogte and Mr. Anand Priyaji.

17th. Mr. K. M. Munshi, delivering the inaugural address of the Nagpur Press Club, said: The cry of Pakistan was created, fostered and stimulated by the British Government for its own purposes and it will be utter self-delusion that the Hindu Muslim problem is a local one created by us and that we can solve it. My own view is that we should refuse to be bullied by anybody, whether in this country or outside, into conceding anything which will in any-way militate against the unity of the country".

18th. The Government of Bombay served an order, under the Criminal law Amendment Act, on Bachraj and Co intimating them that the Government intend to forfeit Rs. 70,000 believed to be funds belonging to the All-India Congress Committee deposited with the Hindustan Sugar Mills Ltd, in the Sitapur District, U. P.—Bacharaj and Co. were the managing agents of the mills.

The Hon'ble Dr. B R, Ambedkar, presiding over the hundred and first anniversary of the late Mr Mahadev Govinda Ranade at Poona, declared: I honestly think that only Ranade's political philosophy can help us to break the deadlock and march on".

Two resolutions were tabled by Sir Ziauddin Ahmed dealing with Food and Price Control to be discussed in the Budget session of the Central Assembly.

19th. The 1st report issued by the Civil Defence H.Q Bengal, on information received from combined H.Q. Eastern India, stated: "A small formation of enemy bombers attacked the Calcutta area between 21,00 hrs. and 22 00 hrs. on January 19".

Urgent steps were taken by the Bengal Government to relieve the coal supply position in Calcutta.

At an emergent meeting of the Executive Committee of the Indian Languages Newspapers Association in Bombay, Government's intention to effect a cut in the newsprint supply for 1943 was criticized.—Mr. Amritalal Seth presided.

20th The Nawab Bahadur of Dacca, Minister for Agriculture and Industries, at a Press Conference in Calcutta, announced the decision of the Government of of Bengal to set up an organization of selected importers and distributors throughout Bengal to ensure equitable distribution over the whole province at fair prices of essential commodities imported at known prices.

Following the communication announcing the restoration of Press privileges to newspapers from which they stood withdrawn, the Government of Madras issued orders cancelling their earlier direction to the Heads of Departments and other officers not to give advertisements to them.

21st. Mr. L. S. Amery said in the House of Commons that the question of shipping wheat to India to tide over until the new crop was available, was being urgently considered by the British Government.

The eighth session of the National Defence Council opened at the Viceroy's House, New Delhi.—The Hon'ble the Home Member presented a brief review of the internal situation which was followed by a discussion.

At a Conference between Mr. Somerset Butler, Controller of Foodgrains Purchase, Government of India and some representative businessmen of Calcutta, in the premises of Bengal Chamber of Commerce, questions relating to the Government scheme for maintaining food supply in the country were discussed.

Mr. L. S. Amery, in reply to a question in the House of Commons, re: relief work in Bengal, said:—"For the organization of relief the affected area

has been divided into 54 circles, each circle in charge of a full-time relief officer who places and co-ordinates the work of the Government, voluntary relief workers and relief of organizations. The latter are undertaking the distribution of immediate gratuitous relief with food, clothing and other necessities, while the Government attend to long-term relief, such as loans to rebuild houses, reorganizing business and the purchase of cattle and agricultural implements".

22nd. The Government of India, in order to relieve low-paid establishments, decided to liberalise, with effect from the 1st January, 1943, the dearness allowance scheme for Central Government servants other than railway employees.

The Central Government prohibited the bringing into British India of any document containing any words, signs or visible representations of the nature described in Sub Sec. (1) of Sec. 4 of the Indian Press Act.

The immediate closure of schools in the city and suburbs without any chance of revival unless Government came forward with financial help was visualised in a resolution adopted at a Conference of Heads of various school in Calcutta.

23rd. Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, addressing a Conference convened by the Madras Youth Council, in Madras, to discuss problems connected with National Government and National Defence explained his proposals for a Congress-League settlement.

24th. The Jam Sahib of Nawanagar, one of India's representatives on the British War Cabinet, arrived at Karachi.

The National Defence Council met at the Viceroy's House, New Delhi, H. E. the Viceroy presided. The C. in C. reviewed the war situation. The policy of the Government of India in relation to the dearness allowance was explained by Dr. Ambedkar and discussed.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah addressing a meeting of the Muslim Federation in Bombay, declared "The key to resolving the present deadlock primarily rests with Mr. Gandhi and the Congress leaders: if they show real and genuine desire it is possible to solve the problem".

Malik Khizar Hyat Khan Tiwana, the Punjab Premier, was unanimously elected leader of the Punjab Unionist Party at the 1st meeting of the Party at Lahore

The Government of Orissa advised the rice and paddy cultivators not to dispose of their saleable stocks of rice and paddy to private speculative buyers as those persons generally offered unduly low prices whereas the Central Government would make big purchases at reasonable prices under the Central Purchases Scheme

25th Mr. N. R. Sarker, Commerce and Food Member, Government of India, speaking at a Press Conference in New Delhi, announced that "in order to provide early relief for the wheat shortage, the Government have arranged for substantial imports of wheat during the coming 3 months".

A meeting of the Sind Cabinet was held at Karachi to consider the Government of India order lifting price control on wheat

His Excellency Sir Maurice Hallett, Governor of U. P., speaking at an A. R. P. rally at Benares, said: 'I do not pretend to be a military expert, but it may well be that Japan, if driven out of the islands of the Pacific Ocean, will concentrate her forces on an attack against India. That attack will fail, but there may be much 'blood, toil, tears and sweat' before it is defeated; we must be prepared to meet it".

26th. The contributions of the late Sir Gooroodas Banerjee to Bengal's educational and cultural life were recalled at a public meeting in Calcutta. Dr. Shyama Prosad Mukherjee presided.

34 persons including 12 women were arrested at Chaupati (Bombay) where a crowd had collected to hold a meeting in connexion with the Independence Day.

A Bengal Government Press Note said: "Now that the Government of India has announced the policy of Central purchase of foodgrains and the decontrol of the wholesale price of wheat, it is possible for the Bengal Government to announce its corresponding policy"

The under-Secretary of State for India, the Earl of Munster, when asked in the House of Lords about "the famine situation in India" said: "The food situation in India is difficult but it is not a famine situation. The shortage affects only urban and a few rural areas".

M. Atay, Leader of the Turkish Press delegation at a Press Conference a Rawalpindi, declared: "The Treaty Alliance between Turkey and Great Britain has stabilised Anglo-Turkish relations and it will influence not only the position in the Middle East for this war but also the coming problem of peace and the period following the peace agreement".

The Travancore Council held its session in the Council Chamber at Trivandrum. Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, Dewan president, was in the chair.

28th. Mr. Amery was asked in the House of Commons by Mr. Sorenson (Labour) to raise the ban on contact between Non-Congress representatives and Congress leaders to enable them to discuss possible political developments.—Mr. Amery replied: "Decision in this matter was taken by the Government *of India and I see no reason to ask them to reconsider it.*

Mr. Amery replying to questions regarding food shortage, recalled the Government of India's statement that if hoarded stocks could be got on the market and fairly distributed, there was little danger of the people having to go seriously short.

Sardar Sant Singh, in a resolution admitted for discussion in the Central Assembly, suggested the formation of a Committee of the Central Assembly and the Council of State to examine the system of Control of the necessaries of life and report by the middle of March on how to ensure an equitable distribution of those articles.

29th. Twenty members of an alleged revolutionary gang, who according to the Police, were responsible for a number of bomb outrages in Bombay, were arrested.

Sir Baron Jayatilaka, Ceylon Government representative in India, forwarded *to his Government the reply of the Government of India, relating to his* Government's request for 20,000 Indian labourers for rubber plantations.

30th. A series of resolutions were passed by the Working Committe of the Bengal Provincial Muslim League, which met at Kishoregunj. By one resolution, the Committee protested against the manner in which "the Government are delaying elections to the seats rendered vacant by the death of Muslim members of the Legislature". It was asserted that this delay was "due to the fear that the Ministry has of being defeated at the elections."

A press Note said, "Consistently with the policy of fair buying and honest selling, the Government of Bengal have allowed a small increase in the maximum prices of sugar in Calcutta."

Various matters relating to the cotton textile industry in Bengal were discussed by Mr D. N. Chaudhuri, in his presidential address at the annual general meeting of the Bengal Millowners' Association in Calcutta.

Professor N. Gangulee, commenting on the statement made by Mr. Amery, Secretary of State, that there was no famine and no widespread prevalence of food shortage in India said. "British public is still ignorant of the true food situation in India and whatever news from India has come conclusively proves that Mr. Amery was wrong."

A Gazette Extraordinary announced that the Punjab Government cancelled their order of September 1942, requiring all printers publishers, and editors of newspapers and periodicals, published in the Punjab, to submit before publication for scrutiny to the Special Press Adviser, Lahore.

Sardar Bahadur Ujjal Singh, M. L. A. presiding over the All-India Sikh Youth Conference held in Lahore, made a call to the Sikh Youths to join the military in as large numbers as possible.

31st. At the All-India Sikh Youth Conference which concluded in Lahore, a decision to take a referendum on the question of redistribution of the boundaries of the Punjab with a view to establishing "*Azad Punjab*" was taken.

February 1943

His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner died in Bombay.

Lala Duni Chand Ambalvi, a Congress member of the Punjab Assembly, placed the Congress view point regarding the political situation in India before Mr. William Phillips, President Roosevelt's Personal Envoy.

Sir Baron Joyatilaka, the Ceylon Government's representative, observed : "India and Ceylon cannot afford to be bad friends."

Mr. Frank B. Anthony, President-in-chief of the Anglo-Indian and Domiciled European Association, emphasized at Bangalore, the necessity for the Anglo-Indians to face the economic and political problems in a spirit of stern realism

Mahatma Gandhi decided to undertake a fast of three weeks' duration from the 10th. of February.

The Secretary of State for India, Mr. L S. Amory in answer to Mr. Vernon Bartlet, said that conditions in India were not famine conditions.

Plans for a memorial in Britain to Dr. Rabindra Nath Tagore were discussed by the executive committee of the Tagore Society.

The Central Legislative Assembly passed Mr Baijnath Bajoria's adjournment motion censuring Government on their Paper Control Order.

Mr. N R. Sarker, Food Member, replying to Mr. K C Neogy, said in the Central Legislative Assembly . "The Government of India are not committed to the supply of any specific quantity foodstuffs to Ceylon

Messages urging the release of Mahatma Gandhi were sent to the Viceroy by several leading Indian merchants and business organizations in the country.

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, a new party to be called 'The Bengal Parliamentary Labour Party' was to be formed.

In the Bengal Assembly, Mr A. K. Fazlul Huq, fore-shadowed enhanced taxation in his Budget estimates for the year 1943 44.

A Press Communique from New Delhi stated 'The Hon Sir H P. Mody, K.B E , the Hon. Mr. N. R Sarker and the Hon. Mr M S. Aney having tendered their resignations of the office of members of the Governor-general's Executive Council, H E. the Governor general has accepted their resignations "

Sir James Taylor, K. C. I E , Governor of the Reserve Bank of India, died in Bombay.

A joint statement issued by Mr. M S. Aney Mr. N. R. Sarker and Sir H. P. Mody observed, inter alia "Certain differences arose on what we regarded as a fundamental issue (the issue of the action to be taken on Mahatma Gandhi's fast), and we felt we could no longer retain our offices.'

The Bengal Legislative Council passed a resolution requesting the Bengal Government to move the Government of India for the immediate and unconditional release of Mahatma Gandhi

Mr V. D. Savarkar, President of the Hindu Mahasabha suggested that a national appeal to Mahatma Gandhi himself be made to break his fast.

The Private Secretary to the Viceroy sent a reply to Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, who communicated the Leaders Conference resolution urging Mahatma Gandhi's unconditional release to Lord Linlithgow, which stated inter alia · "The attitude of the government of India in the matter of Mr. Gandhi's fast is set out clearly and in detail in the communique which they issued on Feb. 10."

At a meeting of the Working Committee of the All Parties Sikh Conference in Lahore, under the presidentship of Sardar Baldeo

Singh, it was decided to send a telegram to His Excellency the Viceroy urging the immediate unconditional release of Mahatma Gandhi in the interest of peace and future relations of Great Britain and India.

An 86 page booklet entitled "Congress Responsibility for the Disturbances, 1942-43," related the troubles which followed "the Sanctioning of a mass movement by the A. I C C on Aug 8, 1942."

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, Dr. Nalinakshya Sanyal raised a point of constitutional importance when he saught a ruling from the chair, as to whether the House had a right to know what advice a Minister had tendered to the governor in relation to a particular matter.

1st. Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President of the All-India Muslim League, in an address to the students of the Ismail College, Bombay, emphasising the Muslim League's demand for Pakistan vis-a-vis the political deadlock in the country, declared that it was a matter of commonsense that if the two principal parties made combined efforts then the British government would yield.

Mr. Rajagopalachari, speaking at the Ravenshaw College Commemoration Day celebrations at Cuttack, said that whenever the question of Pakistan was raised, there was opposition to it on the ground that it would break the unity of India He wanted people not to get confused about the word unity

The annual conference of the Behar Provincial Muslim League, held at Patna, passed resolutions drawing the attention of the Government to the shortage of small coins and demanding the exemption of Muslims from collective responsibility in respect of damage caused during the disturbances in the Province.

The following were elected office-bearers of the Central Administration of the European Associations for 1943—President—Mr. C. P. Landson, M. L. A. (Central) ; Vice-Presidents, Mr. M. A. F. Hirtral, M. L. A. (Calcutta), and Mr. W. J. Williams (South India) ; Hon. Secretary, Mr. R S. Aathus (Calcutta).

2nd. His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner passed away after a short illness at his residence at Bikaner House in Bombay.

Mr. L. S. Amery, Secretary of State for India and Burma, in a written answer to a parliamentary question outlined plans for the re-establishment of normal life in Burma after the eviction of the Japanese.

An India Command Joint War communique stated from New Delhi "On the Assam Front our forward patrols are now operating in the Town area in the Upper Chindwin District."

Mr. C P. Landson, (chairman) addressing the ordinary annual meeting of the Calcutta branch of the European Association, held in Calcutta, referred to the Indian political problem and said that the Association felt that constitutional changes should be held in abeyance during the period of the war.

Among non-official resolutions ballotted for discussion in the Central Assembly on Feb. 18, were two, in one of which Pandit Nilkantha Das urged immediate steps to implement the Federal part of the government of India Act and in the other, Mr. K. C Neogy recommended the suspension of the Central Legislature.

Dr. B. S Moonje, in a press interview in New Delhi, suggested an "unofficial army" of 1,100,000 Indians—a lakh from each province to be trained by the Government of India, particularly in guerilla warfare, to stand as a second line of defence behind the fighting forces. This unofficial army, he added, would be used to maintain order in the country in times of emergency.

M. Sadak of the Turkish Press Mission, speaking at a luncheon in Calcutta, said : "In the course of our sojourn in the country, it has been possible for us to go and come in contact with the people and appreciate the entire civilization of India, old as well as new."

Mr William Phillips, President Roosevelt's Personal Envoy, arrived at Lahore on a week's visit to the Punjab.

3rd. M. Atay, leader of the Turkish Press delegation, replying to an address of welcome by the Mayor of Calcutta, paid a handsome tribute to India's war effort.

Dr. Syed Abdul Latif, in a statement to the Press at Hyderabad, made an appeal to the Muslim League leaders to come to an agreement with the Congress and the British Government to solve the impasse in India.

Mr. S. Satyamurti, M. L. A., (Central) was ordered to be released by the government of Madras on medical grounds.

4th. The Congress view-print regarding the political situation in India was placed before Mr. William Phillips, President Roosevelt's Personal Envoy, by Lala Duni Chand Ambalvi, a Congress member of the Punjab Assembly.

Mr. N R. Sarker, Commerce Member, Government of India, when he met the Committee of the Association of Indian Industries in Bombay, declared: Export of foodgrains from India has been considerably curtailed during recent months and imports came to less than three days' rice consumption of India.

5th. Sir Baron Joytilaka, the Ceylon Government's representative in Delhi, observed: "India and Ceylon cannot afford to be on bad terms"

Of the 11 adjournment motions tabled for the opening day of the Central Legislative Assembly, 4 sought to raise a debate on the food position They were tabled by Sardar Sant Singh, Mr. K. C. Neogy, Mr. G. V. Deshmukh and Mr B Banerjea.

Sir Tenant Sloan, Adviser to the Governor of the United Provinces, at a Press Conference at Lucknow, said that a considerable number of persons detained under Rules 26 and 120 had already been released and it was the policy of Government to release such persons as soon as their further detention was considered to be unwarranted

6th. The Executive Committee of the Sind Journalist Association requested the Government to withdraw the order served on the editor of the *Sind Observer* "directing him to submit editorial comments for pre-censorship for a month.

The Nationalist Party in the Bengal Legislative Assembly decided to send a representative for inclusion in the Bengal Cabinet to fill the vacancy caused by the resignation of Dr. Shyama Prosad Mukherji.

Mr. Frank B. Anthony President-in-chief of the Anglo-Indian and Domiciled European Association, addressing a public meeting at Bangalore, emphasised the necessity for the Anglo-Indian community to face the economic and political problems that would confront them in an India which was soon going to be free, in a spirit of stern realism, and to formulate their future policy accordingly.

7th. Mr. M. N Roy, at a meeting in Calcutta on the occasion of the observance of "Peoples Freedom Day", explained "the fundamental principles of a genuinely democratic constitution guaranteeing to the people of India the freedom they need."

Dr K. Lakshmanswamy Mudaliar, Vice-Chancellor of Madras University, in his address on the occasion of the annual founder's day of Annamalai University, refuted the criticism that Indian Universities had failed to fulfil their purpose and the higher education as imparted in India had not turned a success.

8th Sir John Herbert, Governor of Bengal, visualized the part that the Rotarians the world over would play in achieving "a world ideal of brotherhood of man, in sharp contrast to the selfish objectives of Axis nations."

Mr. N R Sarker, Member for Food and Commerce addressing the 2nd. meeting of the Food Advisory Council, in New Delhi said that the statistical position of food crops of the year, though not quite satisfactory, was not such as to justify any undue alarm or panic

Proposals for the renewals of grants during the year 1943-44 for the development of the handloom, Sericulture in small scale and cottage woolen industries were approved by the Standing Finance Committee at its meeting held in New Delhi. Sir Jeremy Raisman the Finance Member, presided. The grants agreed to amounted to Rs. 5 lakhs in the case of the 1st. and to Rs 1 lakh each in the case of the 2nd. and 3rd.

9th. Mr. M. A. Karani gave notice of an adjournment motion in the Central Assembly to discuss the Government of India's "failure to take the Legislature into confidence in respect of very important lands of the country for which the Governor-general is compelled to issue ordinances."

Dr. P. Subbarayan, former Madras Minister, in a Press statement made an appeal to Mr. Jinnah to take steps to end the political deadlock in the country.

10th. Mahatma Gandhi decided to undertake a fast of three weeks' duration from the 10th of January.—A Government of India Press Communique issued in this connection said that it was to be a fast according to capacity and during it, Mahatma Gandhi proposed to add juices of citrus fruit to water to make the

water drinkable, as his wish was not to fast to death but to survive the ordeal.

The Central Assembly began its budget session.

The Working Committee of the Bengal Provincial Muslim League nominated Mr. M. A. Jinnah for the presidentship of the next session of the All India Muslim League.

Pandit L. K. Maitra (Nationalist Party) gave notice of two adjournment motions in the Central Assembly to discuss Mahatma Gandhi's fast and the situations created therefor.

11th. The Secretary of State for India, Mr. Amery told the House of Commons: "Mr. Gandhi was in his normal state of health when he decided yesterday to undertake "fast."

The Central Assembly passed by 32 votes to 28, Mr. Baijnath Bajoria's adjournment motion censuring Government on their Paper Control order. The Nationalist Party, the Muslim League and the Europeans voted for the motion.

The Secretary of State for India reported in the House of Commons to a question by Mr. Vernon Bartlet (Independent) suggesting that instead of shipping wheat to India to relieve famine conditions there he should initiate discussions with the Government of the Union of South Africa for the purchase of maize.—Mr. Amery said that conditions in India were not famine conditions. The immediate request of the Government of India was for wheat and he had no reason to think that maize would be an acceptable substitute.

In the Central Assembly, Mr. N. R. Sarker, Food Member, replying to Mr. K. C. Neogy, said: "The Government of India are not committed to supply of any specific quantity of foodstuffs to Ceylon. They have, however, undertaken to assist Ceylon in respect of her primary grain requirements as far as may be possible having regard to India's corn and food position from time to time."

12th. In the Central Legislative Assembly, Mr. C. M. Trivedi read out an answer to a question on the situation in the E. and S. borders of India.

The Central Assembly resumed discussion on Mr. Neogy's resolution urging an inquiry by a committee of members of the house into allegations of excesses committed by the police and the military in dealing with the disturbances in the country.

The annexures containing Mahatma Gandhi's letter to the Viceroy on August 14, 1943, the Viceroy's reply thereto and Mahatma Gandhi's letter to the Government of India were released for publication together with the Gandhi-Viceroy Correspondence.

In the Bengal Legislative Council, members belonging to different parties combined in paying tributes to the life and work of Sir Thomas Lamb at the opening of the Budget Session of the Council.

13th. Messages urging the release of Mahatma Gandhi were sent to the Viceroy by several leading Indian merchants and business organizations in the country.

The Working Committee of the All-India Nationalist League, Mr. Jamnadas Mehta presiding, passed a resolution expressing concern at the correspondence between the Viceroy and Mahatma Gandhi which culminated in the fast. The resolution expressed the fear that, in view of his age and the duration of the fast, danger of serious results to his health and life could not be minimised, and it should be the duty of every one to explore every method by which his life could be saved.

Mr. Sayed Abdul Aziz, in the course of his convocation speech at Aligarh University said: "A little reflection will show that the relationship of Hindus and Muslims in India is like that of two brothers, who living under one roof, find themselves at variance in regard to different matters and on the verge of hostility, but, who once they have independent establishments of their own, find their relationship more cordial as a result of which they unite together in the common and of affection for their parents and other members of the family".

A Salute of 125 guns proclaimed the accession of H. H. Sir Sadul Singhji Bahadur to the "Gadi" of Bikanir.

14th. The Bombay Government issued the following bulletin on Mahatma Gandhi's condition :—"Mr. Gandhi continues to be troubled with nausea and broken sleep and his condition is not so satisfactory as yesterday".

Sir Maurice Hallett, Governor of the U. P. addressing the Council of the U. P. Merchants' Chamber at Cawnpore, said: "We have a vast task before

us, first to win this war, then face the economic, social and political problems which will at once arise. Do not let us indulge in mean destructive criticisms. Let us unite and co-operate ; if we do so, we shall shorten the war, and what is even more important, will get a new order in the peace".

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, a new party was formed, which was to be called, "The Bengal Parliamentary Labour Party", with two of eight Labour Members, namely Mr Aftab Ali and Mr. J. M. Gupta —The programme of the party would be drawn up in consultation with the various trade unions at a conference.

The Governor of Bihar, by a proclamation, decided to suspend those provisions of the Government of India Act which required ⅓th of the members of the Legislative Council to retire after 3 years.

The Indian Air Training Corps Scheme for the Univer'ies of India, was inaugurated at Aligarh University by Air Vice-Marshal A C Collier, representing Air A. C.

15th. Sir Edward Benthall, Transport Member, in his Budget Statement in the Central Assembly, reviewing a year of "unparalleled activity and prosperity" for Indian state-owned railways, continued that "prosperity is illusory. But although critics will give railways little credit for it, I would remind the House that it has been earned not as in other industries by a heavy increase in the price of what we offer, transport, but mainly by making the best of available equipment".

Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President of the All-India Muslim League, expressed his inability to join the proposed Conference at Delhi of prominent leaders to discuss the situation arising out of Mahatma Gandhi's fast

A resolution by the Central Committee of Communist Party of India, said · "Mahatma Gandhi's statement have swept off every obstacle, every prejudice, that stands in the way of our great patriotic parties uniting among themselves and with the peoples of the United Nations".

In the Central Legislative Assembly, Pandit L K Maitra moving an adjournment motion on Mahatma Gandhi's fast, appealed to members of the House to set aside all political considerations and unite in demanding the "immediate and unconditional" release of a great Indian who he said was revered by all.

In the Council of State, Mr V. V. Kalikar moved an adjournment motion demanding the "unconditional release of Mr Gandhi".

16th. The Central Legislative Assembly rejected without a division, Sardar Sant Singh's adjournment motion to discuss the restrictions placed on the *Hindusthan Times*, Delhi with regard to the publication of news relating to Mahatma Gandhi's fast

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, Mr. A K Fazlul Huq foreshadowed taxation in his Budget estimates for the year 1943-44. The yield of the proposed enhanced taxation was estimated at Rs 34 lakhs

In the Council of State non-official resolutions figured on the agenda of the Council.

17th. A communique issued by the Bombay Government on Mahatma Gandhi's health said 'Mr. Gandhi had a better day on the whole on Tuesday, but his general condition continues to cause anxiety"

A Press Communique from New Delhi stated ; "The Hon. Sir H P. Mody, K. B. E. the Hon. Mr. N R. Sarkar and the Hon Mr M S Aney having tendered their resignations of the offices of Members of the Governor General's Executive Council, H. E. the Governor General has accepted their resignations".

Sir James Taylor, K. C. I. E Governor of the Reserve Bank of India, died in Bombay.

In the Central Legislative Assembly, Sir Jeremy Raisman, Finance Member, replying on behalf of the Home Member informed Sir Ziauddin Ahmed that 40 Conferences and Committee Meetings were convened by the civil departments of the Government of India from April, 1942, to Feb 1 1943.

In the Bengal Legislative Council, Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq presented the Budget. He confined his observations to the salient features of the Budget.

In the Central Legislative Assembly, discussion on India's food, fuel, drugs and cloth situation was continued.

18th. The following communique was issued by the Bombay Government about Mahatma Gandhi's health :—"The following is the report on Mr. Gandhi's

condition up to this afternoon :—"Although Mr. Gandhi had a total of 9 hours sleep he is not refreshed nor mentally alert. "There is other evidence of euremia which is progressive. "The heart action is feebler. "Anxiety as to his condition deepens. Sd. Dr. M. D. D. Gilder, Maj Gen. R. H. Candis, Dr. B. C. Roy, Lt. Col. M. G. Bhandari, Dr. Sushila Nayar & Lt. Col. B. Z. Shah,"

A joint statement issued by Mr. M. S. Aney, Mr. N. R. Sarkar and Sir H. P. Mody said :—"Our resignations from the Governor-General's Council have been announced and all that we desire to do is to say by way of explanation that certain differences arose on what we regarded as a fundamental issue (the issue of the action to be taken on Mahatma Gandhi's fast), and we felt we could no longer retain our offices. We wish to place on record our appreciation of the courtesy and consideration the Viceroy had extended to us throughout the period during which we had the privilege of being associated with him in the Government of the country."

In the Central Legislative Assembly, Sir Edward Benthall, Transport Member, in reply to Sir Ziauddin Ahmed declared that the physical damage caused to railway assets on the B. and N. W. Railway and E. I. Railway as the result of the political disturbances amounted in round figures to Rs. 16 lakhs and Rs. 14 lakhs respectively.

In the Bengal Legislative Council, a supplementary demand for a grant for the current year amounting to over Rs. 3 crores was presented by Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq.

Mr. L. S. Amery, in answer to a question in the House of Commons, said : "I am content to leave the question of interviews with Mr. Gandhi to the discretion of the Government of India."

19th The Bombay Government issued a communique re : Mahatma Gandhi's health, which stated inter alia : "There is little change in the general condition except increasing weakness."

About 200 leaders, Hindu, Muslim, Parsi and British from all parts of the country met in New Delhi to give expression, as Mr C. Rajagopalachari said, "to the feeling in this country that Mahatma Gandhi should be enabled to end his fast."

The drafting Committee of the Conference adopted a resolution urging the release of Mahatma Gandhi and in view of the reports received about his health, the committee resolved to send the draft resolution to the Viceroy for immediate action.

The Bengal Legislative Council passed a resolution requesting the Bengal Government to move the Government of India for the immediate and unconditional release of Mahatma Gandhi.

In the Central Legislative Assembly, during the general debate on the Railway Budget, Sir Ziauddin Ahmed suggested that the railways were being run neither as a purely business concern nor as a purely public utility concern but as a mixture of both and as one or the other according as the Government liked.

20th. Mr. V. D Savarkar, President of the Hindu Mahasabha, suggested, "a national appeal to Mahatma Gandhi himself to break his fast, the only way now, which is likely to prove more effective than any other to save his life."

The Bombay Government issued the following communique about Mahatma Gandhi's condition : "Mr. Gandhi's condition has changed considerably for the worse. His condition is very grave. (Sd) Dr. B. C. Roy, Maj-Gen. R. A. Candy, Dr. M. D. D. Gilder, Dr. S. Nayar, Lt. Col. M. G. Bhandari, Lt. Col. B. Z. Shah."

The Private Secretary to the Viceroy sent the following reply to Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, who communicated the Leaders' Conference resolution urging Mahatma Gandhi's unconditional release to Lord Linlithgow —"His Excellency asks me to say that he has received and considered the resolution adopted by the conference under your chairmanship, of which you were good enough to send him a copy today.... The attitude of the Government of India in the matter of Mr Gandhi's fast is set out clearly and in detail in the communique which they issued on Feb. 10."

At the Leaders' Conference in New Delhi, Dr. M. R. Jayakar, moving the resolution urging the unconditional release of Mahatma Gandhi, said that his plea was that Mahatma Gandhi's release was essentially necessary in the interests of fairness and justice.

21st. The Bombay Government issued a communique stating that Mahatma Gandhi was entremely weak and if the fast was not ended without delay, it might be too late to save his life.

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, at a Press Conference in New Delhi, said : 'We should be prepared for the worst but I should very strongly deprecate any demonstration leading to the disturbance of the peace."

The Standing Committee of the Leaders' Conference held a discussion in New Delhi, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru presiding, on the Viceroy's reply to the resolution passed by the conference with regard to the request for the release of Mahatma Gandhi, and unanimously approved a cable to be sent to the Prime Minister, Mr. Churchill.

The annual meeting of the Numismatic Society of India was held at Jaipur. Sir Mirza Ismail, Prime Minister, Jaipur, delivered the inaugural address.

At a meeting of the Working Committee of the All-Parties' Sikh Conference held at Lahore under the presidentship of Sardar Baldeo Singh, Development Minister, Punjab, the situation created by Mahatma Gandhi's fast was discussed. The meeting decided to send a telegram to His Excellency the Viceroy urging the immediate unconditional release of Mahatma Gandhi in the interests of peace and future relations of Great Britain and India.

22nd The doctor's report on Mahatma Gandhi's condition stated that he rallied from a crisis and slept for about 5½ hrs.

The Bengal Legislative Council had a brief session when the excess demands for a grant of about Rs. 50,000 for 1940-41, presented to the House by Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, at an earlier meeting came up for consideration.

An 86-page booklet entitled "Congress Responsibility for the disturbances, 1942-43" related the troubles which followed "the sanctioning of a mass movement by the A. I. C. C. on Aug. 8, 1942."

"The "*Manchester Guardian*", in the course of a leader on Mahatma Gandhi said : "What the India Government and our government have to consider is not merely the barren question as to who is responsible for the disorders of last autumn, but the question as to what sort of India with what new and harder problems to solve will face us if Mr. Gandhi dies.'

The Central Legislative Assembly concluded discussion on the motion moved by Mr. N. R. Sarker, "that the situation in this country as regards food, fuel, drugs and the production and distribution of standard cloth be taken into consideration."

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, a point of constitutional importance was raised by Dr. Nalinakshya Sanyal when he sought on a point of order, a ruling from the chair, as to whether the house had a right to know what advice a Minister had tendered to the governor in relation to a particular matter.

The Council of State held a general discussion on the railway budget.—Sir Edward Benthall referred to the manufacture of locomotives in India, and said that the Government had already decided to manufacture them in India. He referred to the recommendations of the Humphrey—Srinivasan Committee.

23rd. The medical report on Mahatma Gandhi's condition stated that there was no appreciable change to record.

In the Central Legislative Assembly, Sir Edward Benthall, the Transport Member, Government of India, in the course of the debate on problems of post-war reconstruction, indicated the possibility of railways running air services in India after the war.

In the Bengal Legislative Council, Mr. Kamini Kumar Dutt, Leader of the official Congress Party, and Khan Bahadur Saiyed Muazzamuddin Hossain, Leader of the Muslim League Opposition, participated in the general discussion of the Budget.

Mr. Roosevelt received telegrams from a number of Americans including Pearl Buck, asking him to use his good offices to urge the unconditional release of Mahatma Gandhi and reopening negotiations between British and Indian leaders.

24th. The medical report on Mahatma Gandhi's condition stated that Mahatma Gandhi's general condition showed a slight improvement

Mr. Churchill, replying to the cable sent to him by the Leaders' Conference Committee urging Mahatma Gandhi's immediate release, endorsed the Government of India's policy.

In the Bengal Legislative Council, general discussion on the Budget was continued.

The Central Legislative Assembly concluded discussion on the Railway Budget which was passed.

In the Council of State, the necessity for giving the executive authority a free hand in all matters concerning the prosecution of the war was stressed.

25th. The medical report on Mahatma Gandhi's condition stated that he had made no further progress. There was no appreciable change in his condition.

The Secretary of State for India, Mr. L. S. Amery, answering questions in the House of Commons, said that the British Government entirly agreed with the decision of the Government of India not to yield to Mr. Gandhi's efforts to enforce his unconditional release.

The Bengal Legislative Council concluded general discussion of the Budget.

In the Central Legislative Assembly, the Defence Secretary, Mr. C. N. Trivedi introduced a Bill further to amend the Indian Army Act of 1911 and the Indian Air Force Act of 1932.

26th Prayers for "all those devoted to the service of India and especially for Mr. Gandhi" were offered by the Bishop of Southwork at St. Martin-in-the-fields.

Mr. N. R. Sarkar, who resigned from the Viceroy's Executive Council, issued a statement regarding his resignation.

Mr. R. R. Haddow, in his presidential address at the annual general meeting of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce in Calcutta, explained the attitude of the European commercial and industrial interests, as represented by the Chamber, towards the crisis in India as also towards the wider issue of India's political and constitutional future.

The time of the Bengal Legislative Council was occupied with the discussion of the supplementary demand for the current year amounting to over Rs. 3 crores presented by the Chief Minister, Mr. A. K Fazlul Huq

Plans for a memorial in Britain to Dr. Rabindra Nath Tagore were discussed by the Executive Committee of the Tagore Society

A report received from Palghat said that Mr. P Achutha Menon, I. C. S. Collector of Guntur, was appointed Agent-general for India in Washington, in succession to Sir G. S. Bajpai.

27th. Sir Jeremy Raisman, Finance Member, introducing the India Budget for 1943-44, in the Central Legislative Assembly disclosed a revenue deficit of Rs. 94,66 crores for the current year and a prospective deficit of 60.28 crores next year on the basis of existing taxation.—The Finance Member urged the need for economy in personal expenditure. He said that during the war there was an obvious alternative to private spending which most powerfully assisted the war effort—investment in loans of the Government of India on the largest posible scale.

The Government of Bombay served an order on the keeper of the *Janmabhoomi Mudranalaya* declaring the Press to be forfeited to His Majesty.

28th. The Bombay Government issued a press communique on Mahatma Gandhi's condition "Mr Gandhi's general condition shows improvement. He is alert and in good spirits."

The Sargent Committee appointed by the Central Advisory Board observed: "If India wants her children to be taught properly, she must be prepared to pay her teachers properly or face the alternative which is permanent inferiority in the society of civilized nations'.

A large number of visitors saw Mahatma Gandhi and most of them were his personal friends or his own relatives.

March 1943

Mahatma Gandhi broke his fast on the 3rd. March at 9-34. I.S.T. All the six doctors who had been attending on him during his 21 days fast were present.

Sir Bijay Prosad Singh Roy, former Revenue Minister, was elected President of the Bengal Legislative Council.

Some Associations and Congress Committees were declared unlawful

under the Indian Criminal Law Amendment Act · The All-India Spinners' Association in College Street and Ashutosh Mukherjee Road, Calcutta, Burdwan District Congress Committee, Katwa Sub-divisional Congress Committee and Katwa Town Congress Committee (suspended)

The Council of State held a general discussion on the Budget—Sir K. V. Menon dwelt on the urgent need of mitigating the hardships caused by the rise in prices, especially of foodstuffs.

Sir M. Usman, Leader of the House, declared "No restrictions have been placed by the Afghan Government specifically against Indian traders and nationals in Afghanistan."

Mr. M. A. Jinnah was re-elected President of the All-India Muslim League.

In the Central Legislative Assembly, Sir Sultan Ahmed, Leader of the House, indicated the prospect of two more sessions instead of the usual Autumn session in September

The All-India non-Congress leaders who met in Bombay, expressed the opinion that both the government and the Congress should reconsider their policy and their talks with Mahatma Gandhi led them to believe that a move for reconciliation would bear fruit.

Mr. L. S. Amery, Secretary of State for India, in a speech at Birmingham emphasized the part played by the Dominions and India, in the war

His Majesty the King was graciously pleased to approve the continuance in office of the Hon. Sir Reginald Maxwell, K.C.S.I. C.I.E Home Member, Government of India

The Sargent Committee appointed by the Central Advisory Board of Education, made recommendations for a minimum rational scale of salaries for teachers in schools of all grades.

Master Tara Singh, in his presidential address at the 4th All-India Akali Conference observed inter alia "I deprecate any differences between the Hindus and the Sikhs but I wish to mould the latter into a separate political entity with independent thought".

Mr. J. Van Manon, formerly general secretary, Royal Asiatic Society, Bengal, died in Calcutta.

The Pir Pagaro was sentenced to death by a Martial Law Court, for conspiring to wage war against the King.

The Central Legislative Assembly passed the Tobacco Excise Bill

The All-India Indian Christian Conference put forward the demand that a round table conference should be convened immediately in India to solve the political problems.

Mrs. Sarojini Naidu was released from detention on grounds of health.

The Pakistan Day was observed on the 23rd. March--Mr Jinnah sent a message to the Muslims of India, stating that the 'Pakistan Scheme' was the final national goal of Muslim India.

In the Central Legislative Assembly, a Bill to validate marriages between Hindus belonging to the same "gotra" or 'pravar' and between Hindus belonging to different sub divisions of the same caste was discussed.

Sardar Gurubux Naurang, presiding over the 3rd Pracl ar Conference of the Sikhs of northern India, observed · The Sikhs as a nation are prepared to forego all their claims to communal representations at the altar of nationalism if the Muslims and others also give up their claims and the communal award......ceases to exist."

Mr. S. Satyamurti died in Madras.

Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq resigned his office as Chief Minister of Bengal.

H. E. the Governor of Bengal brought into force Sec. 93 of the Government of India Act, 1935, and took upon himself the administration of the Province.

In the Council of State, General Sir Alan Hartley said that the Government were considering the extension of the Indian Air Training Corps to four of the universities besides Aligarh.

1st. In the communique issued by the Bombay Government on Mahatma Gandhi's condition, it was stated that he was in good spirits.—It was the 21st. day of Mahatma Gandhi's fast.

Dr. Y H Ku, leader of the Chinese Educational Mission, addressing Press correspondents in Delhi, said: 'Our mission is simple The Generalissimo has sent us here, in response to the kind invitation of H. E. the Viceroy, representing the Government and people of India, to make a first-hand study of various educational and cultural institutions throughout India."

The food position in Bombay was reviewed at a meeting of the Food Advisory Council, Bombay. Mr. H. F. Knight, Adviser to the Governor, presided.

Sir Maurice Hallett, Governor of the U. P. in an appeal in connexion with Red Cross week, said that the U. P. should aim at collecting Rs. 30 lakhs during the year 1945.

In the Sind Legislative Assembly, the general discussion of the budget concluded.—The Premier and Finance Minister, Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah, replying to the debate, rebutted the charge that the revenue returns had been underestimated.

Mr. Syed Nausher Ali, ex-Minister, was elected speaker of the Bengal Legislative Assembly.

In the Orissa Legislative Assembly, Pandit Godavaris Misra, Finance Minister, in presenting the Budget, disclosed a deficit of Rs 3,81 lakhs in the Budget estimate for 1943-44.

2nd. The Central Legislative Assembly agreed to Sir Edward Benthall's resolution recommending certain interim changes (as wartime arrangement) in the convention of 1924, separating Railway Finance from General Finance.

In the Council of State, an adjournment motion by Mr A Imam seeking to discuss "the unsatisfactory arrangement between H. M. Government and the Government of India regarding defence expenditure" was disallowed by the President, Sir David Devadoss, on the ground that the subject could be discussed during the general debate on the new Budget.

Sir Bijoy Prasad Singh Roy, former Revenue Minister, was elected President of the Bengal Legislative Council.

3rd. Mahatma Gandhi broke his fast at 9. 34. I.S.T. All the six doctors who had been attending on him during his 21 days' fast were present. Besides the doctors, only inmates of the detention camp were present.

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, Mr. Santosh Kumar Basu, Minister for Public Health and Local self-Government introduced the Bengal Vagrancy Bill, whereby Government proposed to take powers to collect all genuine vagrants and place them in homes established by the Government

The Central Legislative Assembly passed Mr Mohd. Abdul Gani's Bill to provide for the better administration of Muslim wakfs in Delhi Province as reported and amended by the joint committee. Two amendments by the mover were also incorporated.

The Sind Legislative Assembly passed by 24 votes to 3, a non official resolution on Pakistan moved by Mr. G. M Syed, a member of the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League.

In the Bengal Legislative Council, when the Bill introduced by the Revenue Minister to amend the Non-Agricultural Tenancy (Temporary Provisions) Act 1940 came up for consideration, the President after consulting the opinions of the Minister-in-charge and party leaders, postponed consideration of the Bill.

The following Associations and Congress Committees were declared unlawful under the Indian Criminal Law Amendment Act :—The All-India Spinners' Association in College Street and Ashutosh Mukherjee Road, Calcutta, Burdwan

District Congress Committee, Katwa Subdivisional Congress Committee and Katwa Town Congress Committee (suspended)

Haripala Congress office (Hooghly District) known as the "Haripal Kalyan Sangha" was declared as a place used "for the purpose of unlawful association".

4th. In the Punjab Legislative Assembly, supplementary estimates of expenditure for the current year, aggregating Rs. 2,38,00,000 were presented by Sir Manohar Lal, Finance Minister.

The Central Legislative Assembly passed Mr. Govind Deshmukh's Reciprocity Bill providing that persons domiciled in any British possession shall be entitled only to such rights and privileges as regards entry, travel, residence, acquisition, holding and disposal of property, educational facilities, franchise, the holding of public office or the carrying on of any occupation, business, trade or profession in British India as are accorded by the law or administration of such possession to persons of Indian origin.

5th In the Punjab Legislative Assembly, Sir Manohar lal, Finance Minister anticipated a surplus of Rs. 6 lakhs in the current years on the basis of the revised estimates and a likely surplus of Rs 50 lakhs in the coming year.

In the Orissa Legislative Assembly, the Budget proposals were discussed.

The Bengal Legislative Council passed a non-official resolution urging the allotment of "sufficient funds" in next year's Budget "for small irrigational projects" in E and N. Bengal "for the purpose of reclaiming cultivable waste lands."

In the Central Legislative Assembly, strong support for the Budget proposals was expressed by Sir Henry Richardson, leader of the European group, opening the general debate on the Budget.

6th. The Council of State held a general discussion on the Budget.—Sir K. R. Menon dwelt on the urgent need of mitigating the hardships caused by the rise in prices, especially of foodstuffs

Sir M Usman, Leader of the House, declared "No restrictions have been imposed by the Afghan Government specifically against Indian traders and nationals in Afganistan.

7th. Mr. M. A. Jinnah was re-elected President of the All-India Muslim League.

At the session of the All-India Muslim League Council, the Secretary of the League announced in New Delhi, that all Provincial Leagues had unanimously recommended Mr. Jinnah's name for the presidentship The Council thereupon re-elected Mr. Jinnah as President

Dr B. C. Roy presiding at a meeting of the staff and students of the Calcutta University in observance of the Thanks giving Day for the successful termination of Mahatmaji's fast, revealed what Mahatma Gandhi had said after the fast was over :

"I do not know why Providence has saved me on this occasion. Possibly, it is because he has some more mission for me to fulfil.'

At the meeting of the Muslim League Council in New Delhi, the position of the Muslim members of the Punjab Legislative Assembly in relation to the League was explained by the Punjab Premier. Lt. Col. Malik Khizar Hayat Khan.

8th The Central Legislative Assembly rejected without a division Sardar Sant Singh's motion to discuss the repressive policy of the government."

In the Assam Legislative Assembly, Mr Abdul Matin Chaudhuri, Finance Minister, disclosed an estimated revenue deficit of Rs 10,10,000 in introducing the Assam Budget for 1943-44.

In the Bengal Legislative Council, the food situation was discussed, when the Government policy in this regard was criticised.

9th. In the Bengal Legislative Council, a statement reviewing the food situation in the province was made by the Nawab Bahadur of Dacca, Minister for Commerce and Labour, when the discussion on the resolution tabled by the Muslim League opposition relating to the problem of food supply was resumed.

In the Central Legislative Assembly, the prospect of two more sessions instead of the usual Autumn session in September was indicated by Sir Sultan Ahmed, Leader of the House.

10th. The Central Legislative Assembly rejected by thirty nine votes to twenty four the cut motion moved by Mr. Yusuf Haroon, Muslim League member from Sind, to discuss the administration of Martial Law in Sind.

In the Council of State, replying to Mr. Hossain Imam's supplementary

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question, Sir Mahomed Usman, Member for Posts and Air Services, gave the following assurance: "The question of protecting the best interests of the Muslim and other minority communities in my departments is under the active consideration of the Government.

The Council of State resumed discussion of Mr. Dalal's resolution relating to the utilization of sterling balances held in London.

In the Assam Legislative Assembly, general discussion of the Budget was initiated by Mr. Baidyanath Mukherji.

The authorities of the Calcutta University received a letter from the Educational Commissioner, Government of India, asking them to recommend 5 or 6 post-graduate students who would like to go to China under the Government of India's scheme for the exchange of research students between Universities in China and India.

The All India Leaders, who met in Bombay at the residence of Mr. M. R. Jayakar, issued the following statement :—' We are of opinion that the deplorable events of the last few months require a reconsideration of their policy both by the Government and the Congress. The recent talks which some of us have had with Gandhiji lead us to believe that a move for reconciliation at the present juncture will bear fruit"

Mr. V. D. Savarkar, in a statement to the Press said "The resolution regarding Pakistan passed by the Muslim League majority in the Sind Assembly is an indication of a general policy which is likely to be followed by those few legislatures and those local or district representative institutions which the Muslim Leagues or Muslims in general may happen to hold in their grip."

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, the House rejected by 92 to 78 votes, the Muslim League opposition's amendment which sought to censure the Government for its alleged failure to tackle satisfactorily the food situation in the province.

In the Assam Legislative Council, a statement on the rice position in Assam was made by Sir M. Saadulla, Premier, replying to a debate raised through a resolution moved by Mr. Satyendra Mohan Lahiry who urged stoppage of export of rice from the province.

11th. Mr. L S. Amery, Secretary of State for India, was asked in the House of Commons about the Conferences of non-Congress leaders at Delhi and Bombay.— Mr. Amery said : "I have no statement to make regarding this, which, so far as I know, has not yet been communicated to the Government of India."

In the Bengal Legislative Council, the desirability of the government making their decision on the recommendation of the Floud Commission and giving effect to it within the next financial year was urged.

The Bengal Government in a Press note declared categorically that there would be no statutory maximum price for wholesale transactions in paddy or rice.

The Central Legislative Assembly began the debate on the first reading of the Finance Bill.

12th. Mr. L. S. Amery, Secretary of State for India, in a speech at Birmingham emphasized the part played by the Dominions and India in the war.

Tributes to Mahatma Gandhi were paid by the M P.'s, Mr. Rhys Davies, Mr. Samuel Silverman and Mr. W. G. Cove and by the novelists, Vera Brittain and Ethel Mannin, at a Press Luncheon Conference held by the Committee of Indian Congressmen in Britain, in London.

The Bengal Legislative Council adopted a non-official resolution urging that 90 p. c. of the expenditure on civil defence measures in the province be met from Central revenues. The Governor was requested to make a representation to the Government of India.

The Budget debate in the Assam Assembly concluded.

Mr. J. Jones, Chairman of the Indian Tea Association, addressing that body's annual meeting in Calcutta, said : "Despite difficulties arising out of the war, tea gardens of N. E. India produced the greatest crop that has ever been made and also maintained the high standard of manufacture which was established when crops were smaller."

A Communique stated : "His Majesty the King has been graciously pleased to approve the continuance in office of the Hon. Sir Reginald Maxwell, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., Home Member in the Government of India for a further period."

In the Central Legislative Assembly, on the resumption of the debate on the 1st. reading of the Finance Bill, Sir Ziauddin Ahmed commented on the

preference shown to the textile industry by the supply department at the expense of other industries particularly leather.

13th. In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, Mr. A. K Fazlul Huq, Chief Minister, announced the decision of the Government of Bengal to set up a permanent Court for adjudication of labour disputes, as was done in Bombay.

Proposals for supplementary grants, to meet excess expenditure in a few departments in 1942-43, were approved at a meeting of the Standing Finance Committee held in New Delhi—Sir Jeremy Raisman, Finance Member to the Government of India, presiding.

The Sargent Committee appointed by the Central Advisory Board of Education to consider the question of training, recruitment and condition of service of teachers, made recommendations for a minimum national scale of salaries for teachers in schools of all grades, both in the rural and urban areas, and for employing only qualified and well trained teachers in the schools.—The report was forwarded to Provincial Governments for action.

The Select Committee appointed by the Orissa Legislative Assembly approved the Orissa University Bill with certain important changes.

14th. Master Tara Singh, in his presidential address at the 4th. All-India Akali Conference held at Bhowanigarh (Patiala State), observed : "I deprecate any difference between the Hindus and the Sikhs, but I wish to mould the latter into a separate political entity with independent thought. Certain Hindus, with the backing of a powerful press, like to dominate Sikh politics and they cannot brook any independent thinking on our part. The Azad Punjab scheme will free the Hindus and the Sikhs alike from the shackle of Muslim domination. I am prepared to give up the scheme only if the Hindus convince me of its negative value to them."

15th. In the Central Legislative Assembly, an authoritative statement on communal representation in the services of the Supply Department was made by Mr. F. A. Mackeown, Joint Secretary, when the debate on the first reading of the Finance bill was resumed.

A Press Note from New Delhi said : "It has been decided to create several posts of Regional Food Commissioners for the better co-ordination and control of food supplies all over India including the Indian States and to assist all governments in the application of the All-India places for dealing with food matters. This decision is the result of unanimous recommendation made to the Government at the 2nd All-India Food Conference held here in February."

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, the decisions of the Government of Bengal on the Land Revenue Commissioner's recommendations were announced by Mr. P. N. Banerjee, Revenue Minister.—The Commission had recommended the abolition of Permanent Settlement and acquisitions by the State of all rent-receiving interests with a view to bringing the cultivators directly under the government.

16th. In the Central Legislative Assembly, Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, Labour Member, replying to charges of government "extravagance" in the use of paper, pointed out that, while shortage of paper did exist, there was no acute suffering. He gave figures of publication in England and India and said that, while in England in 1940, 11,000 publications were issued, the figure for India was 15,000.

17th. In the Central Legislative Assembly, by 48 votes to 21, the 1st. reading of the Finance Bill was passed. The motion that the Bill be taken into consideration was passed.

When the House resumed discussion of the Bill, Dr. P. N. Banerjee, Leader, Nationalist Party complained that the Finance Member's reply in the question of sterling balance was unsatisfactory and asked that a committee of the House be appointed to place itself in touch with the currents of thought abroad and safeguard the interests of the country.

Mr. T. S. Pillay, Joint Secretary, Commerce Department, following the recommendations of the International Tea Committee that the existing international tea agreement among tea producers be extended beyond March 31, 1943, for the period of hostilities and two financial years thereafter, a Bill was introduced in the Central Assembly to make necessary amendment to the Tea Control Act, 1938.

The death occurred at the Presidency General Hospital, Calcutta of Mr. John Van Manen, formely General Secretary, Royal Asiatic Society, Bengal.

18th. Mr. L. S. Amery, Secretary of State for India was asked if he had considered the report of the Bombay Conference of Non-Congress Leaders and what response had been made to their plea —He replied: "The resolution passed by the Bombay Conference contemplated an approach to the Viceroy. I an not aware that any such approach has yet been made. Meantime, I am not prepared to make any further statement on the matter of the resolution".

Mr. M. S. Aney, addressing the Yeotmal District Association, at Yeotmal, said: "I stand today for the same principles and the same line of action that I stood for when I accepted office, and I believe it is necessary to co-operate with the Government in the war efforts to defeat the Axis Powers."

A Sind Government Communique stated: "The Pir Pagaro has been sentenced to death by a Martial Law Court on a charge of conspiring to wage war against the King."

Mr. A. C. Sen, President, Bengal National Chamber of Commerce, presiding over the annual meeting of that body in Calcutta, discussed the position regarding supply of foodstuffs, particulaly rice and atta.

The Central Assembly passed the Finance Bill without division, after agreeing to official amendments of minor character.

Sir Purushottamdas, Chairman of the Imperial Indian Citizenship Association, addressed a letter to the Government of India regarding Ceylon's request for Indian labour.

19th. Sir Maharaj Singh, delivering his presidential speech at the 25th. Session of the All-India Conference of Indian Christians, in New Delhi, said: I feel even at this late stage that a small Conference of Hindu, Muslim, Indian Christian, Sikh and Parsi leaders should be convened to deal with the present political situation, for there cannot be peace in India or full co-operation in the war effort while thousands of our fellow countrymen are in detention and sabotage continues".

The Assam Legislative Assembly passed all demands for grants under police, public health, education (other than European) and medical. The cut motions were either lost or withdrawn.

20th. The Rt. Hon Sir John Colville, Governor-Designate of Bombay, arrived in Karachi.

The Central Legislative Assembly passed the Tobacco Excise Bill by 42 votes to 23. The Muslim League and Nationalists voted agaist the Bill.

A number of questions were put in the Assembly, on the appointment of Maj Gen. Wood as Administrator-General, Eastern Frontier Communications in Mar. 1942.

The Council of State held a 2 min. sitting when the Secretary laid on the table the Indian Finance Bill, the Tobacco Excise Bill and the Vegetable Product Excise Bill, as passed by the Assembly.

The All-India Indian Christian Conference, in New Delhi, put forward the demand that a round table conference should be convened immediately in India to solve the constitutional problems.

21st. In response to request made to him by newspaper editors for a round-table conference to review the working of the A. I. N. E. C. resolution of October 1942, the Minister for Home Affairs, Sind, convened a Conference at Karachi at which all the editors of Karachi newspapers and the Provincial Press Adviser were present

Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, who was released from detention on grounds of health, arrived at Parnakuti.

22nd The Government of Madras issued a Press Communique detailing their budget estimates for 1943-44.

In the Bengal Legislative Council, the question of rice shortage was again raised.

In the Punjab Legislative Assembly, Malik Khizr Hyat Khan Tiwana, Premier, declared: "I stand by the commitments made by my predecessor, the late Sir Sikander Hyat Khan.

23rd Mr. M. A. Jinnah, in a message to the Muslims of India on Pakistan Day says: "Today (Mar. 23) is a day of great significance to Muslim India. On this auspicious day, 3 years ago, was declared at Lahore, for the first time authoritatively from the platform of the All-India Muslim League the final National goal of Muslim India, which later on came to be known as the "Pakistan scheme".

Sir John Colville, Governor-designate of Bombay arrived in Bombay.

The Central Legislative Assembly carried without a division the motion of the War Transport Member, Sir Edward Benthall, for the election of a Committee of 9 to serve with the war Transport and Finance Members, and the Financial Commissioner, Railways, to consider matters arising out of Clause iv of the Railway Convention resolution adopted by the House earlier in the season.

The text of the Viceroy's reply to Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, which was communicated by the latter to Mr. M. R. Jayakar, formed the subject matter of prolonged discussion at Mr. Jayakar's place in Bombay, when Mr. K. M. Munshi and Mr. Bhulabhai Desai were present.

Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy, presiding at a meeting of the Muslim community in observance of the Pakistan Day in Calcutta, expressed the hope that after his fast, Mahatma Gandhi would throw all his weight in favour of an agreement between Hindus and Muslims.

In the Bengal Legislative Council, a four-day debate on the food situation in the Province concluded, when the House, by 16 to 15 votes, passed a Government party member's amendment on the subject

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, what he described as a motion of censure of the Bengal Ministry, was moved on behalf of the Muslim League Opposition by Mr. Tamizuddin Khan, ex-Minister, when the demand for a grant under General Administration was taken up.

24th. In the Central Legislative Assembly, Mr. Hussainbhai Lalji sought leave for an adjournment motion to discuss 'the urgent necessity" to impress on H. M. G. the importance of keeping in close contact with India in the same way as they were keeping in contact with the Dominions, Allies and friends in the matter of the future management of exchange and international currency before agreements were arrived at.

Sir John Colville was sworn in as Governor of Bombay The Chief Justice of Bombay, Sir John Beaumont administered the oath.

In the Council of State, the attention of the Government was drawn to the Viceroy's remark in one of his letters to Mahatma Gandhi, which stated: "You may rest assured that the charges against the Congress will have to be met sooner or later and it will then be for you and your colleagues to clear yourselves before the world if you can".

Sir Mohammad Zafrulla Khan, giving impressions of his tour in an interview said: "American interest in the Indian problem is extremely keen and the Americans are deeply sympathetic towards Indian aspirations, but their knowledge of the factors of the Indian situation is neither deep nor accurate".

25th In the Central Legislative Assembly, Mr T. T. Krishnamachar moved his resolution recommending drastic revision of the Government's policy on the treatment of political prisoners and detenus and asking that members of the Central Legislature should be allowed to visit prisons and interview political prisoners so that they could draw attention to the inconveniences and restrictions imposed on these prisoners with a view to eliminating them.

In the direct election to the Bengal Council, 5 candidates belonging to the Muslim League were declared elected

In the Council of State, the Indian Finance Bill as passed by the Lower House, came up for consideration.

26th. In the Central Legislative Assembly, a Bill to validate marriages between Hindus belonging to the same "Gotra" or "Pravar' and between Hindus belonging to different subdivisions of the same caste was discussed on a motion by the mover, Mr. Govind Deshmukh, who asked for its reference to a select committee.

Sardar Gurbax Singh Naurang, a Sikh leader of Lahore, presiding over the Third Prachar Conference of the Sikhs of Northern India at Paontu Sahib, observed: "The Sikhs as a nation are prepared to forego all their claims to communal representation at the altar of nationalism if the Muslims and others also give up their communal claims, and the communal award, which is the biggest block in the path of nationalism, ceases to exist".

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, Mr. Fazlul Huq, replying to a question, said that two women were killed as a result of practice shooting in the evacuated area in Sonarpur Thana, 24-Parganas District.

The Council of State passed the Finance Bill by 20 votes to 12.

27th. The position of the Bengal Ministry was discussed at a meeting of the working committee of the Bengal Provincial Hindu Mahasabha, held in Calcutta, Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukherjee presiding.

In the Orissa Legislative Assembly, replying to the question standing in the name of Mr. Jagannath Misra (Congress), Mr. Pyari Shankar Roy, Parliamentary Secretary, stated that Mr. Biswanath Das, leader of the Orissa Assembly Congress Party had sent a motion of no-confidence in the Ministry from Berhampore jail.

The 16th annual session of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry which met in New Delhi, with Mr. G. L. Mehta, President, in the Chair, passed three resolutions put from the chair on the political situation, India's participation in international conferences and the sale of Indian silver in England.

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, by a majority of 20 votes, a cut motion moved by Mr. K. A. Hamilton (European group) in connexion with the budget demand under the head "Extraordinary charges in India", censuring the Government for alleged failure to deal with black markets and speculation in hoarding of foodstuffs was rejected —The voting being 109 to 99.

28th. Mr. S. Satyamurti died in Madras.

A surplus of Rs 61 lakhs was estimated in the Bihar Government Budget for 1943-44.

29th. Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq resigned his office as Chief Minister of Bengal. His resignation was accepted by H. E. the Governor.

In the Central Legislative Assembly, Mr. J. A. Mackeown, Joint Secretary, Supply Department, told Mr. K C. Neogy that the Government of India had instructed the Indian Supply Mision in Washington to endeavour two power alcohol plants on Lend-Lease terms. The policy of the Government of India was to encourage the production of power alcohol.

In the Council of State, replying to a question by R. B. Lala Ram Saran Das, General Sir Alan Hartley, Deputy Commander-in-chief, India, said that the Government were considering the extension of the Indian Air Training Corps to four other Universities besides Aligarh, in 1943, and it was expected that this would be done immediately. The Council adopted the Tobacco Excise Bill as passed by the Legislative Assembly.

The Central Assembly resumed the debate on Sir Sultan Ahmed's motion for reference to joint committee of the Hindu Intestate Succession Bill.

30th. In the House of Commons, there was a large gathering of members for the debate on the general situation in India—The debate took place on a series of formal Government motions asking the House to approve the continuances in force, for a further 12 months, of the proclamations made under Sec 93 of the Government of India Act, by which emergency regimes were established in 6 Indian Provinces towards the end of 1939 following on the resignations of Congress Ministries soon after the outbreak of the war —The Secretary of State, Mr. Amery said: "The resolutions before the House concern only 6 out of 11 provinces of India. In the remaining 5 provinces, Indian Ministers responsible to the Indian Legislatures control a vast majority of the subjects affecting the daily life of their fellow citizens. It is only in provinces controlled by the Congress Party organisation that self Government was suspended by the order of the so-called High Command of the Congress Party in Oct. 1939. The consequent emergency provisions properly come before this House for a periodic review and are under constant review by the Viceroy and the Governor concerned".

The deadlock created by the resignation of Mr A K Fazlul Huq, Chief Minister, Bengal, remained unsolved. Mr. Huq had an interview with the Governor after which the seven Ministers met the Governor when the whole situation was reviewed from all aspects.

Khwaja Sir Nazimuddin, Leader of the Muslim League Parliamentary Party saw the Governor and had a long discussion with him.

The Central Legislative Assembly agreed without a division to refer the Hindu Intestate Succession Bill to a joint select committee of both Houses consisting of 18 members.

The Council of State adopted the official Bill to amend further the Indian Tea Control Act as passed by the Assembly.

31st. A communique from the Government House, Calcutta, announced: "The Governor of Bengal has brought into force the provisions of Sec. 93 of the Government of India Act, 1935, and has taken upon himself the administration of the province."

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His Excellency the Viceroy declined to grant facilities to Mr. C. Rajagopalachari and other leaders to meet Mahatma Gandhi.

His Excellency the Governor of Bengal, in pursuance of a Proclamation issued by him under sec. 93 of the Government of India Act, authorised the estimate of expenditure for 1943-44.

The Central Legislative Assembly concluded its Budget Session.

The Council of State concluded its Budget Session after adopting the Military Prisons Bill, the Trade Marks Bill and the Muslim Personal Law (Shariat) Application Act Amending Bill as passed by the Central Legislative Assembly.

Mr. Rajagopalachari issued a statement, on the Viceroy's reply to the memorandum of the delegation of the Leaders' Conference, which said: "The Conference hoped that this would lead to a solution of the Indian problem."

The Secretary of State for India, Mr. Amery, in the course of a reply in the House of Commons, said "There would be great objections to consultations with the Congress leaders without a definite assurance and guarantee of a different line of conduct of their part."

Khwaja Sir Nazimuddin accepted His Excellency the Governor of Bengal's invitation to form a Ministry.

The Standing Committee of the Chamber of Princes met in New Delhi, under the Chairmanship of the Jam Sahib, Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes.

The Federal Court held that the Defence of India Rule 26 was invalid.

The Secretary of State for India, Mr. Amery, told a questioner in the House of Commons, that he had no statement to make concerning the Indian Legislation in South Africa.

The Bill to restrict the purchase of lands by Indians in Natal and the Transvaal passed its third reading in the South African Assembly.

A new Ministry was formed in Bengal, with Khwaja Sir Nazimuddin as Chief Minister. The Ministers of whom seven were Muslims and six Hindus, took their oaths of office.

General Smuts declared emphatically that the Union Government was determined to proceed with the Indian Bill and place it on statute.

The open session of the All-India Muslim League met in New Delhi, under the presidentship of Mr. M. A. Jinnah.

The All India Muslim League adopted a resolution empowering the President, Mr. Jinnah, to take till the next session of the League every step he might consider necessary to further the object of the Muslim League.

The Women's Branch of the Muslim League reaffirmed their faith in Pakistan and assured Mr. Jinnah of their full support.

In a Communique issued by the Government of India it was stated: "The Legislation introduced in South Africa by the Union Government to extend the so-called 'interim Act in the Transvaal for a period of

three years and to apply similar provisions to Natal has now passed all its stages. The Government of India cannot but regard this news with profound regret and scorn."

An Ordinance Validating the action already taken under the Defence of India Rule 26 and amending the D. I. Act was published in New Delhi.

In a resolution passed by the All-India Momin Conference in New Delhi, the claim that it represented the 4½ crores of Momins and that no other party or organization had any right to represent them was put forward.

1st. His Excellency the Viceroy declined to grant facilities to Mr. Rajagopalachari and other leaders to meet Mahatma Gandhi because there was "no reason to believe that Mr Gandhi is any more ready now than he was at an earlier stage to repudiate the policy as the result of which the Congress leaders are at present under detention".

A Calcutta Gazette Extraordinary stated: "The Governor of Bengal has in pursuance of the proclamation issued by him under Sec. 93, of the Government of India Act, authorized the estimate of expenditure for 1943-44".

Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, in a statement to the Press explained the Progressive Coalition Party's conception of the principles on which an all Parties Government in the province should be based

2nd. The Central Legislative Assembly concluded its Budget Session.

Mr. R. L. Nopany, presiding at the annual meeting of the Indian Chamber of Commerce in Calcutta, reviewed the economic situation in the country.

Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, in a statement, said: 'I am surprised by the *Gazette notification* published regarding our resignation that my resignation has been accepted with effect from the 29th March. This is contrary to facts".

3rd. The Council of State concluded its Budget Session after adopting the Military Prisons Bill, the Trade Marks Bill and the Muslim Personal Law (Shariat) Application Act Amendment Bill, as passed by the Legislative Assembly.

Mr. Sakarlal Balabhai, addressing the annual general meeting of the Ahmedabad Millowners' Association at Ahmedabad, stated that the textile industry during the year had enjoyed a spell of prosperity.

4th. A Press Note from New Delhi said: "The Grow More Food" campaign which was launched last year resulted in an increase of the area cultivated with food grains by over 8,00,000 acres '.

Sir Azizul Haque, High Commissioner for India in London, arrived in Calcutta from Hazaribagh.

A Press Note from New Delhi announced: "The New Indian Standard Time is to continue for the duration of the war."

5th A donation of Rs 4,17,902 subscribed by the people of Britain, in aid of Cyclone relief, was presented to H. E. the Governor of Bengal by Sir Aziz-ul Haque, High Commissioner for India in London at a meeting of the Central Cyclone Relief Committee held at Government House, Calcutta

Mr. Rajagopalachari issued a statement on the Viceroy's reply to the memorandum of the delegation of the Leaders' Conference. He stated inter alia,—"The Viceroy's reply to our memorandum in rejecting our request for permission to see Gandhiji must cause profound disappointment throughout the country. Since we were denied the opportunity of a personal discussion with H. E. and it was not possible to anticipate the points urged in H. E.'s reply, it becomes necessary to issue this statement. ... . The Conference hoped that this would lead to a solution of the Indian problem."

The All-India Kisan Conference passed a resolution criticizing the Viceroy's action in refusing permission to leaders to meet Mahatma Gandhi and urging the release of the Mahatma and other Congress leaders for a Congress-League settlement for establishing a national government.

Mr. V. D. Savarkar, *President of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha*, in a statement to the Press, observed: "There is no question of Mr. Amery taking shelter behind the extreme views expressed by the Hindu Mahasabha regarding Indian nationalism."

6th. The Indian situation was debated in the House of Lords on a series of government motions to approve the 12 months' extension of the proclamations under the Government of India Act in reference to six Indian provinces. Similar motions were approved by the House of Commons.

Prof. Laski writing in "*Reynolds News*", under the caption "Indian Danger", said : "I don't think it is either legitimate or wise for the British Government to place the whole responsibility for the present deadlock on Mr. Gandhi."

7th. The report of Mr. Justice F. N. Broome on Indian infiltration in Durban was tabled in the South African Assembly, and a special meeting of the Union Cabinet was held to consider questions arising from the report.

8th. A Communique from New Delhi stated : "The Government of India have learnt with regret that the Government of South Africa have announced their intention to extend the interim Act in the Transvaal and to apply similar provisions in Durban and possibly elsewhere in Natal The Government of India had addressed a representation to the Union Government in respect of the Transvaal Act and had asked for an opportunity to comment on any proposals which the Union Government might be considering for the purpose of minimising transfers of property between Europeans and Indians in Natal. They observe with concern that the Union Government have found themselves unable to comply with either of their requests. They have addressed a further urgent communication to the Union Government and anxiously await the Government's reply."

9th. Begum Azad, wife of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, died in Calcutta.

Mr Amery, Secretary of State for India, replying to a question in the House of Commons, said it should not be necessary for him to repeat his previous assurance that efforts of Indian political leaders to find a measure of agreement continue to be welcomed by His Majesty's Government and the Viceroy He made it clear the other day that there would be great objection to consultations with the Congress leaders without a definite assurance and guarantee of a different line of conduct on their part, and the leaders had been meeting frequently though he regretted without agreement.

A Press Note from New Delhi said "The Indian Government have been invited through their Agent-general in Washington to send a small number technical and expert representatives to a conference to be convened in America by the U S Government by the end of April for an exploratory examination of post war problems regarding foodstuffs and other essential agricultural products including problems of nutrition."

10th Raja Maheswar Dayal Seth in his presidential address at the Jwalpur (Hardwar) Hindu Sabha Conference, criticised the policy and programme of the Hindu Mahasabha The Raja in the course of his address observed : 'It is clear that the British Government does not want to transfer power, and the recent refusal of the Viceroy to allow any personal contact with Mahatma Gandhi has brought into bold relief their pre determined decision to rule out, as long as possible, any approach to reconciliation."

The Minister of Interior, Mr Lawrence introduced a bill in the House of Assembly which proposed to impose restrictions on the acquisition and occupation of land by Asiatics in Natal and to reimpose for a further period the restrictions on trading by Asiatics in Transvaal — The Bill passed the first reading.

Mr. K. M. Munshi in a Press statement, said Mr Amery's reply to Mr. Graham White in the House of Commons bears the usual characteristics of Mr. Amery's statements "

11th 20 economists of India including Mr. V G. Kale, Mr. K. T Shah, Mr. C. N Vakeel and Mr D R. Gadgil, issued a statement from Bombay, which said. "Inflation is the most inequitable way of distributing the war burden and usually involves large transfers of wealth from the poorer and the middle classes to the richer classes. It is also undesirable because it increases the cost of war and impairs the war effort by hindering production "

Mr. Nalini Ranjan Sarkar, declaring open the second session of the All Bengal Economic Conference, urged that in any plan for future world reconstruction, it was essential that India should be given full political and economic freedom to evolve a balanced economy by a more rapid process of industrialisation.

Mrs. Violet Alva, Organizing Secretary of the All India Christian Conference, was arrested at Chaupathi under the Defence of India Rules.

12th. The Natal Indian Congress submitted a statement to the Minister of the Interior, Mr. Lawrence, urging the Government not to introduce "segregation measures." The introduction of "pegging" legislation would be totally inconsistent with the principles of the Atlantic Charter, with the democratic system of Government and with Government's obligations under the Cape-town Agreement.

Dr. Radha Kumud Mukherjee, presiding over the All-India National Educational Conference at Hardwar, said that national education should minister to the moral and material needs of the nation in consonance with its indigenous ideals and traditions. National education must be rooted in the heritage of the past.

13th. An announcement from Government House, Calcutta, said : "The Governor of Bengal today received Khwaja Sir Nazimuddin and informed him that, with a view to his being able to revoke the Proclamation under sec. 93 of the Government of India Act, 1935, he would welcome his assistance in forming a Ministry. Sir Nazimuddin has accepted the Governor's invitation".

Sir Nazimuddin invited the Hindus to help him to form a representative and strong Ministry.

The Hindu Nationalist Party in the Bengal Legislature, at a meeting under the presidentship of Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukherjee, passed a resolution, which stated inter alia : "The party . regrets to find that the Muslim League party declines to work with Muslim groups who do not belong to the Muslim League although such groups are willing to join an all-party Ministry on the basis of an agreed programme. This party consider such an attitude to be inconsistent with the welfare of the province at this critical juncture and with the declared policy of H. E the Governor."

The Bengal Board for Anglo-Indian and European Education, agreed that the Central Advisory Committee should be asked to consider the establishment of institutions on an all India basis for the education of deaf and dumb, blind and mentally defective Anglo-Indian & European children.

14th. In exercise of the powers assumed by him under Sec 93, of the Government of India Act, 1935, H E the Governor of Bengal prepared the Bengal Finance Bill, 1943, and gave his assent to it.

15th The Secretary of State for India said in the House of Commons : "Sabotage on railways in India is still in progress, 61 such cases were reported during the last three months—28 in January, 16 in February and 17 in March All except four were minor attempts at interference with the track or railway property."

The Standing Committee of the Chamber of Princes met in New Delhi under the chairmanship of the Jam Saheb, Chancellor, Chamber of Princes. Other members present at the meeting included the Rulers of Faridkot, Khairagarh, Maihar, Nabha.

Madam Chiang Kai-Shek, replying to a press question in New York, asserted that Pundit Nehru should be freed to throw India's released political weight into the United Nation's cause, because he was a man with a world vision,

16th The Union Assembly (S. Africa), by 3 votes to 31, rejected Dr. Malan's (Leader of the Opposition) amendment to refer the Indian Restriction Bill to a select committee. The motion for the second reading of the Bill was carried, the opposition voting with the Government.

Swami Bhawani Dayal Sangadi and Mr. Mohamed Ahmad Jadwat, representatives of the Natal Indian Congress, issued a statement to the press, on the debate on the 2nd. reading of the Pegging Bill in the South African Parliament taking strong exception to some of the statements made therein by Field Marshal Smuts, Mr. Lawrence, and other Union Cabinet Ministers.

17th. A combined deputation of the Indian and Eastern Newspapers Society and the Indian Language Newspapers Society met representatives of the Commerce Department and discussed with them the question of newsprint control and the methods by which newspapers can secure the delivery of the newsprint against ration cards.

Mr. R. W. Mellor, Chairman, in his speech at the annual meeting of the Indian Paper Makers' Association in Calcutta. after reviewing the problems that

confronted paper mills during the past year, welcomed the Government decision to release 30 p. c. of the total production of paper for civil consumption.

The Transvaal and Natal Indian Congresses in a joint letter to the Minister of Interior, Mr. H. G Lawrence, described as entirely groundless the allegation made in the Indian Bill Debate that advantage had been taken of the situation by a few wealthy Indians of Natal and Transvaal to make themselves snug.

18th. A meeting of the Indian and Eastern Newspapers Society was held in New Delhi with Mr. Devadas Gandhi, president, in the chair.

19th. The Natal Indian Association appealed to all Churches in South Africa to stand by the Indians in opposition to the Asiatic Bill.—"The duty of the Churches," the appeal stated, "is clear—that of condemning the Bill and asking the Union Government to postpone it and seeking a solution on mutual understanding and on consultative lines."

The (Capetown) Assembly went into committee on the Indian Bill when Mr. C. R. Swart (Nationalist Party) moved that the "pegging" provisions be applied to the whole of Natal.

20th. The Indian Restriction Bill passed the committee stage in the Union Assembly (Natal) with only minor textual alterations.

Khan Bahadur G. A. Dosani, discussing the food situation in his presidential address at the annual meeting of the Muslim Chamber of Commerce, in Calcutta, regretted that despite the warning given on behalf of the public and responsible commercial bodies, the India Government had not realized in time the seriousness of the problem

21st. When the debate on the Indian Restriction Bill was resumed during the committee stage of the Union Assembly, (Capetown), further amendments tabled by Mr. Swart and Mr. Molteno were rejected A clause prolonging the restrictions of Asiatics' trading rights in Transvaal imposed in 1939 was approved

22nd. The Federal Court held "that the Defence of India Rule 26, in its present form, went beyond the powers which the Legislature had thought fit to confer on the Central Government and was for that reason invalid"

Mr. A K. Fazlul Huq, Leader of the Progressive Assembly Party and Mr Shamsuddin Ahmed, Leader of the Krishak Proja Parliamentary Party (Bengal) emphasised in a telegram addressed to H E. the Viceroy, that any cabinet formed on the basis of the "exclusion of particular groups for the purpose of penalising them for their political opinions will lead to unprecedented trouble in Bengal and will considerably hamper war efforts."

The Secretary of State for India, Mr. Amery, told a questioner in the House of Commons that he had no statement to make concerning the Indian legislation in S. Africa.

The Bill to restrict purchase of land by Indians in Natal and the Transvaal passed its third reading in the South African Assembly

23rd. The Vice-President of the Natal Indian Association Mr Sorabjee Rustomji stated that delegates of his Association met Field-Marshal Smuts and appealed to him as leader of the Government not to proceed with the Pegging Bill, but to solve the question on a non-statutory basis which would be acceptable to Indians.

24th. The Rt. Hon'ble V S. Srinivasa Sastri addressing a meeting at Mylapore uttered a note of warning that the colour prejudice in South Africa was a portent which if unheeded, would spell disaster to future world peace. Sir Alladi Krishna Swami Aiyar presided.

Mr. Shamsuddin, ex-Minister (Bengal), as President of the seventh annual session of the All-Bengal Krishak Proja Conference at Faridpur, expressed the hope that in the near future the workers and peasants of Bengal, under the guidance of an able leader, would capture the provincial legislature

A new Ministry was formed in Bengal with Khwaja Sir Nazimuddin as Chief Minister. The Ministers, of whom seven were Muslims and Six Hindus, took their oaths of office.

24th. General Smuts declared emphatically that "the Union Government was determined to proceed with the Indian Bill and "place it on Statute", stated Mr. Sorabjee Rustomji, Vice-President of the Natal Indian Association.

"The Governor of Bengal revoked with the concurrence of the Governor-General, the proclamation bringing into force in Bengal the provisions of sec.

93 of the Government of India Act, 1935, which was issued on March 31st., 1943."—It was announced in a proclamation by H. E the Governor.

Mr. M. A Jinnah in the course of his address to the annual session of the Muslim League in New Delhi, said that nobody would welcome it more than himself if Mr. Gandhi was really willing to come to a settlement with the Muslim League and that would be the greatest day both for Hindus and Muslims. He then proceeded to explain the nature of the Government under Pakistan and deprecated all loose talk about Federation.

25th. The open session of the All-India Muslim League met in New Delhi.—The House after expressing sorrow at the death of Sir Abdoola Haroon and Sir Sikander Hyat Khan, unanimously adopted Mr Z. L. Lari's resolution on the Anti-Asiatic Bill, which stated inter alia · The League strongly condemns the Bill and makes it clear that if the Bill is assented to by the Crown it will lead to the gravest breach between the Indians and South Africans and will go to sap the foundations of the future of the Commonwealth of Nations. The League urges the Government of India to intervene in the matter immediately and calls upon the Union Government to refrain from enforcing the Bill "

At a meeting of the Delhi Provincial Council of Women in New Delhi, resolutions were passed welcoming the Bills recommended by the Rau Committee as a beginning in the right direction and accepting its broad principles.

The annual meeting of the Ramkrishna Mission was held at Belur. The report of the activities of the Mission in 1942 stated that there were 60 Math Centres and 66 Mission Centres in India and Abroad working in close collaboration with the Mission, These Centres continued permanent activities of various types. The total income during the year was Rs. 18,19,757—11—3 and expenditure Rs. 16,82 475—7—2.

Dr. R. A. Ameson, in his presidential address at the All-India Medical Conference at Patna, criticized the I.M.S., which he described as an anachronism, and pleaded for its abolition.

26th. The All-India Muslim League at its last day's sitting in New Delhi adopted a resolution empowering the President Mr, Jinnah, to take till the next session of the League every step he might consider necessary to further the objects of the Muslim League.

The fourth annual session of the All-India States Muslim League was held in New Delhi, under the presidentship of Nawab Bahadur Yar Jung.

Muslim women reaffirmed their faith in Pakistan and assured Mr. Jinnah of their full support at a meeting of the Women's Branch of the All-India Muslim League (New Delhi). Lady Haroon, the President, was in the chair.

Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukherjee, Working President All-India Hindu Mahasabha, in a Press statement, said . "The Governor of Bengal has ceased to enjoy the confidence of the people. He is not the type of administrator in whose hands the destinies of the people can rest at a time when the enemy is knocking at the gate. It is the constitutional right of the people of Bengal to demand that he should vacate his office and retire to his own country."

Mr. Zahir-ud-din, President of the eighth session of the All-India Momin Conference, which commenced in New Delhi, observed · "The solution of the Indian problem should be the first care of the United Nations. Prestige may dilate, but statesmanship demands that the old notions must be discarded and a fresh attempt made to gratify the national aspirations of India."

27th. The following press communique was issued from New Delhi; "The Legislation introduced in South Africa by the Union Government to extend the so-called interim Act in the Transvaal for a further period of three years and to apply similar provisions to Natal has now passed all its stages. The Government of India cannot but regard this news with profound regret and concern."

In connection with the proposal for the exchange of research students between India and China, the Calcutta University, in response to an invitation by Mr. John Sargent, Educational Commissioner with the Government of India, forwarded to him five names for post-graduate research scholarships in China.

28th. An Ordinance validating the action already taken under the D.I. Rule 26 and amending the D.I. Act was published in New Delhi.

In a resolution passed by the All-India Momin Coference in New Delhi, the

claim that it represented the 4½ crores of Momins and no other party or organization had any right to represent them was advanced.

Mr. Jinnah's speech and the proceedings of the League session were criticized by the Working Committee of the All-India Nationalist League. Mr. Jamnadas Mehta presided.

On the conclusion of their two months' tour of India the Chinese Educational and Cultural Mission, led by Dr. Yu-hsiu-Ku met representatives of the Calcutta Press at a conference at the Great Eastern Hotel (Calcutta), when in a farewell message, Dr. Ku thanked the Government and the people of India for their welcome and hospitality.

Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukherjee, addressing a public meeting in Lahore declared. "The Muslim League wanted to co-operate with the Hindus on the basis of Pakistan, but the Hindus were not willing to vivisect their Motherland."—Bhai Paramanand presided.

30th. Mr. Syed Budrudduja, an independent Muslim, was elected Mayor of Calcutta defeating Mr. M.A.A. Ispahani, the Muslim League party nominee by 42 votes to 37.

May 1943

His Majesty the King approved the appointments of Sir Mohammad Azizul Haque, C I E, Dr. N. B. Khare, M L A. and Sir Asoka Kumar Roy, Advocate-General, Bengal to the Executive Council of the Governor-General of India.

Mr. L. S. Amery, Secretary of State for India, in answer to a question in the House of Commons, said: "Steps have already been taken in India to remedy the situation created by the judgment of the Federal Court. An Ordinance was promulgated by the Governor-General on April 28"

The birth anniversary of Rabindranath Tagore was celebrated by a number of literary societies and associations in Calcutta and its suburbs.

Dr. B. R Ambedkar, Labour Member, Government of India, suggested the formation of a labour party in India whose object should be the formation of a labour Government in India

Mr. Allah Bux, ex-Premier and President of the All-India Azad Muslim Conference, was shot dead at Shikarpur.

The demand for the establishment of responsible Government in Kashmir was made by a deputation of the Muslim Conference.

Khwaja Sir Nazimuddin made an appeal to Dr Shyama Prasad Mukherjee and particularly the Hindu public to co-operate with him in the work of the Bengal Ministry.

It was announced that the Government of India decided to remove all restrictions on the free trading of all foodgrains and their products in Assam, Bengal, Bihar, Orissa and the Eastern States.

H E the Governor of Bengal declared May 21 to be a public holiday to celebrate the victory of the Allied Forces in N Africa.

Sir Nil Ratan Sircar died at Giridih.

Mr. Amery, in answer to a question in the House of Commons, said: "The total number of people imprisoned for offences in connection with the Congress campaign in India up to March 15 is 84,895, while 11,623 have been subject to detainment."

H. E. the Governor-General extended the life of the Council of State and the Central Legislative Assembly for a further period of one year from Oct. 1, 1943.

The Government of India refused to forward a letter written by Mahatma Gandhi to Mr. M. A. Jinnah.

Mrs. Vijay Lakshmi Pandit was arrested in Allahabad, under sec. 129 of the D. I. Rules.

Mr. Amery stated in the House of Commons that the Government of India had no intention of staging the trial of Mahatma Gandhi and other Congress leaders.

The first conference of the Communist Party of India was held in Bombay. It stated in a resolution "India's fate and freedom is indissolubly linked with the fight for world freedom"

His Highness the Maharaja of Kashmir appointed Rai Bahadur Justice Ganganath as President of the State Assembly in addition to his duties as Chief Justice of the State High Court

1st. Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukherjee, in his presidential address at the Bengal Provincial Hindu Conference, said: "A division of India is no solution of India's communal problem. Financially it is unworkable, economically it is disastrous, and politically it is ruinous for India as a whole. There can be no compromise on the issue."

A Punjab Government Press Note said. "It is not the intention of the Government of India to attempt to control the prices of foodgrains in primary markets as attempted last year in the case of wheat."

14 demands by the workers were enumerated by Dr. Charu Chandra Banerjee presiding over the 26th. session of the All-India Trade Union Congress at Nagpur.

2nd. A Communique stated: "His Majesty the King approved the appointments of Sir Mohammad Azizul Haque C. I. E., Dr N. B. Khare, M. L. A. and Sir Asoka Kumar Roy. Advocate General, Bengal, to the Executive Council of the Governor General of India."

A Press Communique said that the Governor-General appointed Mr. Justice T. Ameer Ali of the Calcutta High Court to perform the duties of the Chief Justice of the Calcutta High Court during the absence on leave of Sir Harold Derbyshire from May 3 to 28.

The Punjab Provincial Hindu Conference concluded at Lyallpur. The main resolution, moved by Rai Bahadur Mehr Chand Khanna and adopted by the conference, opposed any scheme for the partition of India and expressed the determination of Punjab Hindus to oppose any such move.

3rd Mr. M. A. Jinnah, commenting on Press reactions to the League session, said: "The position of the Muslim League is one of realism and I am surprised that newspapers in Britain should have indulged in hackneyed phrases such as "party tactics" and 'playing to the gallery'

The All-India Trade Union Congress, which concluded its session at Nagpur, rejected two resolutions on the political situation, one sponsored by Communists and the other by Nationalists. Both resolutions protested against the continued detention of Mahatma Gandhi and the leaders, and condemned the Government's decision not to allow interviews with Mahatma Gandhi.

4th. The Secretary of State for India, Mr. Amery, was asked in the House of of Commons for a statements on the action following the Indian Federal Court's judgment regarding internees under Rule 26 of D. I. Rules.—Mr. Amery in a writtem reply said: 'Steps have already been taken in India to remedy the situation created by the judgment of the Federal Court. An Ordinance was promulgated by the Governor-General on April 28, taking the necessary powers to cover D. I. Rule 26 and validating all orders previously made under the Rule."

5th. Mr. W. G. Cove, the Welsh Labour M. P., wrote in the "*Daily Herald*": "I have read extensively the statements of Mr. Gandhi and the Indian Congress and I have found no evidence in them which brackets Mr. Gandhi and Congress leaders with the self-avowed and virile imperialism of Mr. Amery. The Congress is more ready to come into a world organization in which sovereignty is subservient to international control than is Mr Amery."

6th. The Secretary of State for India, Mr. Amery, being asked in the House of Commons if, in view of the events in India, he would take an opportunity of endeavouring to bring all parties there into negotiations with H. M's Government, said: "I regret there have not been any recent developments that would hold out prospects of such negotiations leading to any fruitful results"— Asked, if in view of the gravity of the issues involved, the time had not been reached when the Government of India might take a more constructive line, he replied. 'I am considering these problems all the time."

Replying to a question as to whether Pandit Jawhar Lal Nehru had been transferred from India or had been completely isolated from other Congress leaders, Mr. Amery said that the Pandit was under detention in India and was in the company of other members of the Congress Working Committee. He was permitted to correspond with members of his family on domestic matters.

7th. Dr. N. B. Khare assumed charge of his office as Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council in charge of Indians Overseas.

8th The Working Committee of the Agra Provincial Hindu Sabha, at a meeting held at Cawnpore, stated in a resolution that the attitude of the Mahasabha particularly in regard to the fast of Mahatma Gandhi and in asking Sir J. P Srivastava not to resign had caused disappointment and discontent among the Hindus. The resolution demanded immediate revision of the Mahasabha's policy and programme and suggested that it should deal with the situation with firmness and all practical means to achieve independence.

Mr Hakim Abdul Jalil Nadir, the Frontier Muslim leader, in a statement to the Press in Peshwar, urged Sir George Cunningham not to follow the examples of the Governors of Sind and Bengal in the matter of forming a Ministry for the Frontier Province.

Sir Sultan Ahmed, Member for Information and Broadcasting, decided to set up a Publicity Advisory Board consisting of officials and non-officials to meet at regular intervals.

9th The birth anniversary of Rabindranath Tagore was celebrated by a number of literary societies and associations in Calcutta and suburbs. Celebrations generally took the form of meetings at which speakers recalled Tagore's services to literature and humanity It was emphasized that Tagore's philosophy had a universal appeal and that his works would continue to inspire his countrymen.

Dr B R. Ambedkar, Labour Member, Government of India, addressing a public meeting convened by the Scheduled Class Federation in Bombay, asserted that Mahatma Gandhi and the Congress High Command had displayed "utter political bankruptcy"

10th. At the half yearly meeting of the All-India Women's Conference, in Calcutta, the Hindu Women's Intestate Succession Bill and the food problem were discussed. Mrs. Indira Devi presided

Dr B. R Ambedkar, Labour Member, Government of India, speaking at a party in Bombay suggested the formation of an Indian labour party whose object should be the establishment of a labour Government in India

The Working Committee of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha, in a resolution that Mr. Jinnah's invitation to Mr. Gandhi and the Congress to write to him was suggestive of expectation of a favourable response "from quarters ready to agree to a cent per cent transfer of power to the League."

11th. The resignation of Mr T C. Goswami and Mr B. P Pain (Members of the Bengal Cabinet) and four others from the Bengal non-official Congress Parliamentary Party was accepted by the Party at its meeting at the house of Mr. Santosh Kumar Basu its Deputy Leader.

12th. The Government of Bengal promulgated a Statutory Order called the Bengal Residential and Catering Establishments Food and Fuel Enquiries Order, 1943, to ascertain the food and fuel requirements of residential and catering establishments.

Dr. B. R, Ambedkar, Labour Member, Government of India, in the course of an interview in Bombay, suggested a solution of the political deadlock He said: "The Pakistan issue must now be regarded as a preliminary issue. No steps can be taken for the framing of a constitution for India unless the preliminary issue is settled one way or the other."

13th. The Secretary of State for India, Mr. Amery, was questioned in the House of Commons regarding Mr. Jinnah's speech "appealing for joint Hindu Muslim action in antagonism to the British Government'" and whether Mr. Jinnah's internment was contemplated.—Mr. Amery said: "We are agreed that a lasting solution of the Hindu-Muslim question is indispensable to India's constitutional advance. Reports of Mr Jinnah's speech do not, however, indicate that in stressing the need for unity he outlined any specific solution likely to be acceptable to Hindu opinion. In any case, he did not associate himself with the kind of subversive activity for which it became necessary to intern Congress Party leaders. On the contrary, in the same speech he is reported to have said in reference to them. "If it had been our Government, I would have put these people in goal in order to prevent a powerful organisation from letting lose in an anti-war campaign.' The last part of the question, therefore, does not arise."

14th. It was officially learnt in Karachi that Mr. Allah Bux, ex-Premier and President of the All-India Azad Muslim Conference, was shot dead at Shikarpur.

The demand for establishment of responsible government in Kashmir was made by a deputation of the Muslim Conference headed by Mir Waiz Yousaf Shah, which waited on Sir Maharaj Singh, Prime Minister, Kashmir. The deputationists placed before him the grievances of Muslims laying special stress on the repeal of the Arms Act and the Cow Slaughter Act and inadequate representation in the Services.

15th. At a meeting of the Working Committee of the Lyallpur Hindu Sabha, the situation created by the refusal of the Punjab Hindu Sabha to delegate powers to the Committee of five, appointed by Dr Shyama Prasad Mukherjee, President Punjab Provincial Hindu Conference, was discussed.

16th. Khwaja Sir Nazimuddin made a restatement of the policy and programme of the New Bengal Ministry and an appeal to Dr Shyama Prasad Mukherjee, leader of the Hindu Community, and particularly the Hindu public, to work with the Ministry.

Malik Barkat Ali, M.L.A. (Punjab) a former member of the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League hailed Dr Ambedkar's proposed solution of Indian political situation as the "first thoughtful and constructive contribution" towards a solution of the problem created by the demand for Pakistan.

17th. Sir M Azizul Haque Commerce and Food Member, Government of India, at a Press Conference in Calcutta, announced that the Government of India decided to remove all restrictions on the free trading of all foodgrains and their products in Assam, Bengal, Bihar, Orissa and the Eastern States, except in respect of two areas concerning the first and last named.

A "Gazette" Extraordinary notification said: "H. E the Governor of Bengal has declared May 21 to be a public holiday to celebrate the victory of the Allied forces in N. Africa."

In a statement to the press in Bombay, Nawabzada Mumtaz Alikhan said: "I hope my Hindu brethren are giving their attention to the conciliatory trend in Mr. M. A. Jinnah's speech which it deserves It should not be denounced or ignored on the plea that he wants a settlement on his own terms. There is always give and take in any settlement, and I think Mr. Jinnah may not refuse to come to terms with the Congress considering the trend of his speech at Delhi.

The Governor of Sind issued an Ordinance granting moratorium to small landholders in the Province who had been affected by the floods and the Hur trouble. The moratorium gave the sufferers immunity from the execution of civil court decrees and co operative loan dues.

18th. The death occurred at Giridih of Dr. Sir Nil Ratan Sircar, at the age of 82.

Mr. Indulal Jagnik, President of the All-Gujerat Kisan Conference, in his presidential address at the session of the Conference at Tuwa (Godhra) made an appeal to the government to release Mahatma Gandhi and Congress leaders to enable them to solve the Indian deadlock.

19th. Mr. V D. Savarkar, President of the Hindu Mahasabha, replying to Master Tara Singh, said. "Wherever a Muslim League is inevitable, Hindus and Sikhs should join it and transform it into a Coalition Ministry, if by so doing Hindu and Sikh interests would be served."

policy in regard to correspondence or interviews with Mr Gandhi, the Government of India have decided that this letter cannot be forwarded and have so informed Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Jinnah. They are not prepared to give facilities for political correspondence or contact to a person detained for promoting an illegal mass movement which he has not disavowed and thus gravely embarassing India's effort at a critical time. . .' It rests with Mr. Gandhi to satisfy the Government of India that he can safely be allowed once more to participate in the public affairs of the country, and until he does so the disabilities from which he suffers are of his own choice."

At the session of the Communist Party of India Conference, in Bombay, Mr. P. C Joshi, general secretary of the Party, speaking on the passing of the August resolution by the Congress and the subsequent happenings in the country, said that by the August resolution the Congress for the first time. declared in clear and unambiguous terms that the world stood divided into two camps and that India's place was with the United Nations

Mrs. Vijay Lakshmi Pandit was arrested under Sec 129 of the D.I. Rules, at Allahabad.

27th. Mr. L. S. Amery stated in the House of Commons that the Government of India has no intention of staging the trial of Mr. Gandhi and other detained Congress leaders

The *Times*, in an editorial wrote: "The refusal of the Government of India to allow Mr Gandhi to write to Mr Jinnah unless Mr. Gandhi withdraws his summons to Civil disobedience illustrates painfully the nature of the deadlock in which the Constitutional issue is at present gripped."

Mr. P C. Joshi, General Secretary of the Communist Party of India, in his address to the Communist Party Congress in Bombay, expressed the hope that Mr M A Jinnah, President of the Muslim League, would come forward and ask for the release of Mahatma Gandhi.

The Communist Party of India Convention adopted a number of resolutions sending fraternal greetings to the armies of the United Nations.

Mr. V D Savarkar President of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha, addressing a public function in celebration of his birthday at Poona, said: "There may be many institutions, in this country, but as long as they are serving the cause of Pan-Hinduism, it makes no difference whether its name is this, or its flag is that. I assure you that the Hindu nation's progress lies in the only way that you are following"

28th. Mr M A. Jinnah President of the A. I. Muslim League issued a statement on the Government of India Communique regarding Mahatma Gandhi's letter to him. He said: "The letter of Mr. Gandhi's can only be considered as a move to embroil the Muslim League with the British Government solely for the purpose of helping his (Mr. Gandhi's) release so that he might do whatever he pleased thereafter'.

Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, in a statement from Madras, said inter alia: "The British people should realise that it is not a question of prison regulations but a crime against the people of India to refuse a meeting at this present junction between Gandhiji and Mr. Jinnah. It is not statesmanship".

29th. Sir Nazimuddin, Bengal Premier, stated in a Press interview in Calcutta that one of the principal object of his visit to Delhi was to discuss with competent authorities the problem of Bengal's food supply. He had had meetings, among others, with Sir Azizul Haque and Major General Wood, both of whom were very sympathetic and promised to help Bengal as far as possible in solving the problems. He also discussed other important questions affecting the Province with the Viceroy and Members of the Executive Council.

30th. Mr C. Rajagopalachari, in a statement, observed: 'The prestige of the Muslim League would have been raised and its goal brought nearer if instead of trying to reply to a letter, which he never got, Mr. Jinnah had joined in calling a conference of all available Indian leaders to consider what should be done to overcome the muddle which Government have set up in the road to a national pact".

" His Highness the Maharaja of Kashmir accepted the resignation tendered by Rai Bahadur Pandit Kishan Lal Kitchlu, President of the State Assembly with effect from August 1. His Highness appointed Rai Bahadur Justice Ganga Nath as President of the State Assembly in addition to his duties as Chief Justice of the State High Court,

31st. A Press Communique from New Delhi, said. "The situation in the Hur country having improved, martial law has been withdrawn with effect from mid-night of May 31—June 1. On this date responsibility for law and order in the districts where martial law was enforced reverts to the Sind Government.

• A resolution adopted at the Congress of the Communist Party in Bombay, said. "India's fate and freedom is indissolubly linked with the fight for world freedom".

JUNE 1943

The Government of India and the representatives of the cotton textile industry agreed to adopt control measures to bring down the price of cloth and yarn as also to increase production

Mr L. S. Amery said in the House of Commons, re rice position in India: "The rice situation still causes anxiety, and must continue to do so as long as the Burma crop is lost to us. The chief concern, at present, is for Bengal, and especially Calcutta."

Dr. N. B. Khare, Member, Executive Council, Government of India, speaking in New Delhi, advised the people to support the war effort whole-heartedly

The Federal Court dismissed the appeal of the Bengal Government against the Calcutta High Court's judgment declaring certain provisions of the Special Court's Ordinance ultra vires

Allama Mashriqi, leader of the Khaksars, sent a telegram to Mr Jinnah, requesting him to see Mahatma Gandhi in jail

Mr. V. D. Savarkar was presented with a purse of Rs 51,000 in Bombay, on his 60th birthday.

Sir Patrick Spens, the Chief Justice of India assumed charge of his office

Mrs. Vijay Luxmi Pandit was released unconditionally

In the Budget Session of the Mysore Representative Assembly the Dewan-in-charge dealt with the question of political prisoners. He also referred to the food shortage and the difficulties thereof

His Majesty the King approved the award of the V. C. to Subadar Lal Bahadur Thapa, 2nd Gurkha Rifles.

• The United Nations' Day was observed on the 14th June in Calcutta, Madras and other places

The death anniversary of the late Deshabandhu C. R. Das was observed on the 16th June in Calcutta and many other places

Field Marshal Sir Archibald Wavell was appointed Viceroy and Governor-General of India

Sir Claude Auchinleck was appointed Commander-in-chief of India

Mr. B. C. Chatterjee, nationalist leader, died in Calcutta

2 members of the Bengal Legislative Assembly, Mr Dhirendranath Mukherjee and Mr. Nishit Nath Kundu, who were being detained as security prisoners under the D. I. Rules, were released from jail, in Calcutta

Sir Shafaat Ahmad Khan, High Commissioner for India in South Africa, opening the 16th session of the South African Indian Congress at Johannesburg, said: "Indians do not desire domination or supremacy in Natal. ...All they insist on is equality of opportunity and abolition of the colour bar which is inconsistent with the sanctity of human rights".

1st. Kunwar Sir Jagadish Prasad, in a statement in New Delhi, said: "Mr. Jinnah's statement on the Government of India's refusal to allow Mahatma Gandhi to write to him deserves more comment than the refusal itself. Habitual bombast often lands Mr. Jinnah in awkward predicaments. In his recent oration at Delhi he tried to produce the impression that he had now attained to such a degree of power that the British Government could not risk his displeasure. He invited Mahatma Gandhi to write to him direct and announced somewhat majestically that the Government of India dare not stop the letter. The letter was written and was stopped. Mr. Jinnah, with practised agility, tries to get out of the difficulty by the cheap device of attacking the writer. He knows that he can do so with impunity as Gandhiji will not be allowed an opportunity to reply."

Addressing the Budget Session of the Mysore Representative Assembly, the President surveyed the financial position of the State and indicated the main lines of development calculated to improve the economic advancement of the State and the people.

2nd. Dr. N. B. Khare, speaking at a party in New Delhi advised the people to support the war effort whole-heartedly as it was on the victory of the United Nations that the future of India was linked.

Mr. Jamnadas Mehta, in a statement criticized Mr. Jinnah's attitude with regard to Mahatma Gandhi's letter and went on to refer to the "wholly unconstitutional" manner in which, he said, Provincial Ministries were being revived.

3rd. The Government of India and representatives of the cotton textile industry agreed to adopt control measures to bring down the price of cloth and yarn as also to increase production

The U S. Office of War Information published a report on India's contribution to the Allied North African victories which was cited as an "outstanding example of the way in which members of the United Nations are carrying out their pledges."

Mr. Amery, answering a complaint in the House of Commons, re: rice position, said "The latest reports from India are that the wheat just reaped is a bumper crop and that other spring crops are good. The crop is moving slowly to the market and prices are still high. The rice situation still causes anxiety and must continue to do so as long as the Burma crops is lost to us The chief concern at present is for Bengal and especially Calcutta, where the price of rice is over eight times pre-war, though this is not true of India generally"

Malik Khizr Hyat Khan, the Premier of the Punjab, declared that the Jinnah-Sikander Pact was in full force.

4th. His Excellency the Governor of Bengal under the Defence of India Rules issued a Bengal Foodgrains Inquiries and Control Order, 1943 The Order applied to the whole of Bengal and comes into effect immediately—Under the Order, all adults on demand by an authorised officer or committee were to furnish full and true information of the stocks of all foodgrains in their possession and other relevant information asked for

The Federal Court by a majority of two Judges (Sir S Varadachariar, acting Chief Justice and Sir M. Zafrulla Khan) dismissed the Bengal Government's appeal against the Calcutta High Court's Judgment declaring certain provisions of the Special Courts Ordinance ultra vires Mr Justice Rowland dissented.

Mr. M. A Jinnah said at Karachi · "Ever since the Congress resolution of 8th. August last, he had repeatedly said that the Congress decision was not a rebellion against the British Government only, but an internecine war, a declaration of war against the Muslim League and Muslim India, and that *unless the Congress dropped its pistol, there was no chance of a settlement.*"

5th Seventy women were signatories to an appeal that was sent to the Prime Minister and the Secretary of State for India. They included Miss Jennie L. Adamson, M. P., Miss Sybil Thorndike and Mrs. L. Pethick Lawrence and their appeal stated: "We, the undersigned, believe that we are expressing the desire of many people in this country, in India and other parts of the world in wanting to see the deadlock between Britain and India ended now."

Sir William Patrick Spens, Chief-Justice Designate of the Federal Court of India, and lady Spens arrived in Karachi.

Mr. Nalini Ranjan Sarker, presiding over a largely-attended public meeting in Calcutta, to consider the food situation, said that in tackling the problem the Government should seek the fullest measure of co-operation from the public, and instead of merely asking for it, should be active in creating the atmosphere in which co-operation would be possible.

Allama Mashriqne, leader of the Khaksars sent the following telegram to Mr. Jinnah, from Lahore :—"Gandhi's letter to you. Meet him. It is indeed a prelude to achievement of Pakistan as well as India's independence. Your attitude towards the matter extremly disturbing. Request reconsider significance of his invitation."

A purse of Rs. 51,000 was presented to Mr. V. D. Savarkar, President of the Hindu Mahasabha, at a public meeting in Bombay to celebrate the 60th. birthday of the leader.

7th. All the Special Courts in Benares automatically ceased to exist as the result of the Ordinance proclaimed by the Governor-General.

8th. Sir Patrick Spens, the new Chief Justic of India, assumed charge of his office.

9th. Mr V. D. Savarkar, welcoming the efforts that were being made to form Ministries in various provinces, said in a statement in Bombay, that in the Hindu minority provinces, whenever a Muslim Ministry seemed inevitable, the Hindu Mahasabha should try to capture as many seats as possible in the Ministry to safeguard the interests of the Hindu minority.

In the Mysore Representative Assembly, the abnormal rise in the prices of of cloth, and the hardship it caused to the poor, figured prominently during the question hour. Mr. K V. Anantaraman, Dewan-in-charge presided.

10th. The Secretary of State for India, Mr L. S. Amery, opening an Exhibition of Indian Galleries in London, said : 'We hope that the problems of war administration will be history before very long The much vexed problems of Indian politics of to-day have after all arisen during the past generation, and will, without doubt, be modified beyond all recognition, before the next generation is out".

11th. Mr. M. Jinnah, President, All-India Muslim League appointed the Nawab of Mamdot in place of Sir Nazimuddin as a member of the A. I. Muslim League Defence Committee.

The Congress decided to contest the bye-elections to the Frontier Assembly and the Peshawar municipal elections.

12th. Mrs. Vijaya Lakmi Pandit was released unconditionally from the Naini Central Jail (Allahabad)

The Dewan-in-charge, in the course of his concluding remarks to the Budget session of the Mysore Representative Assembly dealt with the question of political prisoners and detenus in the State. He also referred to the food shortage and the measures that the Government had undertaken to deal with difficulties arising out of it.

Mr. E C. Ansorge, Adviser to the Governor of Bihar addressing a Press Conference at Patna, said : "The Central Government have abrogated the powers which they themselves gave to the Provincial Governments under the D. I. Rules. There is now no question of whether the Provincial Governments should or should not exercise certain powers to control the export of foodgrains. They no longer posses any powers enabling them to do so".

13th The Sind Provincial Muslim League met at Karachi, Mr. M. A. Jinnah, Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah, the Premier and all the Muslim League Ministers were present Resolutions were passed reiterating complete confidence in the leadership of Mr. Jinnah and re-emphasising the determination of Sind Muslims to achieve Pakistan, irrespective of any sacrifices

14th. A Press Note from New Delhi stated 'His Majesty the King approved the award of the V C. to Subadar Lal Bahadur Thapa, 2nd Gurkha Rifles for outstanding gallantry in Tunisia.'

In observance of the United Nations' Day, Flags of the various United Nations were flown over Government buildings, the offices of the mercantile and trade firms and other public institutions in Calcutta.

A meeting of the members of the Congress Party in the Bihar Legislature was held to consider the situation arising from the move to form a Ministry in Bihar.

"United Nations' Day" was celebrated in the Madras city under the auspices of the National War Front, H. E Sir Arthur Hope presiding. Representatives of Fighting France, Greece, China, Norway, Denmark and Belgium participated in the celebrations.

The Government of Madras issued an order under the Defence Rules, prohibiting the possession by any person of rice and millets which would be more than his monthly requirement except under license.

15th. At a meeting of the Council of the Servants of India Society at Poona the release of Congress leaders was urged. In a resolution it was stated: "The Council of the Servants of India Society views with grave concern the situation created by Government's refusal to permit Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukherjee and Mr. C. Rajagopalachari and the deputation of the Delhi Leaders' Conference to interview Mahatma Gandhi in prison with a view to securing a solution of the present political stalemate.

16th. The significance of the life and work of Mr. C. R. Das in the light of the situation in the country was explained at a meeting held in the different parts of Calcutta on the occasion of the 18th. anniversary of his death.

The Government of India issued an order setting forth measures to control the prices, productions and sale of cotton cloth and yarn and to prevent hoarding by manufacturers and consumers. The order gave effect to the agreement concluded earlier in the month in Bombay between the Government of India and the cotton textile industry.

Sir Azizul Haque, Commerce and Food Member, Government of India received a deputation of representatives of Tata Iron and Steel Co., and Indian Cable Co. and discussed with them the food situation concerning industrial labour at Jamshedpur and neighbouring areas.

17th. At a meeting held in Madras, under the auspices of the Mylapore Social League, Mr. A. M. Allapichai spoke on the political deadlock.

18th. Field Marshal Sir Archibald Wavell was appointed Viceroy and Governor-General of India.

Sir Claude Auchinleck was appointed Commander in-chief of India.

The following is the text of the announcement issued from 10, Downing Street "The King has been pleased to approve the appointment of Field Marshal Sir Archibald Percival Wavell, G. C. B., C. M. G., M. C., A. D. C., to the Viceroy and Governor General of India in succession to the Most Honourable the Marquis of Linlithgow, P. C., K. T., G. M. S.I., G. O. M., I. F, O. B E, D. L., T D., who will retire in October next. His Majesty has likewise approved the appointment of Field Marshal Sir Archibald Wavell to succeed Lord Linlithgow as His Majesty's representative for the exercise of the functions of the Crown in its relations with Indian States.—"The King has further been pleased to approve the appointment of General Sir Claude John Eyre Auchinleck G. C. I E., C. B., C. S. I., D S. O., O B E., A D C., to be the Commander-in-chief India and a member of the Governor General's Executive Council in succession to Field Marshal Wavell".

At the Labour Party Conference (London) after a speech by Mr. Reginald Sorenson, M. P. urging Government to make another offer to India or at least reopen negotiations, Mr Arthur Greenwood persuaded the sponsors of the two resolutions to withdraw them on a pledge that the Party Executive would immediately open new discussions on the Indian policy.

19th A Gazette Extraordinary issued in New Delhi, stated. "General Sir Claude Auchinleck, who has been appointed Commander-in-chief of His Majesty's forces in India, assumed charge of his office with effect from this afternoon. From that moment he becomes a member of the Viceroy's Executive Council in the place vacated by Sir Archibald Wavell".

H. E. H. the Nizam's Government proposed to levy an Excess Profits Tax.

20th. The death occurred in Calcutta of Mr. B. C. Chatterjee, nationalist leader. He was 64.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah, replying to an address presented to him by the Karachi Muslim Chamber of Commerce, said: "Unless a nation is economically well organised and powerful, it cannot progress in any sphere. The economic side is the very foundation of a nation".

21st. A resolution conveying warm greetings to the heroic Red Army and the Soviet people was passed at a meeting in Calcutta, held under the auspices of the Soviet union in celebration of the second anniversary of the Soviet-German War.

Nearly 400 buses in Calcutta and suburbs stopped plying just before noon as a result of a strike declared by the drivers and conductors protesting against "the treatment meted out to them by the Traffic Police"

22nd. Field-Marshal Sir Archibald Wavell, the Viceroy-designate making his first public statement since his appointment to a group of British and Empire journals at the India Office said that there was certainly, no intention to set up anything in the shape of a military rule or to withdraw or weaken in any way the pledges and offers already made to India by H. M's Government.

In the Budget Session of the Mysore Legislative Council an adjournment motion given notice of by Mr. L. S. Raju, Deputy Leader of the Congress Party of the Council to "criticise the policy of the Government in not abolishing Special Criminal Courts constituted under the Special Criminal Courts Act, certain provisions of which have been declared ultra vires and unconstitutional by the Federal Court" failed to secure the necessary minimum number of votes for admission.

23rd. At a meeting of the Madras Provincial Khaksars' organisation held at Triplicane, a resolution was adopted deploring the grave political and economic situation in the country, and requesting Mr Jinnah to see Gandhiji in jail, and seek ways and means to end the deadlock.

24th. The Secretary of State for India, Mr Amery, dealt in the House of Commons with an assertion by Mr. Sorenson (Lab) that a letter from Mr Gandhi to the Viceroy on Sept. 23 1942, condemning violence was omitted from the published correspondence.—Mr Amery said: "Mr. Sorenson is under a misapprehension. The only letter received from Mr Gandhi during September was addressed not to the Viceroy but to the Secretary, Home Department, Government of India".

Two members of the Bengal Assembly Mr. Dhirendranath Mukherjee and Mr. Nishit Nath Kundu, who were being detained as security prisoners under the D. I. Rules were released from the Presidency Jail, Calcutta.

The Secretary of State for India, Mr. Amery, announced in the House of Commons: "Field Marshal Sir Archibald Wavell's appointment as Viceroy of India does not imply any change to His Majesty's Government's pledge policy regarding the development of Indian Self-Government.".

25th. Dr. P Varadarajulu Naidu had a discussion with Mr. Mohamed Padsha Sahib, President and some other members of the Madras Provincial League to explore the possibilities of a coalition Ministry in Madras.

26th. The Government of India announced their new loan programme. Two notifications were issued, one closing the Third Defence Loan (3% 1951-54) with effect from July 1, 1943 and the opening of new loans from July 3. The latter included (1) a re-issue of the 3% loan 1963-65 and (2) the Fourth Defence Loan in the form of the 3% loan, 1953-55, subscriptions to either being acceptable in cash or 4% Bonus, 1943.

H. E. the Governor of Bengal, under the D. I. Rules, issued the House Rent Control Order, 1943.

Mr. Nalini Ranjan Sarker presiding over the All-Bengal Food Conference made a strong plea for "a comprehensive plan of action to meet a rapidly deteriorating food situation and its immediate translation into practice."

In the Mysore Legislative Council, a cut motion moved by Mr. S. Narayan Rao to discuss the unsatisfactory way in which lands were being granted for growing more food, and to consider why this policy of growing more food had failed occupied a good deal of time.

27th. The All-Bengal Food Conference concluded its deliberations in Calcutta.

Mr. M. L. Khemka, presiding over the annual meeting of the Marwari Chamber of Commerce, held in Calcutta, expressed the view that an all-parties Cabinet could only tackle the food problem successfully. He criticized the Central and Provincial Governments for the way they had handled the situation.

Sir Shafaat Ahmed Khan, High Commissioner for India in South Africa,

opening the 16th. session of the South African Indian Congress at Johannesburg observed : "Indians do not desire domination or supremacy in Natal. They act on the policy of live and let live. All they insist on is equality of opportunity and abolition of the colour bar which is inconsistent with the sanctity of human rights."

28th. The following farewell Order of the Day to the armed forces in the India Command was issued by Field-Marshal Sir Archibald Wavell formerly C-in-C. :— "H. M. the King-Emperor has been pleased to call upon me to become Viceroy and Governor-General of India in succession to H. E. Lord Linlithgow in Oct. next. I leave, therefore, the office of C-in-C in India, but I look forward to the opportunity which has thus been given me of rendering further service to India and shall endeavour, to the utmost of my ability, to discharge faithfully my new responsibilities to the King-Emperor and to the Indian people."

The Orissa Legislative Assembly met in Cuttack to consider the food situation in the province. The Maharaja of Parlakimedi, the Premier, said that steps taken or intended to be taken for safe-guarding the interest of the people were immediate introduction of the Provincial Government's rice purchasing scheme, the removal of the obligation of the Province to export rice to Madras, Travancore and Ceylon.

29th. The South African Indian Congress concluded its deliberations at Johannesburg.

Mr. D. P. Khaitan presiding at the first Quarterly General Meeting of the Indian Chamber of Commerce in Calcutta, spoke of the food supply position in Bengal and the measures taken by the Government to tackle it.

Notes on Indian History

It has truly been said that a History of India that reveals the whole panorama of the vast millenia of her distinctive life and civilisation in its actual shape and colour and due proportion and perspective, still remains to be written. The materials for drawing such a vast outline and making such a comprehensive and connected sketch are not yet in hand. A fairly definite outline and connected sketch which gives the promise of being some day developed into what is called "scientific history" has, however, been steadily emerging out of the mist that veils the immensity of India's past—a mist which (thanks to the labours of the investigators) has perceptibly thinned without being as yet actually lifted as far as one can now make one's incursion into the age that saw the birth of Budhism and Jainism in India in the Sixth Century B. C. Beyond that there is still only "cosmic nebulae" relieved here and there by a few stray constellations of lucidly distinct historical facts. These "nebulae" have probably a depth and density to be measured only in terms of millenia. But from the position where we can now make our historical prospecting, these vast remote dark spaces of Indian history recede and shrink and fold up and, at last, look like a far-away blank, black spherule beyond the galaxy of human remembrance

Ancient Indian history is, apparently, "full' of such gaps and blanks Beyond the time when Alexander the Great invaded the Punjab (326 B C), the galactical system of detailed and authentic Indian history does not far extend. There are too many unexplored blank spaces and unformed, chaotic nebulae beyond that time still. Beginning approximately with that period we are furnished, sometimes in abundance, with fairly trustworthy material in the shape of contemporary Greek testimony bearing on Indian history, and also, as time rolls on, with inscriptional and other kinds of decipherable and dependable domestic evidence Of course, an immense mass of "documentary' evidence and evidence in the more or less fluid, volatile state of tradition, heresay and folk-lore (written or unwritten) have always lain by the side of the historian hitherto busy with his inscriptions, plates, coins, artefacts and any corroborative evidence that may be forthcoming from outside. And that mass of ancient Indian documentary evidence and tradition has, generally, lain neglected by his side It has been, generally, of little help to him in reconstructing, "on scientific lines", the missing skeleton of ancient Indian History. It has been, however, of great use to the comparative mythologist, philologist and anthropologist.

But even the historian who seeks to reconstruct on scientific line the missing skeleton of ancient history, whether of India or of any other country, should do well to remember that the dry bones of the skeleton he may have been able to put together will not be true, living history unless they can be made instinct with the touch of life which literature, art tradition myths, folk-lore religions and social institutions in their earlier and later forms alone can give. From coins, plates etc., we can build a possible or even probable frame-work of chronology into which we can put our little bits of tested facts according to one possible plan or other. Such a mosaic of dates and facts (mainly relating to dynastic succession war and conquest) is of course important as necessary ground-plan of history. But it is not the completed structure of history. It is not history as an organic process of evolution. So we have to distinguish between structural or morphological history and organic "physiological" history.

Now India has been so far poor in comparison with some other ancient countries like Egypt, Babylonia and China in her "materials" for writing the first kind of history and the available materials, as we saw, do not carry us much beyond the time of Budha and Mahavira in the Sixth century B. C Recently however, a very old and, apparently, a high order of civilisation has been unearthed in the Indus Valley in the Punjab and in Sind, which according to current official beliefs, is of Summerian pattern. The buried cities now discovered bring to light not only very interesting features of a civilisation thriving in the western part of India in so remote a past (when the Indo-Aryans had not, according to the common view, yet migrated into India), but they even put into our hands interesting clues that may eventually help us to unravel many of the riddles of our Vedic and post-Vedic history. The Tantrik cult, for instance, may have older and deeper roots in the soil of India than have so far been granted or suspected. Nothing contemporaneous with or earlier than the Indus Valley civilisation has yet been unearthed in

other parts of the sub-continent. So the present trend of speculation is to regard the Indus Valley civilisation as a short wedge driven into Western India—the whole of which was still at the low level of aboriginal darkness (with the possible exception of some parts that might have risen to the Dravidian 'light' level)—probably by the races and civilisation of Sumer.

We are still in the duskland of probabilities or even less than probabilities as to the dates, origins, early habitats and earlier forms not only of the Indus Valley but also of the Dravidians and Indo-Aryan people. We do not know for certainty when and from where the Indo-Aryans came into India. The fact of Aryan immigration into India itself, though generally accepted, is still disputed. And if immigration be admitted, we have, probably, to admit not one but several successive streams of immigration Such theory apparently called for to account for some of the critical turnings and "sudden mutations" in our ancient historical evolution, will lead to many unexplored avenues of enquiry as to ages and dates, origins and characteristics.

The Rigveda

The Rigveda—the earliest and the most informing and instructive 'documentary" evidence that we possess—appears to set the stage amidst scenes which show the Aboriginal, Dravidian and Indo-Aryan factors fighting for supremacy first in the land of "Five Rivers" and in the Ganges Valley, and then gradually, beyond the Vindhya Range which with its impenetrable forest mantle, stood as a barrier between Northern India (Aryyavatta) and Deccan. Gradually we find the aborigines cornered and driven to the hills and forest where their descendants, more or less Aryanised, still continue to live. In considerable parts they were also absorbed into the fold of Aryan society and culture And in being absorbed they did not fail to impart some little part of their own character of the Aryan complex. There was not so much of racial or even linguistic fusion as of cultural assimilation. The process of Aryanisation in language, culture, etc, has been a process admitting, naturally, of different shapes and degrees, leaving at the one end aboriginal races that have almost kept aloof from Aryan influence and having at the other others that have become part and parcel of the Aryan system. The Aryanisation of the Dravidian peoples, especially in religion, culture and civilisation, has been a much more perfected process. But on the other hand the Dravidian impress on the Aryan system is also in many places, deep and unmistakable. The Dravidian is co ordinated or even subordinated to the Aryan but not lost in the latter. This power of assimilation of alien races and cultures without losing the individuality of its own essential Type or Pattern and without at the same time making the diverse elements assimilated lose whatever is essential in them—has been a special characteristic of the Indo-Aryan race and culture-complex. This has meant organic unity or unity in diversity of a more fundamental and abiding nature than can, perhaps, be claimed for the political or national unity with which histories are commonly familiar. Historians, accordingly, commonly miss the unity which lies deep and sees only the diversity which lies on the surface. India to them is thus a veritable chaos of jarring elements of races, languages, religions, castes, sects and cultures which have never known unity before the days of the unitary political rule of the British. Of course, the introduction, in later times, of the Semitic religions—Muhammedanism and Christianity—disturbed to some extent the ages-long unity and balance of the Aryo-Dravidian culture and social system in India. But even these elements were in the process of being slowly drawn into the sphere of influence of what we may call the genius of India. In other words, a slow but sure process of cultural assimilation even of these 'militant" factors was going apace. Buddhism, which had risen as a "revolt" against orthodox Hinduism—but yet as a revolt from within—and which dominated the situation in India for several centuries, ended in the land of its birth by being eventually absorbed and assimilated into the parent religion. Jainism and many other old or later "revolts" have thus "squared their accounts" with the same parent religion, and have been for many centuries living peaceably side by side with one another and with the latter.

This power of assimilation and co-ordination in which all the components make their own contributions and are permitted to live side by side as members of a commonwealth of cultures, has been the secret of the wonderful resisting and staying power of the Indian culture-complex against such disintegrating forces as have smashed up many an old and glorious civilisation of the world. And it can be easily shown from facts that this staying power has been in evidence not only in the realm of cultural contacts and impacts but also in that of social and political

ones. There have been many raids into India and invasions before and after Christ, but it is a travesty of facts to imagine that Indian resistance has always been weak and short-lived and that such invasions are typically like the raids of Mahmud of Gazni which even swept away Indian armies and kingdoms like cobweb or a house of cards. Before her final subjugation by the Mahammadan Power—and the final subjugation of the whole of India was anything like an accomplished fact only for a time during the reign of the great Mogul Emperors—India had been, it should be *borne in mind*, **a mighty Power and a Model of civilisation and culture for at least three thousand years. And it should be remembered further that when the British in India turned from trade to conquest (always with native help and alliance) they had to settle their accounts not only with Haider Ali and Tipu Sultan in the South but mainly the Maharatta and Sikh Powers which had risen on the ruins of the Mahammadan Power in** *India.*

UNITARY INDIAN EMPIRE

But there were and still have been other factors which, to some extent, operated against India developing a compact and coherent political and military organisation, except occasionally like, for instance, the Great Roman Empire of old or the British Empire in modern times. We possess, apparently, no connected retrospect of the remote past of which the Vedas, Epics and Puranas speak. But as far as appearances go an unitary, centralised, Indian Empire was the exception and not the rule. In later times also, an Empire like that of Asoka was not a common achievement. As we said, India has possessed deep-laid cultural and institutional unity beneath all her diversities. India has fought, and fough bravely, for the integrity of her sacred Land, her sacred religion and tradition, and for their sacred visible Symbols and Embodiment. But she has rarely fought for the "State" as such or an Empire as such. The spirit of her culture did not favour the formation and consolidation of Nationalism in the sense it is commonly understood, and her basic institutions would hardly consist with many forms of centralised State control. The all controlling and co-ordinating Principle was Dharma (*the Principle of Human Values and conduct*) rather than any State agency. Each village, for example, was a self-contained commune and autonomous unit owing permanent allegiance to the reign of Dharma and only temporary allegiance to any kingship that might function for the time being. So the village communes continued to live though kindoms after kingdoms rose and fell. They were but little affected by the accidents and exigencies of politics.

Again, the spirit of Dharma (which should not be translated as religion) has definitely and systematically favoured all human or even all-living values and tendencies and a cosmopolitan outlook, and has opposed militant aggressive, 'predatory", nationalism. The old Upanishads are clear and courageous in their conception of those higher values, and the Dharmashastras (Codes laying down social and individual conduct) were bold and consistent in their execution of those ideas. Later, Budhism and Jainism and other "reforming' movements have tended only to stress such values as non-violence and fellowship with all men and all living being. These forces operating through the ages tended to produce in the Indian classes and masses a common disposition not quite favourable to the formation and consideration of an unitary military state for purposes of offence and defence.

Of the immense back-ground of Indian History which is represented by the Vedas (Samhitas, Brahmans Aranyakas and Upanishadas) the various Sutras (or Digests) Philosophies Epics (the Ramayana and Mahavarata), Puranas and Tantras (our statement here is not anything like full), we possess (unless one is prepared to grant the claim of the Puranas recently put forth in their behalf that they do contain materials for reconstructing a fairly connected chronological history beginning with the very earliest times) very little precise and connected information for the purpose of writing a political history both copious and correct as to facts and their chronological order. But of the ideals and ideas, practices and institutions of the times we do possess a very full, informing and instructive presentation. And after all what is **real history but this ? Scholars have been busy with their sketches and drawings of the ancient orders and specimens of ideas, beliefs, and practices that existed in India. But oftener than not their reviews and retrospects have been made from modern standpoints, with modern notions, cirteria and standards of testing facts and appraising values. This has not enabled us in any just measure, to understand, much less appreciate, a civilisation (not confined to India but, possibly, reaching some of its greatest heights in this country) which was essentially of a different kind, and cannot therefore, be represented as only the first uncertain and timid steps taken on the**

road which has through a long, long march, at last brought us to our present advanced stage. The ideology, plan and methods of that ancient civilisation we have yet not seriously studied and rightly understood. Much of that civilisation we still regard, without understanding, as consisting of "savage" magic, meaningless ritualism, "theological twaddle" and crude superstition. Side by side with all this we find, however, the highest philosophy, deepest mysticism and pure ethics. There is also much that is of original and genuine value from the point of view of human material and mundane progress. This seems to us a curious medley of what is nearly the highest and what is about the lowest. But let us pass on.

Coming to "historical" times we find that the invasion by Alexander the Great of India proves in the result to be little more than a brilliant raid. His victorious armies could only cut off a small slice of North-Western India, and this little slice the Macedonian would ingest, but could not digest. His steam-roller of conquest speedily developed "war-weariness" on the plains of the Punjab, and he had to go back only adding a bit of India to his vast Empire. He had won some of his battles in India, but it had not been an "easy walk-over" with him.

Chandragupta and Asoka

After his death shortly afterwards, the vast Macedonian Empire practically went to pieces. Chandragupta, who became the king of Magadha, proved himself too powerful for the Greek invaders who had violated sanctity and integrity of the sacred Land of the Five Rivers. As the result of the formidable opposition by the armies of Chandragupta, a treaty was concluded between him and the Greek which made him the supreme, undisputed lord and sovereign of the Indian Empire. Megasthenes, who was sent by Seleucus as an ambassador to the court of Chandragupta, left a very valuable record of the times, of the customs and morals of the people, and of the administration, which though unfortunately fragmentary, bears an eloquent and admiring testimony to the high order of material and moral civilization attained by the Hindus centuries before the Christian era. And this high civilisation was evolved in India not in isolation but in commerce with other civilisations that flourished in ancient times, such as the Babylonian, Greek, Persian and Chinese. Chandragupta's son was Bindusara who was succeeded by Asoka (269-231 B. C.), who was undoubtedly, one of the greatest rulers of men holding their sway for the material and spiritual good of mankind. Numerous edicts and inscriptions record the noble and glorious achievements of his reign which, in his later stages, left the bloody path of war and conquest and devoted itself to the much more noble and fruitful task of the moral and spiritual conquest and redemption of ourselves and our fellow-being. With commendable catholicity and tolerance not seeking to impose it upon others by his great imperial authority and power, he exercised that authority and power for the purpose of transforming Budhism, which had been more or less a local sect in the Ganges Valley, into one of the greatest and most potent living world religions. Asoka's reign is therefore rightly held to be an epoch in the history of the world. His edicts also show the man, his ideals and his methods. But all this had not allowed or favoured the cement of the great Maurya Empire setting into the requisite hardness. Independent kingdoms like Bacteria and Parthia took their rise in the border land, and the Greeks renewed their incursions. New races (the Yuen-chi) came in a surge of migration which swept all before them, and in the first century A. D. a considerable portion of the North-west India came under their influence.

Gupta Dynasty

Kaniska, who made Peshawar his capital, proved great as a ruler and as a patron and missionary of the Budhistic religion. Under him the Kushan Branch of the Yuen-chi reached the zenith of his power. But this power fell as another power in middle India rose—the Andhra dynasty. A peak like Amaravati or Ujjain would, some time, rise and shine in the midst of the moving vastness of Indian waters. In the beginning of the fourth century the centre of political influence in India was again shifted to Pataliputra in Magadha as the Gupta dynasty emerged into power. Samudragupta, who ruled for fifty years, and his son Chandragupta, greatly distinguished themselves not only in war but in the sphere of peaceful and fruitful administration, promoting general prosperity and giving liberal encouragement to art and literature, a glorious tribute to which was paid by the Chinese pilgrim Fa-hien. According to his testimony, their Empires were vast and their administration just, enlightened. Towards the end of the Fifth Century—when the White Huns from Central Asia began to pour themselves into India—the sun of the Gupta dynasty set (during whose regime, it should be noted, there had been a revival and

reconstruction of ancient Brahmanism and Brahmanical culture as evidenced especially by the literature of the Purans; but this reviving process was, very largely, a process of quiet adaptation and peaceful assimilation.) More than a century had elapsed after the fall of the Gupta dynasty before there rose another great and enlightened monarch who could emulate with no mean success the greatest of the Indian rulers in historical time—Asoka. Emperor Harsha, who consolidated his authority practically over the whole of Northern India in the beginning of the seventh century, was famous equally for his great prowess, his high intellectual attainments and for the broad catholicity of his religious outlook. An account of his times has been left by a Chinese, Huen Tsiang by name. In that, India is still painted in generally bright and even glowing colours.

MEDIAEVAL INDIA

After the death of Harsha, and gradually with the emergence of India into what may be called the mediaeval period, the conditions which had made the political unification of India sometimes possible in the past, nearly disappeared, and India was thrown into a state of political confusion and chaos in which petty kingdoms rose like mushrooms and constant internecine strife prevailed. Some outstanding figures like Vikramaditya would occasionally appear on the stage; but such events were few and far between. In the South of India was being enacted a very interesting but involved drama in which the Andhras, Ballavas, Chalukyas and Cholas were the principal actors. Kashmere in the North, Kanauj in the Doab and Bengal in the east were also alive with many vivid and vital scenes and events of political, cultural and social interests. But we shall not try to make a review of them here. One outstanding event in the confusion and complexity of the general Indian situation which deserves notice even passing was the rise of the Rajput power upon which the mantle of the old caste Kshatrias (the warrior and ruling caste) fell and which was the chief opposition that the waves of Mahammedan invasion coming one after another ever since the second quarter of the 7th century, had to encounter and ultimately bear down. Guzrat, Malwa, Ajmer, Kanauj and Delhi were the principal scenes of the new drama of Rajput ascendancy—a drama so full of episodes of superhuman bravery, noble heroism and sacrifice for the sacred cause of religion and liberty that they have ever since lived in human memory as models which future generations of patriots in any country might well try to emulate. Though Rajput opposition was borne down in Northern India by the end of the twelfth century, Rajput bravery and the spirit that animated it survived the crash of the Hindu Empire of Delhi and Ajmere over which Prithvi Raj, the hero the last of the Hindu emperors though not the last of the Hindu rulers had held sway. Rajput bravery and Rajput love of independence were still factors to reckon with in the days of the great Moghuls—Akbar, Jahangir, Shahjahan and Aurangzeb. Col. Todd and some others have narrated the story, and it constitutes one of his proudest annals in the vast archives of the Hindu glory in India. As to the conquest of Northern India by the Mahammedans it should be noted the great prize was not very easily or quickly won; that the first Mahammedan impact was in the seventh century shortly after the passing away of the Prophet, and a Mahammedan kingdom in Northern India came into being towards the end of the 12th. century. Even this did not mean either a complete or final subjugation of India, and there is another thing to be noted. Hindu power fell not because its resistance was weak and its bravery and heroism in the field was not backed by adequate tact, strategy and discipline in diplomacy, planning and preparation.

The centuries of the mediaeval age in India were marked by a conspicuous lack of political unity and solidarity. But they were by no means unimportant and barren. It was not a "dark" Age. In the Gupta period and in the centuries before and after, a marvellous process of social, cultural and religious reconstruction was going apace. The old Vedic scheme of social economy (involving as it did the four Varnas or "caste" and the four Ashrams or "stage" of life) was being transformed through a process of adaptation, assimilation and multiplication which made society more comprehensive and at the same time more complex. The influence of Budhism, Hellenism and that of Mongoloid races also led to adaptations and assimilations, in many important directions in the older order of Indian customs and institutions. The gradual assimilation of Budhism itself was a phenomenon of the greatest importance. The Vedic religion survived but it was transformed. The Puranas and Tantras renewed and gave a new expression to the Sanatana Dharma. In the domain of literature, art (both useful and fine), science and mathematics, philosophy and metaphysics these centuries were also productive of fruits that were and still are of

the greatest interest and value. Great poets like Kalidas and Bhavabhuti, and great Philosophers like Shankaracharya and Ramanuja and also other pioneers and masters in other fields formed a galaxy of men of genius and talents which showed that an age of political dis-equilibrium and confusion in India was yet not necessarily an age of cultural depression and darkness and social disruption. The soul of India could, apparently, function to its best advantage inspite of her troubled politics.

But whilst this was true for some time it could not be true for all time. Her politics at last began to tell on her constitution. We do not, however, propose to continue the story through the Mahammedan and British periods. The history of these periods is more settled and definite in features, and these are, generally, well-known. One special feature, which is not always clearly recognised and to which we should like to draw attention is this. From the twelfth century right up to the eighteenth, or even for some time later, the Hindu power of revival and regeneration, of initiation and execution was never like dead or even dying. Independent and often powerful kingdoms like Vijayanagar in the South, those of Pratap, Shivaji and the Peshwas in the west (we do not mention some others e. g. those in Bengal) would, now and then proudly lift their heads and challenge the authority of the great Moslem emperors. Under that authority, too, there flourished many great Hindu administrators, ministers, governors, generals and financiers. In short, during the Mahammedan era, the Hindu genius was not at its best but it was not quite decadent.

The Mahammedan Rule

The Mahammedan conquerors, again, from Mohamed Ghori who wrested the sceptre of the kingdom of Delhi from Prithviraj after a first unsuccessful attempt, came to India as foreigners but they did not remain here as foreigners. India was the land of their adoption. Raids like those by Chengis Khan or Nadir Shah were rare and they did not represent the normal course of events. India suffered, and sometimes badly, no doubt, from the effects of the conquering ardour and proselytising zeal of some of the Mahammedan rulers. But the great Moghuls were as much "children of the soil" as the humblest of the Hindu "heathen". And this sharing together by the Hindus and Mussalmans of a common "hearth and home" naturally tended to breed a consciousness of community of interests in both as India's offspring. There was steady assimilation of the semitic and Indo-Aryan cultures also and even a growing understanding and appreciation of one religion by the other. The religions touched and even blended with each other at their highest points —e. g., in Sufism and Vedantic mysticism. They also met and evolved a broad common "shrine" to which folk beliefs, practices and institutions would bring their united homage. Even a common dialect (Urdu or Hindusthani) was evolved between the two in Northern India which gradually blossomed into a fine literature. The patronage extended by the Mohammedan emperors to Music, Architecture etc was also fruitful of very fine result. India's wealth attracted the trade and commerce of the whole civilised world. In fact, America or the West Indies was discovered in an attempt to discover an western route to the Indian market. British, French, Dutch and Portuguese traders all came and scrambled for market, and eventually, for political power in India. It is also worthy of note that even under the sway of such masterful monarchs as Sher Shah, Akbar or Aurangzeb, the government of the country was in the main decentralised, allowing provincial and local autonomy —down to the autonomy of the village units—to adequately function. Even petty local chiefs—like the feudal lords of the mediaeval West —never unlearnt the art of fighting and governing. So it was always possible for a man of ambition and ability like Shivaji for example, to evolve sanctions whereby he could implement his high political aspirations. It was the very large measure of local autonomy and local initiative that existed that rendered possible the rise of the Marhatta and Sikh Powers and also of the kingdoms of Hyder Ali and the Nizam in the south And British Power in India in its rise to paramounty found its most formidable rivals or powerful allies in them.

The British Rule

In 1599, during the reign of Queen Elizabeth, some merchants of London formed an association for the purpose of trade with India, and this association was granted a royal charter of incorporation. At first this Company was purely a trading concern establishing factories in the east and west coasts of India and in Bengal and administering its affairs in the three "presidencies" which were at first independent of one another but subordinate to the Board of Directors at home. In course of time

however, chiefly with a view to preserving and consolidating its growing and extensive trade in India, in the face of the French rivalry and intrigue and the prevailing political anarchy and unrest in the land, it established military garrison of defence which soon became involved in hostilities that saddled it with territorial responsibilities. It fought some decisive battles in Madras and in Bengal, which raised a trading company to the status of a political Power in India. French intrigue failed and French rivalry practically died down in India. One of the most decisive battles fought was the battle of Plassey in 1757. The battle was won with the aid of faithful native battalions, and with the active or passive support of the generals and noblemen of the unfortunate young Nawab of Bengal. It is worthy of note that the path of British supremacy in India, and often, its influence and prestige abroad has been paved, amongst other things, with the consent, alliance and willing co-operation of the Natives of India. It was so even during the critical period of the Sepoy Mutiny, one hundred years after the battle of Plassey. It was again so during the "ordeal" of the last great War. The machinery of administration by the East India Company was from time to time modified by Acts of Parliament (1773, 1784, and the Charter Acts of 1793 and 1833). By these a Governor-General-in Council was made the supreme administrative authority in India subject to a Board of Control at home. By the last Act, the Company ceased to be a commercial concern and became a political and administrative body only. After the Sepoy Mutiny another Act was passed by which the Government of India was transferred from the Company to the Crown, and thenceforth the Governor-General was also the Viceroy of India. The functions of the Government of India are wide and its responsibilities heavy. But its responsibilities are to the Crown and the Parliament. It has not rested on an elective popular basis. There have been legislative bodies, but its motions, resolutions and votes have not, except as regards certain matters of secondary importance under the Act of 1919, a binding effect on the Government.

India's contributions and sacrifices in the Great War were great, but "reward" that came in the shape of the Parliamentary Declaration promising her a "progressive realisation of responsible government", the stages and times of which were to be determined by the Parliament alone was not conforming to her nationalist aspirations. And the Government of India Act of 1919, which is still in actual function though it has been, apparently, broadened and amplified in some directions by a recent Parliamentary Statute, did not meet the wishes or expectations of India. By that Act dyarchy or a kind of dual responsibility was established in the provinces, where the "nation-building" subjects were "transferred" to Ministers (not responsible however to the legislature), whilst the more important subjects were "reserved". In practice the transference of certain subjects to Ministers (who were appointed by, held office under the pleasure of, and were responsible to the Governor) meant little more than a complication of the administrative machinery which became, in consequence, more cumbrous and expansive. The Central Government continued to remain unitary under the scheme. The legislative bodies, both provincial and central, were expanded with non official majorities, but this placed little power, for construction or even for obstruction, in the hands of the popular parties. Whilst the liberals proceeded to work the scheme, the main body of nationalist forces as represented by the Indian National Congress, would not first even look at it. But some time later, under the guidance of Mr. C. R. Das and Pandit Motilal Nehru, a Swaraj Party, analogous to the present Congress Parliamentary Party was formed which entered the legislatures, both provincial and central in telling numbers and by its obstructionist tactics caused not a little embarrassment to those entrusted with the work of day to day administration. In some provinces it was even able to "wreck" dyarchy for a time. Generally, however, the system has worked, though not satisfactorily even according to official appreciation. We need not in particular refer to the unwelcome labours of the All-White Statutory Simon Commission, to which even the habitually co-operating liberals refused to lend their co-operation. Meanwhile the Congress ideology was becoming bolder day by day, and the Lahore session adopted a resolution setting as the goal of India complete Independence or Purna Swaraj. A campaign of civil disobedience followed to create "sanctions" under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi who has been really at the helm of Congress affairs since the early twenties. The Round Table idea was broached rather too late: but Mahatma Gandhi after concluding, what is known as the Gandhi Irwin Pact, joined the Conference subsequently. The result of the deliberations of that body fell short of the Congress demand. And the Congress again withdrew its offer of co-operation. This was forced on the Congress by the way in which the British ruling classes used during the Round Table Conference discussions India's internal

differences as an excuse for the frustration of her political ambitions. The "Communal Award" of the British Premier, Ramsay MacDonald that imparted a "vote value" to religious differences and social inferiorities revealed the tactics of the Anglo-Indian bureaucracy. It was modified by the epic fast of Mahatma Gandhi so far as the Hindus were concerned. But in its wider ramifications, it has stimulated separatist conceits and ambitions that in course of the last ten years have created a "civil war" mentality in the country where almost every creed and class has been organizing themselves to capture political power in the name of their particularistic interests. It is well-known that Mahatma Gandhi wanted to avoid a fight so soon after the Gandhi-Irwin Pact. This attitude was evidenced by the wording of his telegram to Lord Willingdon sent on the 29th. December, 1931—"whether you expect me to see you and receive guidance from you as to the course I am to pursue in advising the Congress." Lord Willingdon rejected this opportunity of cementing co-operation between Indian Nationalism and the enlightened self-interest of British Imperialism. The second Civil Disobedience Movement was the natural result which continuing for about two years—1932-'34—prepared by repression the mind of India to receive the constitutional changes made by the Act of 1935. The genesis and the long-drawn processes of shaping this machinery were informed by a spirit of arrogant imperialism, ignoring at every step Indian self-respect. The imperial Government could not accept any of the suggestions made in the Joint Memorandum of the Indian delegates nominated by itself. The arrival of "provincial autonomy" changed in no way "a relationship that rests on conquest," whose "sanction" was the physical might of Britain, to quote the words of the well-known British publicist Mr. Brailsford.

With the passage of this Act the ruling authorities hoped that they had been able to so provide things that the men and women of India would remain satisfied with their enlarged electorates, from 70 lakhs to about 4 crores, and with the Ministries charged with the solution of 'things that matter" the problems of health, education and economic well-being with which are intimately bound up the life of the majority of the people These problems of dirt, disease and ignorance could not be neglected any more without doing permanent injury to the body politic. The increasing recognition of this sorry state of affairs joined to the increasing resentment with the pretensions of "external authority", felt by increasing numbers of Indians, created a conflict in the mind of India that was reflected in the discussion of public affairs—a contradiction between the spoken word and the practice that sought to give it shape and form The organization of the election campaign on behalf of the Congress was characterized by this contradiction. The purpose of sending Congress representatives to the Legislatures was declared to be to "combat" and to "end" the Act of which these were the products; the incorporation of the 'Fundamental Rights" resolution (passed at the Karachi Congress, 1931), and of "Agrarian Programme" (accepted at the Lucknow Congress 1936) in the Congress Election Manifesto (22nd August, 1936) held the promise of relief through these Legislatures of the many ills—political and economic and social—from which the people suffered. Facing the Congress Party in this battle for votes, stood the upholders of varied interests, communal and class, that under various disguises and with radical programmes on their lips tried to canalize the rising temper and the organized feeling of the country In the election contest the Congress secured absolute majorities in five provinces Madras, the United Provinces, the Central Provinces and Berar, Behar and Orissa; it was the single largest party in four—Bombay Bengal, Assam and the North-West Frontier Province; in the Punjab and Sind Congress members were in a minority—a negligible minority.

When their leaders were called upon by the Governors in the provinces to help him in forming the Ministries they demanded of the Governors' assurance that use would not be made of their veto and emergency powers, and that the advice of the Ministries would not be "set aside in regard to their constitutional activities." The Governors expressed inability to divest themselves of "certain obligations" which the Parliament had imposed on them. Ensued a constitutional deadlock; the Assemblies were not called in seven provinces; "interim ministries" were appointed to "conceal" this 'breakdown" of the constitutional device, said Prof Berriedale Keith. For four months the controversy waxed and waned. As the statutory period for the convening of the Assemblies drew nearer, the Government, "ultra-sensitive over questions of prestige", yielded. Congress Ministries were formed in seven provinces; in Bengal and Assam, in the Punjab and Sind coalition ministries were functioning from April, 1937; the Congress Ministries from the last week of July, 1937. The refusal of the Congress

to entertain the idea of allowing its members to enter into coalition even as the predominant partner, as it was possible in Bengal and Assam, enabled Muslim communalist Ministries to be set up in these two provinces whose activities helped to work havoc with the decencies of civilised life, to inflame the bitterness of communal feeling and waft its poison all over the country. The lowest depth of this degradation was reached when outbursts of arson and loot in the city of Dacca and the country-side within the district occurred during 1941. The device of the "Communal Award" has been working towards its logical end.

The India Act of 1935 had a federal scheme to introduce. A sort of Diarchy was contemplated, and vast areas of power in the administration were withheld from the people's representatives; the nominees of the rulers of the Indian States were given a disproportionately big representation in both the upper and lower houses of the Central Legislature. The Reserve Bank and the Federal Railway Authority were instances of the former; and the so-called States' representatives were so many "pocket-boroughs" under the command of the external authority represented by the Governor-General. These and the industrial and commercial and political "safeguards' with which the Federal Scheme bristled repelled public opinion in India. The majority of Muslim politicians were afraid of a central Government where their communalist politics will keep them in a perpetual minority and where they were not prepared to play their part in politics free from narrow appeals to credal and class conceits and ambitions. The rulers of the Indian States were reported to be trying to press hard bargains in their negotiations over the Instruments of Accession" both in their relation with the "Paramount Power" and in their apprehensions of the rising tide of democracy in their own States For two years Lord Linlithgow was kept busy smoothing all this opposition with his utmost diplomacy when in September, 1939, the World War II of the 20th century burst upon the world

India was declared a belligerent by the Governor-General without even the pretence of consultation with the Central Legislature This was regarded as an insult to Indian self-respect, it exposed before all the world the unnatural relation that subsisted between India with her 40 crores of people and Britain with her 5; it exposed the hollowness of the slogan raised by Britain that she was being forced into the present war for the defence of democracy. The declaration was no panic measure; the ground had been prepared for it six months earlier by a new Section—Section 126A—in the Act of 1935 securing to the Central Government of India "essential powers of direction and control" over the Provincial Governments when an emergency due to war was proclaimed by the Governor-General under Section 102 of the Act The emergency power granted by this latter Section had been given to the Central Legislature elected on a wide popular franchise, whereas the new Section empowered an irresponsible Executive with power to 'give direction to a Province as to the manner in which the executive thereof is to be exercised." The majority of the Provincial Ministries raised objections to this "invasion by the Centre on the sphere of authority conferred by the Act on the Provinces." Technically the British Government might have been right. But in relations like those that subsist between India and Britain legal and constitutional correctitude does not play a helpful hand.

The actual outbreak of the war did not ease the tension between Indian Nationalism and British Imperialism The Indian National Congress voiced almost universal Indian feeling when in a statement issued on the 14 September, 1939, it called upon the British Government to declare their 'war aims in regard to Democracy and Imperialism and the New Order that it envisaged; in particular, how these aims are going to apply to India and to be given effect to in the present." Such a declaration, said Pandit Jawharlal Nehru in a message to the London *Daily Chronicle*, will be able to "make the people of India enthusiastic for a war which was not theirs." The Congress invitation to the British Government was international in its import. Dissatisfaction with the vague generalities of British politicians that found expression even in the statements of British leaders of thought was a proof that these "war aims" needed clear statement. Other organisations of vocal Indian opinion—the Muslim League, the Hindu Mahasabha, the *Jamiat-ul-Ulema-i-Hind*—the organization of Muslim divines of India for instance—were in their statements as insistent on the clarification of Britain's war aims and their application to the peculiar conditions of India. Up to now, (1942), the British Government has not been able to satisfy any party in India, to set up a Central Government at Delhi-Simla that would enlist the self-respect and self-interest of the country on the side of this

war of continents and oceans This failure had led to the resignation of eight of the eleven Provincial Ministries of the country—Bombay, Madras, Central Provinces & Berar, Orissa, Bihar, Assam, the United Provinces, and the North-West Frontier Province. Two of these have since been revived—Orissa and Assam—carrying on a pale imitation of "Provincial autonomy"—under the rule of the military bureaucracy in India whom this "world war" has placed in this dominant position.

Apart from this argument between Indian Nationalism and British Imperialism, the various elements in Indian composite life have not shown that unity for ends and means that would have wrested political power from unwilling hands The "Pakistan" claim of the Muslim League demands that areas where the Muslims happen to be in a majority should be constituted in sovereign "Independent States." This claim has been recognized by opinion in India and in the wide world outside as a thread to the unity and integrity of India. Confronted by such a situation the British Government stands in anxious helplessness Priding itself on its concern for minorities it finds itself coercing the majority at every step. Since the 8th August (1940) proposals of Lord Linlithgow for the enlargement of this Executive Council, there have been two enlargements thereof till to-day it consists of eleven Indians and four Europeans inclusive of His Excellency. This increasing "Indianization" and the "Draft Declaration" brought by Sir Stafford Cripps on behalf of the British Cabinet in March, 1942, have not for divergent reasons appealed to any responsible party in India. Japan's startling success in Burma, in Malaya, in the Phillippines, in the Dutch East Indies, the failure of Britain, the U. S A and Holland to stand up to the far-flung Japanese aggression have brought down their prestige in the market-place of world affairs. And the peoples of these areas along with those of India have reasons to be apprehensive of their future. A sense of frustration appears to be oppressing the minds of the men and women of India It is not fear of Japanese invasion alone that is responsible for this state of things The evacuation orders on people living in the coastal areas of the country have disturbed and disrupted their habits of life; practically no arrangements have been made on behalf of the State for life in newer places and surroundings for hundreds of thousands of men, women and children. the orgy of profiteering in the necessaries of life; the incompetence of officialdom in face of these anti-social activities all these, the latter two specially, have spread a feeling of helplessness in the country. This mentality has been affecting, however indirectly, the "war work" that was to repel the enemy and wrest victory from his grasp. Since the "Mutiny" days eighty-five years back the certainties of existence for the people of this continental country have not been so rudely shaken as during the first six months of 1942. The break-down of the machinery of civil administration in Malaya and Burma have sent more than five lakhs of refugees to India—men and women of India who had made their living in those countries. This has also added to the confusion of the times. These betokened changes for which the minds of the people had not been prepared. This unpreparedness has created difficulties both for the rulers and the ruled. The Japanese occupation of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands in the heart of the Bay of Bengal, the advance of Japan's hosts towards India's north-eastern borders, the hurried defence arrangements set up in the eastern districts of India—all these signs and portents confront us.

But it is not all dark. In our neighbourhood China has been showing how disappointments are to be faced. She alone has been showing for five years an unbeaten front against Japan. And the visit to India of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-Shek and Madame Chiang Kai-Shek in February, 1942, has been interpreted by all as bringing a message of hope to an India divided against itself and preparing herself to fight against imperialism within and aggression from without. This visit will remain a land-mark in India's recent history. The United States of America has sent to India her armed forces across ten thousand miles of the waters of three oceans to sustain the cause of the United Nations. India, kept unorganized in the modern arts of war and peace, unequal to meeting the challenge of international anarchy, is thankful for such friendliness. But she is not quite happy with this arrangement. For, she remains a debtor both materially and spiritually.

As we send this volume to the Press, we have been passing through an experience of administrative incompetence and greedy exploitation by manufacturers and merchants creating conditions of famine in the country. Millions have died of hunger, of diseases that accompany and follow malnutrition. The year 1943 will be remembered for long years for this catastrophe.

India in Home Polity

For the last four years, since the outbreak of the present war in the plains of Poland, we have been prefacing our study of India's "home polity" with a discussion of events and developments in other countries which have been affecting and are being affected by events in our own country. Previous to this disaster to international relations we in India have been in the habit of looking at the doings of the competing nations of Europe with a certain amount of philosophic detachment. We did not like the betrayal of democratic ideals and principles and practices by the leading nations of Europe and America; more often than not we expressed our disapproval of these successive betrayals in accents of cynicism in the language of a ruthless joy at the discomfiture of the great Powers of the modern world; among these happened to be Britain whose imperial tenure in our own country has embittered our minds which found a particular pleasure in her "loss of face". At the same time we could not be happy with these developments, and expressed our unhappiness in the following words in Volume II of 1939

India's detachment from world affairs

'For eight years India has been watching the inexplicable weaknesses of British foreign policy; for eight years she, an original member of the League of Nations, has been witnessing leading nations of the world breaking all the conventions of this super-national organization, the last hope of peace in the modern world, the last shield of the better life that science and its triumphs promised to the men and women of the world. Britain and France were leaders of the League of Nations. But their politicians took the lead in betraying all the hopes and ambitions that sustained human life under all the strains and stresses of modern life. And, witnessing these weaknesses and betrayals, the people in India were bewildered in their thoughts and activities with reference to international developments; they also shared the universal bitterness of disappointment with things as these happened in Manchuria, Abyssinia, Austria, Czechoslovakia, where Japan, Italy and Germany had one after another extinguished the light of democracy and national self-respect in these countries."

In the background of these disappointments are the cynicism bred thereby, for more than two years we in India looked at the battles far away in Europe and Africa with, as we have said, a certain amount of philosophic detachment. No doubt we sorrowed with and for Poland in 1939, we expressed the opinion that the Pact of Soviet Russia with Germany in the last week of August, 1939, was one of the immediate causes or influences that precipitated the present war and hastened Poland's collapse; in 1940 we sorrowed with and for Norway, Denmark, Holland, Belgium and France, and in spite of our quarrel with Britain we along with the rest of the world looked with painful suspense on the issue of the "battle of Britain" when in August, 1940, Germany launched the might of her air force, the *Luftwaffe*, on the island people standing alone face to face with the victor over half of Europe. But the entry of Japan into this war on the side of the Axis Powers changed all this, disturbed our philosophic calm as Japan drove over Malaya and Burma on to our eastern frontiers and rode over the waves of the Bay of Bengal entrenching herself in the Andamans and the Nicobar islands

Entry of Japan changed all this

at the centre of the Bay. In course of ninety days, with the fall of Rangoon, we were brought face to face with modern war, with total war and all that it has meant to the crores of men, women and children in China and the countries of Europe. The battles in Russia where millions of armed men have been bleeding, and owing to which millions of men, women and children have been turned out of their hearths and homes, did not change the spirit of our dreams, though increasing numbers of people in India have been lining themselves up in thought with the Soviet people. These battles were also far off. But Japanese victories in Malaya and Burma brought these nearer to our doors, at our very doors. Her threat of invasion of India in the spring of 1942 did not come off, and even as we write (in January, 1944) her land forces do not appear to have been able to penetrate inside the interior of India proper. But the measures taken by the Government in India with a view to forestall her forward march into Indian territories have brought disruption into the homes of eastern India. Hundreds of thousands of men, women and children have had to leave the homes of their fathers without any arrangement being made by the State for their shelter, lakhs of boats have been ordered to be removed from the rivers, streams and creeks of Bengal, Assam and the other Bay of Bengal coastal areas, depriving lakhs of people of their means of livelihood, of an ingredient of their food. Lakhs of maunds of paddy and rice were taken out of the hands of people in pursuit of a policy of "denial" of food to the prospective Japanese invaders.

Conditions of famine in parts of India

These accompaniments of moden war, of total war, and the consequent sufferings imposed on millions of men, women and children in Bengal and other provinces, revealed their true nature in 1943 when conditions of famine developed in these areas and carried away to death more than fifteen lakhs of people in course of a little over six months. Controversy has waxed loud during these months with regard to the personal and impersonal factors that have had a hand in helping create conditions that are responsible for this huge reduction in the population of one single province of India. One may feel that this controversy is useless today, has been useless always when we remember that the Secretary of State for India has felt impelled to trace this disaster to an "act of God"; when we remember that the Chief Ministers of Bengal and Assam, both devout Muslims, have felt impelled to declare that these more than ten lakhs of people have died because it was written in the Book of Fate that they would die suffering the pangs of hunger through weary days, nights and months, that they would die in the pavements, in the high streets of the City of Palaces. It may appear futile today to join in this controversy when all the arguments and all the statistics cannot recall to life a single one of the lakhs of lives lost, whether owing to an act of God or to the greed and inhumanity of men or to the policy followed by the State manned in the higher rungs by men who are not responsible to the men, women and children who have died in a society of nations called civilized. But men and women have often to act in spite of cynicism and scepticism, to say things and to do deeds so that the shame and disgrace we have been partners in and witnesses to may not recur again. It may also be true that when a world war has been raging and human life appears to have

lost all value, the death of a few lakhs of people in a corner of a subject country need not excite so much attention and cause so great a controversy. For, compared to the stakes involved in the present war the death of a few lakhs is not of such importance, and the winning of the war by the "United Nations" is the one thing needful for the return of peace and plenty and abundance of life These are valid arguments that must explain, at least partly, why the British Government in London and its subordinate branch at New Delhi-Simla, have not been able to exert themselves as the debates in the Press and on the platform, in the Assemblies and Councils in India or in the Houses of Parliament in London, would lead one to surmise. Acknowledging the validity of this line of approach to a discussion of the matter in a calm and passionless manner, the publicist in India has to record his chronicle of and put his interpretation on the doings of men whose misfortune has got them entangled in this affair of famine in Bengal, in Bombay and Madras, and in the far more widespread scarcity all over India.

Linlithgow Government's short sightedness

In discussing this problem we have to get out of the way the suspicion that any individual or group of individuals worked towards or for this disruption in the life of millions of people with a clear view of the consequences of their actions When the Government of Lord Linlithgow at the advice or under pressure from the Military started their "denial" policy and evacuation orders in eastern Bengal and in other provinces they could not have realized that the social life of the areas would be disrupted in the way and to the extent that it has done since those days in April-May, 1942, when these Governmental activities were ordered. This lack of foresight would be counted against them when the history of this time in India comes to be written The full story of the personal and impersonal influences that are responsible for this famine is not known even at the time when we write these lines, though two discussions have taken place in the Central Legislature at Delhi, one in August and the other in November, 1943. The head of the Indian Administration, Lord Linlithgow, has been almost silent with regard to the long drawn agony of the Indian people of whom he was one of the trustees, if we are to accept at its face value the theory of British imperialists of the brand of Mr Leopold Amery, Secretary of State for India. In the August session of the Central Legislature, in inaugurating it, Lord Linlithgow made reference to the conditions that had flourished under his regime and worked towards the death of millions of men, women and children, while Calcutta was holding the the mirror to the state of things prevailing over the country, His Excellency could not find his way to pay a visit to the afflicted city and province and by his personal initiative and sympathy appeal to the hopeless people, as his successor did within a few days of his assumption of office. Why Lord Linlithgow could not do so failed to appear as a humane man in the midst of suffering people, we will perhaps never know. We are tempted to put it to the exhaustion of body and mind that seven years of Indian administration had caused in him, benumbing his finer sensibilities This failure of the head of the Indo-British administration to fight the conditions of

famine has not been explained either by Mr. Nalini Ranjan Sarker, or Sir Azizul Huq or Sir Jawala Prasad Srivastava, the three members of Lord Linlithgow's Executive Council who have had as Food Member to appear before the Central Legislature to justify the ways of the central bureaucracy to the conscience of the civilized world.

Memory of 1769-70 famine

Writing in January of 1914 of the beginning of famine conditions in the early months of 1943, and almost reconciled to the death of more than fifteen lakhs of Bengalee men, women and children, we have often felt inclined to avoid this sordid story of incompetence in the higher bureaucracy, of the spirit of profiteering that seized Government departments in the provinces, and even in the Central Government, of the greed and inhumanity of the manufacturers and traders of the country. All these combined have helped produce the result, causing the disruption of the social life of the people of the coastal provinces of India. Famines are not a new phenomena in India. We are old enough to remember what happened in the areas stretching from Guzerat to the United Provinces and Central India when the death roll rose as high as two crores of people, recorded in William Digby's *Prosperous British India*. It was caused by failure of the necessary rains. But the experience through which the people of Bengal and certain other provinces have had to pass during the year 1943 were the result of human activity, of the short sightedness of the Government and their incompetence, of the spirit of "get-rich quick" released over the country by the Government's handling of their war orders and the purchase of their other requirements. For an identical experience Bengal has had to recall what happened to her people in the year 1769—'70, twelve years after the Battle of Plassey, almost at the threshold of British rule. Bankim Chandra's immortal novel entitled *Ananda Mutt* draws up the memory of those horrors. He was for a short while Deputy Secretary to the Government of Bengal in the Revenue Department, and his official duties brought him face to face with records of the famine of that year. Failure of rains during the two preceding years prepared the ground for this disaster that carried to death one crore of people, one-third of the population of the then province of Bengal comprising a part of Behar. But men co-operated with Nature in this affair. Sir William Hunter's *Annals of Rural Bengal* and reports of famines in India at various times during the British period expose the human part in this famine drama. After the Orissa famine of 1865 the Government appointed a Famine Commission with Sir George Campbell as Chairman who edited certain of the records of the 1769-70 famine. In an appendix to this report appear how the interference of the Government with the normal functions of economic life led to the disaster of that year.

"In 1769-70 Government by injudicious interference forced the whole stock into the market at the commencement of the calamity. It was declared a crime to lay up stores of the precious commodity against the coming year; every one who laid in stock became a public malefactor;.. his person (was) in constant danger of arrest. Grain-dealing became a dangerous occupation and at the very crisis, when the country could only be saved by a more than usually vigorous traffic, respectable men were deterred from entering or driven from the occupation. As no one was

allowed to hoard, the salutary pressure which immediately enhanced rates would have put upon the people was not allowed to exert its full influence."

"Denial" policy & Bengal famine

The present Food Member of the Government of India, Sir J. P. Srivastava, has been constrained to admit Government responsibility in the matter of the "difficulties of Bengal", unlike his predecessor, Sir Azizul Huq who made no mention of it in his statement made in August, 1943 to the Central Assembly. Sir J. P. Srivastava had to admit

"… it is true that there were certain measures dictated by military necessity in 1942, when there was real danger of invasion, and this contributed to the present difficulties of Bengal. I admit that."

Bengal's food position

The purchases for the growing army and this "denial" policy disturbed the delicate balance in the food situation in Bengal, in Orissa, Travancore, Cochin and certain other coastal areas of India. Statistics have been falling on us in profusion to prove or disprove the surplus or deficit position in food of the various tracts of the country. One can fill volumes with quoting those. We will quote one only to illustrate the position of Bengal; this can be accepted as a sample of the sudden awakening that has come upon the country with regard to the causes of the catastrophe that has overtaken our people.

"Bengal is a deficit Province in rice. Since 1901 the deficit became apparent. During the last 40 years with the rise in population there has been no rise in the production of rice. The yield of rice in 1901 was 24 crore 56 lakh maunds. During the last 40 years the average yield in Bengal has been 20 crore 90 lakh maunds. The annual requirement for direct consumption to-day is about 29 crore maunds. If seed reserve and indirect consumption as *chura*, *muri* etc. are taken into consideration, the total deficit in rice requirement for Bengal amounts to approximately 6½ crore maunds per annum in a normal average year."

"Surplus" & 'deficit' controversy

This quotation is taken from the statement of a non-technical person, Sir Jnananjan Neogy, Officer-in-charge of the Commercial Museum maintained by the Corporation of Calcutta and published in the pages of the *Calcutta Municipal Gazette*. For 40 years the bureaucracy in Bengal has been content to let this perilous state of things continue, the *intelligentsia* who voice public feeling and public needs has been simply watching the dangerous possibilities of the food situation of their province, because their education and upbringing have divorced them from the matter of the provision of food, and they have not known, to quote a homely Bengalee-language idiom, how many grains of paddy go to the making of a maund of rice. The needs of total war have bumped them into a cruel realization that paddy and rice are also things that require the attention of the products of our universities and can well be subjects of study and enquiry in our colleges and institutes of science. The problem of food deficit in Bengal has been denied by Sir Azizul Huq, a native of Bengal who as Food Member of the Government of India said on May 13, 1943, "Bengal was not yet deficit in rice. There would be substantial reduction in the price of rice within a week." This statement he could perpetrate because he had to appear as a defender of the Nazimuddin Ministry in their mishandling of the food situation in the province.

For, it is difficult to believe that Sir Azizul Huq, the author of "The Man behind the Plough", wherein he had talked of the production of his province equalling its consumption, did not know the true brief in the matter. But on the present occasion exigencies of political partisanship deflected his angle of vision. Sir Azizul had written his book basing himself on the facts gathered during his membership of the Banking Enquiry Committee.

Government Enquiry Committee's report

Much later the report of the Bengal Paddy and Rice Enquiry Committee testified to the fact that Bengal was a deficit area. Evidence led before this Committee which appeared in summary in the report testifies to this fact. Dacca produced barely 30 per cent of its paddy, importing the rest from Barisal and Sylhet Representatives of growers of paddy in Serajganj said that the average cultivator had "hardly sufficient produce to last him for more than six months", for the remaining period of the year he "had to buy paddy or take paddy loans". At Kishoreganj in the district of Mymensingh it was said that 70 per cent of the cultivators were in debt; that "only about 5 per cent of the population had a surplus to sell over the year, another 20 per cent had just supply of food to last them throughout the year, and the rest had either to purchase or borrow paddy." At Krishnagar in the district of Nadia it was said that 25 per cent of the population "had no land", "50 per cent of the population did not have sufficient supply of food to last them for more than six months in the year." At Bankura it was said that "60 per cent cannot carry on for more than six months. They have to live on paddy loans" The district magistrate of Burdwan and the chairman of the District Board "were of opinion that the district was about self-sufficient and a "surplus" district, the Secretary of the Union Board Association was of the contrary opinion, although "it exported at the time of harvest." Maldah, according to the District Magistrate, was a "surplus" district. The sample of opinion quoted here go to show that the rulers and the ruled in Bengal have for years been content to depend on others for the essential food requirements of their province. To-day destiny has caught them on their carelessness and lack of foresight.

All-India position perilously unbalanced

And this unbalance is not confined to Bengal alone, but is an all-India phenomenon Students of social life and its dynamics have drawn attention to this danger-spot in the map of India One of the most persistent of them is Prof. Radha Kamal Mukherjee, Head of the Department of Economics & Sociology in the University of Lucknow. In his pamphlet published by the Oxford University Press of India and in his booklet—*Food Planning for 400 Millions*—he has put his fingers on the spot From a statistical examination of the question of population growth and the corresponding increase of food supply he showed how the latter just kept pace with the former. But he strikes a pessimistic note

"... although the rate of growth of the total cropped area has just gone ahead of the rate of population increase, the area under food crops in particular has definitely lagged behind. It is true that on the whole the increase of total agricultural production has outstripped population growth, but the margin is less in the

case of aggregate food production.. ...... This difference between the indices for population and food supply is gradually becoming narrower and this indicates a deterioration of the food position."

These are basic facts of India's economic life known to all, to the Government and to the people. The former has failed to tackle the problem. Statistics are not necessary to prove this failure. The year 1943 has written it large in history The Commerce Member of the Government of India during the early months of this year, Mr. Nalini Ranjan Sarkar, who combined the portfolio of Food for a little while, tried to reassure public opinion by saying that there might be a food shortage of about 4 per cent only, and this need not create the famine conditions that have burst over the country. But it would take a lot of more explaining to trace the course of the tragedy that has overtaken Bengal Mr. Sarkar has said that somehow and somewhen the people lost their "confidence" in the Government of Lord Linlithgow, and in their fear began to hoard and do all manner of tricks such as profiteering. This is the story that has been broadcasted over the world to explain the break-down of the food-front in India. In the issue of the London *Statist*, dated January 30, 1942, we find the following

Play with statiscal figures

"Producers, dealers and consumers have all been hoarding grain. The process was encouraged rather than otherwise by the (Government) fixing of maximum prices, for other grains were left unregulated and wheat farmers felt resentment that their prices were controlled while others were allowed to soar. This no doubt explains why the efforts of a Government food-purchasing agency in the Punjab, were such a decided failure For a time it seems that Delhi might seek a solution by extending price control to other grains, but public confidence has been so severely shaken that this might merely have encouraged the extension of black market activities and hoarding."

The story of hoarding by the agriculturists in Bengal has been disproved by the extracts that we have made from the report of the Bengal Paddy and Rice Enquiry Committee Not more than 10 per cent ot the agriculturists are in a position to hold on to the produce of their fields. The report of the Banking Enquiry Committee tells the same story of the economic weakness of the vast majority of our farming population. Then, how did it become possible for the prices of food grains to soar as high as 500 to 600 percent of the peace time rate? How and why was the middleman allowed to march away with the increased prices? The attempt to control prices failed, and failed miserably. Why? We have seen it suggested in course of debates in the Central Legislature that the traders had beaten Lord Linlithgow's Government in this game of regulation of the economic life of the people. And a helpless by distrustful public has been watching with a certain amount of amusement this tug of war, as the following from the Calcutta *Statesman* go to show.

"Hoarding" & Government control

"Only heads of a very special quality can remember all the varieties of policy about rice that Bengal has seen. The Province has tried controlled prices that never controlled any one, It has seen these abolished in hope that market competition would bring stocks out of their lairs and establish a reasonable price Now, once again control is to be tried ....A perplexed and angry public is likely, and would be wise, to wait until the plan is in working before it begins to count its blessings."

The ineffectiveness of the steps taken by the Central and Provincial Governments in face of shortage of food in the country needs no demonstration today Why they have failed we will, perhaps, never know. We know that owing to the needs of war the whole administration was dictated to by the Governor-General, advised' or guided by the Defence Services. What little of "provincial autonomy" there was in the Government of India Act of 1935 was sacrificed to the god of war. The head of the British bureaucracy has been trying to propagandize the fact all the world over that the department of food lay within the jurisdiction of the Provincial Governments, and that the Central Government in India, headed by Lord Linlithgow, could not interfere with this jurisdiction without breaking the commandments of the Government of India Act. Nobody, however, has been or could be misled by this plea. The addition of a new Section to Section 126 of the Act (Section 126A.) gives full powers to the Governor-General in the provincial field He has on more occasion than one done violence to "provincial autonomy", disregarding the advice and protest of the provincial Council of Ministers. But when famine confronted the country, Lord Linlithgow has failed to use this power with a view to bend the provincial administrations to accept the "directives' of the Central Executive. By this weakness it has not earned the respect of the country, even of the provincial administrations. This was demonstrated in the second week of May, 1943, when the Government of India announced the "free trade" policy in the eastern regions of India to facilitate the flow of food grains from the surplus to deficit provinces But what was the result ? Let us allow Sir Azizul Huq, the Food Member at this time, to describe this experience.

The plea of "provincial autonomy"

"But as soon as free trade was declared in the Eastern Zone obstructions of every kind were placed in its way. I have before me a list of over 60 cases reported from time to time and we have not yet been able to complete the investigation of these cases. But the nature of the allegations are as follows : viz., stocks purchased were requisitioned, the stocks purchased were seized, a percentage of all purchases were ordered to be surrendered, and in some cases at a much lower price than purchase price, stockists were ordered to close down godowns, traders were warned not to sell, station masters were asked to refuse wagons, carters and carriers were stopped from assisting movements, exports were banned by peremptory orders . ..Among those who complained were General Managers of Railways, the Chief Mining Engineer of the Railway Board, the Price Administrator of the Indian Mining Association, the Officer-in-charge of rice supplies to aerodrome construction, Bengal Chamber of Commerce, Muslim Chamber of Commerce, Indian Chamber of Commerce, National Chamber of Commerce, and industrial concerns, not to speak of traders and purchasing agents. It is said that trade agents were arrested and prosecuted and that goods in transit were seized. Thus free trade did not function. Taking the case of one of the provinces, we had an authoritative statement that the province had at least 30 lakhs of maunds of surplus grains. This province did not take any step from January to April to purchase any rice for its own purposes at a time when the price was admittedly low. Yet, as soon as the free trade was introduced, it tried to build up a reserve stock for its own needs. We were just at the time considering the feasibility of gradually restoring free trade throughout India as the only other means of ensuring steady supply, thereby bringing down the general price level and distributing supplies commensurate with the needs of the various parts of India. But, for some time it looked as if this may possibly endanger even the partial supplies of the deficit areas... .."

This rather long quotation does not give the whole story of

non-co-operation by the provincial administrations, their unwillingness to help the Central Government in its food policy. And which were the Administrations that put difficulties in the way? Which of them can be convicted of "obstinacy and selffishness", to quote the words of Mr. Griffiths, a retired I. C. S. who has found in business and politics a more satisfying outlet to his energies. He quoted the "example of a great province which had during the past twelve months one million tons of rice more than its normal yield, but which nevertheless either refused or failed to send even 2,00.000 tons of the excess to help Calcutta in its time of distress." The plea of "provincial autonomy" falls to the ground when we find that the "greatest obstinacy has been shown in some of those provinces which are at present governed under Section 93", those under the Governors, administered by them with the help of "advisers" And the Government of Lord Linlithgow tolerated this obstinacy.

"Obstinacy and selfishness" of provinces

Even in August, 1943, Sir Azizul Huq would not name the recalcitrant provinces that had intensified the famine conditions in Bengal, while members of the Council of Ministers in the Punjab were going about preaching to the agriculturists to withhold their stocks of food grains, and charging the Government of India with profiteering in the matter of wheat bought in the Punjab for the relief of Bengal The Government of Sind has made a profit of about 2 crore of rupees by their food-grains transactions Even the Government of Bengal has, accord- to Sir Colin Garbett, Regional Commissioner of Food Supply in the Punjab, made such a profit to the tune of about 40 lakhs of rupees. Sir Chhotu Ram, Revenue Minister of the Punjab, has tried to give the public details of this transaction "The Punjab wheat lands at Calcutta approximately at Rs. 12-8 per maund. The Bengal Government sells it to mills at Rs 15 per maund, allows them Rs 4 per maund as milling charges, purchases *atta* from those very mills at Rs 19 per maund, and sells it at Rs 20 per maund" In explanation of this curious conduct it was said that the Bengal Government had to "send wheat and *atta* to distant stations and in building up a Stabilization Fund" The Bengal Ministry has, however, produced figures to prove that it would run a loss of Rs 7 lakhs by these transactions. The complications created in the situation by these goings-on by the various Governments, and imitated by the traders and agriculturists, have seen the light of day during the latter half of 1943 They go to show that in hoarding and profiteering the people but followed the example set them by the higher bureaucracy in India And it is no wonder that speculators and profiteers should have beat the examplers in their own game.

"Profiteering" by Governments

The public do not yet know all the moves of this game that have been responsible for the death of about 15 lakhs of people This spirit of profiteering has been the breeding ground of corruption and dishonesty in all strata of society. In course of a debate in the Bengal Assembly a European member charged "persons in high places" with taking a hand in the game of profiteering. And the poison has spread so far

"Profiteering" and moral degradation

that today it is difficult to avoid suspecting all men who are concerned with business and war contracts as profiteers who by their activities have not only helped in the killing of men, women and children, but have spread a contagion of poison throughout social conduct that makes the observer of social tendencies fearful of the moral health of the people both now and in the future. There is a certain school of thought which regards these signs of moral degradation as inevitable during disturbances of human life, occasioned by wars, and by the opportunities of profiteering created by wars and scarcities The famine of Bengal has recalled to memory how this moral degradation ran rampant in the province when the corruption of the officers of the East India Company and their native minions played drakes and ducks with the life of the people

Muhammad Reza Khan & "Provincial Autonomy"

People in Bengal, in Orissa, in Malabar have had recent experience of the torture of these awful scenes ; they have seen before their eyes men, women and children shrivelling in body and getting deranged in mind as hunger gnawed at their entrails. Neither the bureaucracy that had failed to read aright the signs of the coming storm, nor the speculators and profiteers who had cornered the food of the people could be prepared for these consequences of their actions or inactions. But we know by recalling the contributory causes of the 1769—'70 famine that the present crisis followed almost the same course. Sri Hemendra Prasad Ghosh, editor of the Bengalee-language daily—*Basumati*—by his booklet —*The Famine of 1770*—has enabled us to understand the forces that are responsible for the famine of 1943. We have seen that the responsibility for the present catastrophe is being thrown by the British bureaucracy on the Provincial Administrations. So in 1769—'70, Muhammad Reza Khan who was in charge of the finances of Bengal was made the scapegoat. Vincent Smith in trying to exculpate the East Indian Company's English servants has said "they did not then administer the country, of which the revenue affairs were solely in charge of Muhammad Reza Khan.... ." Beveridge, father of the great administrator who has drawn up the "security plan" for Britain, was in the Bengal service during the last years of the 19th century, he could not, however, wholly hide the truth In his history he wrote :

> "It would be absurd to blame Government for these natural calamities, and yet it is impossible entirely to exculpate them. The failure of the rice crop, in consequence of excessive draught, must have been *foreseen* ; and it was, therefore, the duty of Government, while aware that famine to some extent was inevitable, to have taken the means in their power to mitigate it by storing granaries. They appear, on the contrary, to have overlooked their duty as a Government, and to have speculated as individual merchants on the enormous profits which the foreseen calamity would enable them to realize. Before the famine reached its height, almost all the rice in the country was bought up by the servants of the Company, and when the pressure came, they found no difficulty in selling it at ten times the original cost."

Macaulay's verdict

Macaulay in his character-sketch of Clive could not slur over this charge. He felt difficulty in accepting its truth , but he could not help saying that the servants of the Company had probably ventured to deal in rice and "if they dealt in rice they must certainly have gained by the scarcity." He elaborated this theme thus :

"It was rumoured that the Company's servants had created the famine by engrossing all the rice in the country ; that they had sold grain for eight, ten, twelve times the price at which they had bought it ; that one English functionary who, the year before, was not worth a hundred guineas, had, 'during the season of misery, remitted sixty thousand pounds to London."

Sir William Hunter wrote

Sir William Hunter's opinion

"The whole administration was accused of dealing in grain for their private advantage. It was in vain that the Court of Directors wrote one indignant letter after another, demanding the names of the culprits. No satisfactory explanation was ever made ; and the native agents of the governing body remain to this day under the charge of carrying off the husbandmen's scanty stock at arbitrary prices, stopping and emptying boats that were importing rice from other provinces, and compelling the poor ryots to sell even the seed requisite for the next harvest. Not without reason does the Court express its suspicion that the guilty parties could be no other than persons of some rank in its own service."

Warren Hastings' Opinion

Warren Hastings who was an eye-witness of these happenings wrote :

"Yet I have reason to fear that the cause existed principally in a defective, if not corrupt and oppressive, administration. I am sorry to add that from Buxar to the opposite boundary I have seen nothing but traces of complete devastation in every village."

William Bolts' judgment

William Bolts has written the most comprehensive judgment on the state of things prevailing in those days

"The loaves and fishes are the grand, almost the sole object The questions —how many lacs shall I put in my pocket ? or how many sons, nephews, or dependents shall I provide for, at the expense of the miserable inhabitants of the subjected dominions ?—are those which of late have been the foremost pronounced by the Chiefs of the Company on both sides of the ocean Hence the Dominions in Asia like the distant Roman provinces, during the decline of that empire, have been abandoned as lawful prey, to every species of peculators ; in so much that many of the servants of the Company,...... have returned to England loaded with wealth ; where, entrenching themselves in borough or East-India stock influence, they have set justice at defiance, either in the cause of their country or of oppressed innocence."

Cyclic renewals of famine in India

The value of these extracts from the history of the past consists in this that these enable us to rightly interpret the things that we see happening in our midst and before our very eyes. The war has opened out avenues of peculation that many amongst us have embraced with hungry hands. The result might have been death stalking over million homes. Another result will be seen in the rise of the "new rich" reared on the ruins of the many million homes of human beings. Perhaps, it has ever been thus in human history, in the manure supplied by human bones grow new crops of human beings with a new dowering of human values. And the moving hand having writ moves on to write new chapters in our history. But contemporary recorders and interpreters cannot cultivate this philosophic view of human affairs. They are moved by feelings of pity and anger that watch the contagion of callous exploitation of human weakness and distress. In the history of famines in India at the threshold of the British period (1769—'70) we have seen the eruption of human greed and callousness, about one hundred and seventy years later the same phenomenon has appeared. During the intervening period there have been many famines in this country

killing off a greater number of people. But on these occasions we have not read or heard of the orgy of incompetence and greed that has been characteristic of the 1943 episode. A historian of "Indian Famines" has told us that in our country "famines tend to recur in cycles of five years, and the greater ones in cycles of fifty years."

"Roughly speaking, it is towards the middle and the end of each century that the most disastrous calamities have fallen upon India. The famines of 1343—'45, 1540, 1630, 1747, and 1837 were all intense in certain districts but comparatively limited in area, and short in duration. That of 1396, which is said to have lasted twelve years, and those of 1596, 1660—'61, 1803—'04, 1896- 1900 are the most fatal and the most extensive of which history make mention."

Detailed reports of these famines are not generally available Historians have told us that during the pre-British period people used to migrate into neighbouring areas—"this being their first impulse," the stores of grain which wise emperors of the past had maintained, and above all, the principle of mutual assistance and family support of the aged weak, were the real bulwarks in the past against the perils of destitution and the ravages of starvation. This historian—A. Loveday—has quoted from the *Dasaratha Jataka* to indicate the practice of the olden times.

The practice of olden times

"I, however, will give and enjoy,
And I will maintain my relations,
The rest I will protect;
Such is a wise man's vocation."

Famine which has been defined in the Orissa Famine Commission Report as "suffering from hunger on the part of large classes of the population" is a symptom and proof of the break-down of this healthy relationship. The old cohesiveness of Indian society has been disrupted by the onslaught of the industrial civilization and the spirit of individualism bred in and by it. The feeling that we are our brothers' keepers has grown weaker as we have progressed under modern civilization. This weakening of individual responsibility has not been recompensed by the State undertaking the duties discharged by the individual under the older social philosophy. The State in India, as we have it to-day, knows how to keep law and order, "it seldom fails in the policeman's job." But

The modern State specializes in Law & Order

"When it comes to the welfare of the people, it has a stern and unbending faith in *laissez faire* which is in the realm of theory the perfect expression of the indifference of the rich to the welfare of the poor."

In the present instance the State in India, both at the centre and in the provinces, has failed in its duty not because it was smitten by the philosophy of *laissez faire*, but because it was burdened with partnership in a world war in which the heart of the people was not. It had to find its recruits for the army, its workers for the innumerable war industries and countless war services. It could tap the huge body of unemployed in the country whose number ran into crores. Its propagandists on behalf of recruitment went about the country saying that war services alone could assure food

The war & its necessities

and raiment to the people. In Britain and the United States the millions of unemployed which "new deals" even could not fully employ were absorbed in the various war services In India also the same thing happened ; the war services drew into them the hungry and the needy. For the first time in their life those people found the *Sarker Bahadur* interested in them, in meeting their daily necessities, in looking after their cleanly habits, in caring for their health. These people and their dependants have reason to thank a world war for these amenities, for this sudden concern felt by the *Sarker Bahadur* in them. The creation of a purchasing power counted in millions for the millions of war workers has given a fictitious appearance of prosperity to the country which the famine conditions spread over the country has exposed to the view of the world. Increasing numbers of men may be going about in *khaki*, but the number of men and women who are hiding their shame in rags will exceed these in number. War earnings spread over millions of families, however, have not been able to stay the hand of the god of death. India is not the only country that finds herself dragged into war. But we have to know of a country among the belligerent countries, the "United Nations' or Axis, where millions of non-combatant men, women and children have been suffering from hunger in such numbers or where more than one and half millions of them have succumbed to death.

Conditions in Britain and in the U. S. A.

We have heard and read something of the sacrifices that the British have been called upon to make in the various items of their food. Three eggs during a month was a ration, we have been told ; cheese and butter are not generally available , the taste of cheese has almost been forgotten, people wished that they could forget it. Black markets flourished, where thousands of operators have made huge fortunes by trading in scarce and rationed goods. A description of this institution will give us an idea of how the British people have been faring. Cosmetic dealers, bound by no Food or Drug Acts, were selling boot polish as mascara, powdered paint as rogue ; thefts of cloth recently rationed jumped 200 per cent since black market agents warmed their way into department stores , clothing merchants were busily snipping off Government labels from 'utility" suits, to sell these at prices much over the controlled prices ; when London dock authorities opened 50 boxes marked "razor blades', they found nothing but black soil , the blades had been dumped on the black market , because Government does not restrict the sale of "salad onions" (onions with leaves), dealers paddled enormous onions, festooned with leaves, at quadruple the ordinary price. In India these conditions, favourable to the growth of black market, have flourished unchecked. In Britain the authorities have seen to it that the basic food requirements of the people were not interfered with by human greed and human incompetence. In the United States also there have been scarcities. Extracts from U. S. papers make interesting reading in this connection. In the first week of January, 1943, the Food Administrator announced the rationing of "canned, dried and frozen fruits and vegetables' , there was no real shortage of these items, but the fighting forces and Lend-Lease will gobble up half of the year's production leaving to the ordinary U. S.

citizen, numbering about 11 crores of people, 33 lbs. per head as agai the pre-war consumption of 46 lbs. The likely level for butter for year was 17.5 lbs. per person, compared to the 20.5 lbs. that the aver citizen would like to get. Even according to British standards the U citizen would appear to be swimming in a sea of food plenty. months later, we are told that the U.S. citizen had "begun to t of little else but food"; because of bad weather conditions, of flc and unseasonable rains, a 1,500 mile "swath", one quarter of all U crop acreage, was "drenched", some 40,00,000 acres had been floo and knocked out of production for weeks, the "crop prospects v the poorest in three years", wheat production was estimated "d a whopping 26% under last year"; oats, barley, rye, were all "dow In a report published in the first week of July, we read of admi trative "muddle and mismanagement" being held responsible for ' necessary shortages"—this "in the midst of geographical plenty". E was being expressed at the way the British have made a success their subsidy to agriculture, their control over the distribution of f Before the war Britain was importing more than 66 per cent of food from outside her frontiers; today she has been able to halve th import figures. By her control of food-grains "applied from docks to stores", Britain has been able to control the rationing of her n than four crores of people. The United States has to tackle 60,00, farmers. In India also the seven crores of individual farmer fami have found a place in the controversy that has been raging over food muddle in the country. But Mr. Amery and his subordina have not been able to explain why the United States, burdened her "60,00 000" farmers, have not had to face a famine

This picture in contrast between Britain, the United States India, all of them suffering for one reason or other from food shorts tells a story the moral of which has yet to be plained. We have heard that in Britain arran ments for food control and rationing was started th years before the outbreak of this war; in the Uni States they began to talk of rationing after fifteen months of th joining the war. India has been as long entangled in the war Britain herself. But her food situation was allowed to so deterior. that about more than one and half million men, women and children d owing to lack of food during the last six months of 1943. It may well be th for years a large percentage of the people have been living on short ratio knowing not a full meal. Fifty years ago a Finance Member of the Govern General's Executive Council made the remark that one-third of t people of India did not know from year's end to year's end t satisfaction of a full meal. Nearly fifty years later a member of t Indian Medical Service continues this doleful story." Nutrition is

Years of malnutrition in India

'the most pressing of all present-day problems in India, as normal nutriti and health cannot be maintained on many of the diets now used by millions the Indian people"

"Sir John Megaw estimates that 39 per cent of the population is well nourish 41 per cent poorly nourished, and 20 per cent very badly nourished. Or, in ot words, 60 per cent of the population is suffering from malnutrition."

The above quotation is from a book—*Food*—written for children in the Foreword of which Colonel McCarrison put these wor

India's chart of health is not anything at which one can look on with complacence It has been *found* that our daily average number of sick persons per 1,000 inhabitants is 84, while in New Zealand and England it is 19 and 31 respectively. Malaria is almost universally prevalent in this country, one out of 3 5 deaths is due to this cause alone. About one-fourth of the population is victim to this disease, as estimated by the Health Organisation of the League of Nations, causing an economic loss of Rs. 33 crores every year. These are unquestioned and unquestionable facts of India's life. These may explain why scarcity of food should have affected the normally ill-nourished people in India, and they should have in their millions fallen victims to it in its earliest stage. In Britain for about 20 years, from 1918 to 1939, the number of unemployed was on an average about 15 lakhs of people, creating distress and malnutrition to about a crore of people. In the United States for about 12 years, since 1930, the number of unemployed was in the neighbourhood of 1 crore of people These unemployed people, maintained by "doles" from the State or charitable people, could not have been physically fit, could not have been well-nourished. We have not heard that rising prices and disturbances to normal life caused by war have led anywhere near to the scenes of desolation that wide areas in India have had to witness. From a consideration of all the factors connected with food in the three countries discussed above, one is driven to the conclusion that while in Britain and in the United States the ruling classes have been careful and successful in fighting the many complications inseparable from war, in controlling and keeping down the anti-social activities of the hoarder and the profiteer, in India their opposite numbers have been unsuccessful in doing so, have been careless with the fate and fortunes of the millions of people of whom they boastfully claimed to be trustees. To what cause are to be traced this carelessness and failure? Stories of bureaucratic ineptitude are as plentiful in Britain and in the United States as in India One difference there is in the system of administration as it obtained in the two countries of the West as contrasted with India In them the Government is racy of the soil, here in India it is alien to the soil, alien in habits of thought and conduct The individuals forming the bureaucracy in this country are many of them moved by the highest impulse of social service But they are limbs of an organism that is rootless in the life and traditions of the country. And even with the best will in the world the most sympathetic of these administrators have not been able to do good to the people in consonance with the various schemes that litter the dovecots of the many Secretariats, either Central or Provincial The judgment of a British weekly—*The New Statesman & Nation*—is conclusive in this matter :

Bureaucracy in the West & in India

"There have been and are today among the small body of British Civil Servants in India individuals who toil devotedly It is also true that railways and roads, and in a few places, water-power have prevented the frequent famines of the past. But this is no great achievement for the bureaucracy that has lived through a century and half among this half-starved, short-lived, impoverished and illiterate population. Sometimes it would have been better if it had done nothing."

We have referred incidentally to the attempt made by the British bureaucracy both here and in Britain to throw off their own shoulders the responsibility for creating and failing to control the conditions of famine that have devastated the country. Lord Linlithgow has not been as vociferous in this game as his chief in London, Mr. Leopold Amery, Secretary of State for India. The British Government with Mr. Churchill as Prime Minister has preferred to keep studiedly silent over the matter. The British public, engaged in a life-and-death struggle, has also failed to bear its influence on their Government for the relief of the famine-stricken people in India. On the occasion of previous famines the City of London headed by its Lord Mayor used to initiate the Mansion House Fund for relief. On the present occasion these were absent. These symptoms of indifference will require some explaining.

British indifference to India's present famine

An attempt has been made to make a special case of the famine so far as it related to Bengal Sir Azizul Huq, in his apologia made to the Central Assembly in the special session held in August, 1943, tried to foist the responsibility on the Bengal Ministry that had Mr. Fazlul Huq for its Chief Minister in the early months of the year. This ministry had been formed in December, 1941, with the help of Mr. Sarat Chandra Basu, elder brother of Subhas Chandra Basu. It required great courage and self-sacrifice on the part of Mr. Basu to agree to take a hand in evolving a ministry in Bengal free from the communalism that has been characteristic of the ministries since the 1935 constitution began to work in this province. The Dacca riots have thrown light on the devious ways in which members of the Ministry belonging to the Dacca group had been accentuating communal bitterness in the province. Mr Fazlul Huq, the Chief Minister, was of divided mind in the matter of the spirit of separatism that inspired the Muslim members of his Ministry, he was almost a prisoner in the hands of this group. The Dacca riots must have opened his eyes to the danger of the policy that certain of his Ministry had been following. This awakening must have been one of the contributory causes that had forced the resignation of Khwaja Sir Nazimuddin and other inveterate members of the Muslim League. We will never know the other forces that had hastened this change. Mr. Fazlul Huq has never been happy with this separation; we know that he was anxious to make up his quarrel with the Muslim League, to wind up the Progressive Coalition Party that formed the Ministerial Party, which, to quote the words used by him in his letter of repentence to Mr. Jinnah, "existed only on paper" This letter exposed Mr. Huq's position as nothing else could have done as successfully. It showed that his majority in the Legislature was unreliable or growing unreliable. It also explained why the permanent officialdom at Writers' Building in Calcutta dared work against his Ministry, supported as it was by the Governor of the province It also explained why he felt helpless in handling the food problem complicated as it was by the machinations of the bureaucracy referred to above. It is true that the war has killed all possibilities of good embedded in the 1935 Act; it reduced the Ministries into a useless and wasteful paraphernalia of administration.

Fazlul Huq ministry's record

Mr. Fazlul Huq felt more helpless when the Finance Minister in this Ministry, Dr. Syama Prosad Mukherjee, resigned, forced into this step by the way in which Lord Linlithgow had been handling the general political situation in the country. In his letters addressed to the Governor-General on various occasions, specially during the latter part of 1942, he as a Minister of the Crown made efforts to reconcile the self-respect of India with the enlightened self-interest of Britain. In his letters to the Governor of Bengal, Sir John Herbert, he pursued the same theme. In his letter of resignation sometime in the middle of November, 1942, addressed to the Govenor, he did in addition expostulate with him for his invasion on the Ministerial field, for his disregard of Ministerial advice, for his activities that worked against the policy and practice of the Ministry, for his reliance on permanent officials who formed a cabal that was immune from the influence of public opinion in the country, and that preferred the interests of Britain to those of the country that fed them. In this letter Dr. Mukherjee is reported to have drawn pointed attention to what the police and the military had done in Midnapur in complete disregard of civilized methods of administration, of human consideration. Under other conditions this charge sheet would have discredited before the bar of world opinion the men and the system of Government that tolerated such "methods of barbarism". Both Lord Linlithgow and Sir John Herbert appeared to have ignored this protest and condemnation. Dr. Syama Prosad Mukherjee's letters have been banned from seeing the light of day, and replies that they might have made to these letters have shared the same fate. Sir John Herbert has left the field of his mundane activities, the public in Bengal have not had an opportunity to judge between him and the Ministers. Lord Linlithgow has left India, unsung and unwept he and his government have failed to meet the charge-sheet that Dr. Mukherjee and others have framed against them.

Dr. Syama Prosad Mukherjee's resignation.

We must return now to the reasons which enabled official and non-official influences to discredit the Fazlul Huq Ministry in Bengal by exploiting the food crisis in the province Muslim League politicians were set deadly against him; his attempt to creep into the Muslim League organization must have repelled his non-Muslim supporters. Permanent officialdom was repelled by his agreeing to hold an enquiry into the stories of atrocities and frightfulness brought against the police and the military in the Bengal Legislature. The European group which held the balance of power in the Bengal Assembly naturally followed the line thrown up by the Secretariat. Sir John Herbert was consistently antagonistic to the Ministry, why he was so has not been explained. One reason may be that as the Fazlul Huq Ministry drew its strength from the nationalist, non-communal impulses and principles of the province which is synonymous with those represented by and in the Indian National Congress, the British bureaucracy, angered by the "Quit India" movement, could hardly tolerate its existence in the scheme of a State that was non-national, non-Indian Ringed round by these antagonistic forces the wonder is that the Ministry could function for more than sixteen months. It failed to tackle the food crisis, because the complica-

Forces that brought down the Fazlul Huq Ministry

tions created by the Central bureaucracy was as unhelpful as the provincial. In course of a discussion in the Bengal Assembly held in the second week of March, 1943, raised by an Opposition motion on the supply and distribution of food stuffs, coal, kerosine and cloth, all pertaining to the daily necessaries of the humblest of homes, the Minister (the Nawab Bahadur of Dacca) made complaint that all "our difficulties arose mainly from the uncertainties of Central Government policy." The Chief Minister (Mr. Fazlul Huq) who wound up this discussion struck a pessimistic note all along his speech, he spoke of circumstances "over which we had no control" more than once in course of this speech, he seemed to suggest that things had been allowed to drift to such a dangerous distance that it was beyond human agency to control and set these right Mr. Huq was not very communicative with regard to the circumstances that had brought conditions of famine to Bengal, he had "got to see" that he did not "use any words which may lead to any apprehension in the mind of the people or cause panic". But he seemed to unburden his mind in the following words

"I confess that I have been extremely unhappy about all that has happened concerning the Civil Supplies Department ever since the promulgation of denial policy in April, 1942

The problems were very complicated, and various factors came into play which rendered it necessary for officials to take quick action. But there were various reasons why actions that were taken did not produce the best results. As regards the officials concerned, I gladly admit that most of them were extremely brilliant members of the Indian Civil Service, and as regards the non-officials they were men who had attained positions of eminence and dignity in the public life of this country. But it so happened that many of them not only did not actually know what they were doing and could not appreciate what the results would be of the policy they were following in consequence of their meagre knowledge of the habits and customs of the people .... In many of these cases directions came from the Centre, and so far as I can remember, many things have happened to which the Provincial Government not only give no consent but have entered firm but respectful protest."

Here are hints and suggestions of Central incompetence the details of which the public do not know Lack of Central knowledge was never better illustrated than in the speech made in the Legislative Assembly in the middle of February, 1943, by Mr Nalini Ranjan Sarker as Food Member in the Linlithgow Executive Council In his attempt to assure the people that there was really no deficit in the food supply of the country, he said :

What the Central Governmet did

"The nett gap in our total supply of food grains during 1943, after taking into account the increase, our requirement would not exceed two million tons, representing a deficit of no more than 4 per cent in our total annual production of the principal food grains. In some of the years immediately preceding the war we pulled through equal or bigger shortages without feeling much strain. The carry-over from previous years might no doubt have stood us in good stead, but even after allowing for this the House would agree that the estimated deficit as such was certainly not of an order that would warrant any alarm"

The Food Member of Lord Linlithgow was speaking in this strain from a brief prepared by the Central Food Department, and that at a time when during the harvest time of the principal food crop in Bengal, rice was selling in the province at the rate of Rs. 13 to Rs. 15 per maund in the country-side and much

Its attempt at misleading

higher in Calcutta. It is to utterances like these at which reference must have been hinted by Mr. Fazlul Huq in the speech quoted above. Mr. Sarker's successor, another Bengalee, Sir Azizul Huq, was not only as unilluminative, but he was partisan in presenting the brief on behalf of the Linlithgow Government In order to save the face of this Government he told the story of what the representatives of the Bengal Government and of the Ministry had said at the Food Conference held in December, 1942 Mr. Fazlul Huq had attended this conference. Sir Aziz quoted him as saying "We know rice is not enough for us. We do require some wheat from outside. We do not want to be fixed to a policy. We shall act as we may decide" As regards rice the statement on behalf of Bengal was as follows "We do not require for the next few months any rice even though we are in deficit." Hearing these words one could echo the ejaculation uttered in the Assembly—"Happy-go-lucky"!

Mr. Fazlul Huq's case

Mr. Fazlul Huq, however, has challenged the accuracy of this presentation of the rice position in Bengal, he has charged Sir Aziz with tearing words from their context and omitting important reservations, and thus misrepresenting the position taken up at, this conference by the officials from the province, and by him as representing the Ministry; he has asked Sir Aziz to get published the full speech or speeches made by him In course of a reply Sir Aziz has made a fairly long quotation from a speech of Mr. Huq's, but this does not contain the words that would justify the position taken up by Bengal at the Food Conference. Mr. Huq, therefore, had to requisition the help of a member of the Central Assembly to explain his position Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi came to his rescue, and in course of a speech made during the food debate held in the middle of November, 1943, when famine had already carried off a million people of Bengal, he quoted the words that put a new complexion on the whole controversy.

"We do not require for the next few months any rice even though we are in deficit, provided you do not export any rice from Bengal and provided you give us sufficient wheat for our consumption. And it is then and then alone that I shall be able to pull though for the next few months"

The Fazlul Huq Ministry spoke of a surplus

These conditional words justify the position taken by Bengal at this Food Conference. The suggestion of Sir Azizul Huq, if it has any meaning, seems to be that the Bengal Ministry always minimised the crisis in the food situation in Bengal, that the Government of India was not kept informed of the growing worsening of conditions in the economic life of the province. It is difficult to accept at face value this plea. Bengal forms part of the war front, the Government justified their removal of food grains policy on this plea, they must have known and understood the consequences of this policy and the dislocation that it would cause to the life of lakhs of people, their activities all over the eastern provinces must have for their success the support and acquiescence of the people of these areas It would do discredit to their intelligence if they failed to take count of these factors of the situation. Over and above these, the angry discussions in the Bengal Legislature gave voice to the premonitory rumbles of the storm that was to burst over the province's life. In April, 1942,

there was full-throated condemnation of the "denial policy" and the dire consequences that flowed from it. The procurement policy through Agencies adopted by the Central Government, and the disturbance it caused to the confidence of the people in the normal flow of trade and commerce, the helplessness of the Ministry in this matter—all these facts were ventilated. In the September (1942) session of the Bengal Assembly a non-official resolution on "Price control and supply of food-stuffs and other essential commodities" was the occasion for full discussion of the problem. The Chief Minister, Mr Fazlul Huq, gave an "account of the various activities" of the Bengal Government during the previous six months. In the former Dr. Syama Prosad Mukherjee spoke on behalf of the so-called Food Minister, the Nawab of Dacca. In course of their speeches both the Chief Minister and the Finance Minister made statements that have a bearing on the value of the statistics of food-grains production in the province. We quote both these.

"In this Province the problem (the supply and price of the necessaries of life) is complicated by the fact that Bengal is not self sufficient as regards any of its food supplies except rice .. Even in the case of rice we have seen the difficulties of securing adequate supplies to the public at controlled prices the difficulties of price control are greater still when we have no control over the source of supply."—*Mr. Fazlul Huq*

"As has been pointed out in the statement made by the Hon'ble the Chief Minister, ...that barring rice, in respect of other essential commodities, we have to depend on other parts of India .. "

"With regard to rice, Sir, the figures which were supplied by the Agriculture Department for the year that is about to close go to show that Bengal would have surplus rice to the extent of 3 to 4 lakh tons which come to more than a crore maunds of rice. I know, Sir, that it will be asserted that those figures are not dependable. Obviously, I am not here saying that the figures are absolutely dependable, but there are certain methods of calculation which have been pursued in the past, year in and year out, and more or less these figures have not proved violently incorrect But this year, although the year is not yet out, we are faced with a problem which certainly gives an impression everywhere that there has been a shortage of rice in the Province. Now, people say that rice has not come from Burma ; that is true , and also that there was a heavy export of rice from Bengal during the first few months of the year 1942 ; that is also true, but taking all those into calculation we cannot help feeling that unless something has gone wrong somewhere in a manner which is not imaginable there must be surplus rice available in the Province..... " Dr. *Syama Prosad Mukherjee.*

From these quotations we are led to conclude that in September, 1942, the Ministry of Mr. Fazlul Huq could be persuaded to announce that there was surplus of rice in Bengal though the the upward trend in its price had already begun it was being sold at Rs. 10 per maund, at the price that was double of the normal. Why the two Ministers did so, we can well imagine They must not make statements that would add to the panic of the public, even if it required a little manipulation of the truth. We have heard it suggested that it was under Central direction that the Government of Bengal felt it to be its duty to minimise the growing intensity of the food situation in the province. The surplus position of Bengal in the matter of rice was required to be statistically proved and maintained. As a result of this policy the public has been fed with statistics while the men, women and children in wide areas in Bengal, Orissa, Travancore-Cochin, Bijapur and a few other districts in Bombay, in the districts of Cuddapah and Kurnool in Madras were dying in the midst of this plenty. The two

Under Central Direction

statements of the Bengal Ministers to which we have drawn attention have thus to be taken with the proverbial grain of salt.

Statistics & hunger

We have seen how statistics have misled the country. These have not been able to satisfy hunger And having passed through the tragic experiences of 1943, the man in the street, the man whose taxes maintain the huge administrative machinery may feel that less of statistics and a little more of sympathy and imagination would have been more helpful during these months We have seen members of the Governor-General's Executive Council, even those who were charged with the duty of finding the food for the people, trying to defend their position with the help of these statistics of crores of maunds of food grains being moved from surplus to deficit provinces and areas Failure of surplus provinces to contribute to the relief of the deficit have also been sought to be statistically proved Herein the transport arrangement of the country have come in for its share of criticism. These charges and counter-charges, a study of these, have become a torture to the mind For these lead us nowhere The hungry people starve and die whether or not these be scientifically correct

Provinces & States did not help Central Government

But out of these slinging of statistics one thing has come out prominently that the provinces and States of India have not co-operated in fighting the famine Free trade in food grains was announced in the third week of May, 1943 The Provinces and States that fell within this free trade zone began to behave in a strange manner, the ruling authorities began to put all sorts of obstacles in the way of the free movement of food grains on which the life of millions in Bengal depended The story of this shame has not found a place in the Press of the country, the public has been kept in ignorance of this It was only when people began to die in the streets of Calcutta, and the correspondents of the world's Press had an ocular demonstration of the civilized administration of Britain in India, it was only then that the Government of India raised a part of the veil Sir Azizul Huq was chosen to do this unpleasant work He traced the source of the evil to many months previous to those we have been discussing. The third Price Control Conference was held in the third week of October, 1941. The representatives who attended it, some of them, showed their mind by starting to oppose the proposals for the control of agricultural prices as that would be "only in the interests of export.

"Some of the representatives were not only against the control of prices but were in favour of a further rise in the prices of rice and opposed to any import of rice from Burma. Punjab was emphatically against any control of wheat prices and was not in favour, in any circumstances, of any control during harvest"

Why the Linlithgow Government tolerated this non co-operation?

The full story of narrow parochialism revealed itself later and showed all its ugly features when free trade was introduced by the Central Government in the Eastern Zone—in Behar, in Assam, in Orissa and the States comprised therein, in May, 1943. There was a sudden rise in the price of food-grains in these areas causing distress and suffering to the people concerned. The ruling authorities made their protests to the Central Government, they went beyond words in bringing home to the

latter the unwisdom of ignoring local interests. We have already quoted from Sir Azizul Huq's speech the nature of the obstructions that they put in the way of the flow of food grains to the deficit areas. The wonder has been, why did the Government of Lord Linlithgow tolerate these practices even when it found that these threatened distress and death to millions of people? We are not impressed by the plea that "provincial autonomy" could not be touched. For we know that when the British Government or its subordinate branch in India which is the Government of India as by law established, decided to do a thing, the provincial administrations and feudatory States have had to fall into line with this "general policy", the latter have to act according to the "directives" issued from London and carried to them through the "post office" at Delhi-Simla. The latest example of such concerted action was shown in the campaign against the "Quit India" movement We know there were Ministries that did not like the way in which this campaign was directed. Why did the Government of Lord Linlithgow regard the food crisis as not deserving of "directives" in such tones that the subordinate administrations would recognise the master's voice in them, and hasten to act up to these? In all the laboured replies of Mr. Leopold Amery to the charge of neglect we could not detect one reason for this supineness. It would remain one of the enigmas of Anglo-Indian history.

Fazlul Huq Ministry & the Governor

The failure of the Linlithgow Government to tackle the food problem of the country is writ large in the famine that during the last six months of 1943 carried death to more than 10 lakhs of men, women and children in the single province of Bengal. We have seen why the Fazlul Huq Ministry that held sway in the province till the 29th. of March, 1943, failed to rise equal to the situation. The then Governor, the late Sir John Herbert, was antagonistic to it from the beginning of its career, from the second week of December, 1941, within a week of the attack by Japan on Anglo-American territories in the Pacific region. We have tried to explain above why he felt and behaved like this. Mr. Fazlul Huq and his political supporters have charged this Governor with consistently working against it. But the later did never care to meet it or rebut it; his superiors, Lord Linlithgow and Mr. Amery, appear never to have asked him to publicly explain his conduct, questioned publicly as it has been by a Minister of the crown. So we are left with one side of the version. Sir John Herbert has left this world to settle account with his Maker, but his earthly superiors have up till now taken no step to vindicate the character of his administration of Bengal when a great volume of opinion in the province challenges it. On the 28th. of March, 1943, he surprised Mr. Fazlul Huq with a demand for resignation without giving him an opportunity to consult his colleagues in the Ministry or the Ministerial Party which the day before had defeated the Opposition by a handsome majority. Why Mr. Fazlul Huq did not refuse to resign and thus force the Governor to dismiss him, we have not been told. The Governor is said to have asked for this resignation in order to make it possible for him to form an all-Parties Ministry. In course of the discussion on the 27th. March, Mr. Fazlul Huq had announced his willingness to sacrifice his position for such a development. The

mouth-piece of the Muslim League party in the Bengal Assembly on that particular occasion had made a dead set against the Chief Minister by saying that "as long as Mr. Fazlul Huq stays there, as long as the Hindu parties think that they can use him as a puppet, as long as they can bolster him up and support him, there is very little chance of compromise and understanding between us.. We cannot come to an agreement as long as one particular person is being propped up by one party ...should this impediment disappear . on our part there will be no stone unturned to arrive at an agreement between the Hindus and Muslims " The spirit of personal vendetta displayed in these words did not make any appeal to the vast majority of the members appealed to though their confidence in Mr Huq did not avert the result—the end of this Ministry, the nearest approach to a non-communal Ministry that it was possible to have in Bengal under the dispensation of the Macdonald "Communal Award ".

The Nazimuddin Ministry & use of political patronage

The Ministry that was pushed into power under the leadership of Khwaja Sir Nazimuddin was faced with a food situation that was perilously near famine For about a month the province was ruled by the Governor under Sec 93 , and these days were utilised by the aspirants to the Ministry in securing new recruits with promises of the good things of the earth The Governor was more than helpful ; while he had refused the request of Mr Fazlul Huq to expand his Ministry of eight by the addition of two "scheduled class" members, on the present occasion he allowed Sir Nazimuddin to have a Ministry of thirteen with not less than that bunch of Parliamentary Secretaries Mr Fazlul Huq had been content with a single Parliamentary Secretary. There is nothing legally corrupt in this arrangement , but the opening of flood-gates of political patronage by Sir John Herbert recalls to memory how in Britain's island history this trick enabled Walpole and Pitt to work parliamentary institutions As our legislators are trying to learn the trade, they must also be prepared to imitate those examples, to adopt the trade mark of British parliamentarism This was, however, an episode soon forgotten but the evil may live long with us.

Their helpless imitation of the Central bureaucracy

Of more immediate importance, however, was the way in which the new Ministry would be meeting the problem of food for the people of Bengal. They must have known the many pitfalls that their predecessors had failed to negotiate or been unable. They must have known that the problem had been made almost hopelessly difficult by the policies and practices of the Writers Building wiseacres. They must have known that in meeting the needs of their people they would have to depend on the good offices of a Central Government that had been proved ineffective, to depend on the "surplus" provinces for the flow of food to their people. Knowing these difficulties the Ministry could only justify its existence by the success which it could make of the food job. When Sir Nazimuddin accepted the commission from the Governor to form the Ministry, and after distributing basketfuls of patronage succeeded in drawing

away a certain number of the supporters of Mr. Fazlul Huq from their political allegiance to him, he must have known that Bengal was "deficit" in food, and that without the help of the Central Government it would not be possible for him to get food grains from the "surplus" areas. But he could not declare, as his predecessor had not been able to do, that deficit position; his Civil Supplies Minister, Mr Suhrawardy, and his Finance Minister, Mr. Tulsi C. Goswami, both of them were found to be echoing the Government of India thesis that Bengal was not "deficit". When these bold assertions proved false, the former had the hardihood to say that he knew the true position but he uttered the contrary and felt clear in his conscience in this matter because he did not want the people to get panicky with regard to the food situation. And when the Ministry found that it had gone beyond their control, of the control of Lord Linlithgow's Government, it could only imitate the ineffectiveness of the Delhi-Simla bureaucracy They got defeated at the hands of hoarders and profiteers of rice as the latter had been in the matter of wheat Their confession of defeat was quite handsome:

"When on 11th March last the Bengal Government abolished statutory maximum prices for rice and paddy they hoped that this step would mobilize hoarded stocks, bring them more freely into the market and so reduce the level of prices.

These hopes have been belied At the present time prices are at a level out of reach of a large section of the population "

The Opposition could not fail to point out that under the new Ministry things had got worse, that the stories of corruption that had been bandied about during the Fazlul Huq regime were more plentiful during the Nazimuddin regime This hot controversy led people in the other parts of India to think that famine in Bengal had become the sport of politics, that Bengalee politicians found more time in fighting amongst themselves than in fighting the famine. Mr. Mahommed Ali Jinnah was constrained to declare that his followers accepted the Bengal Ministry knowing full well that they could act only as members of the "fire brigade," the food situation in Bengal having reached the stage of a conflagration The criticism of his party, as voiced forth by the Secretary of the Muslim League, a member of the Central Assembly, at this state of things was directed personally against Lord Linlithgow, who was Food Member if there was such a thing in his Government even at the beginning of 1943. The question has yet to be answered—why did the Muslim League politicians accept the Bengal Ministry with such eagerness, why did they go into so much trouble and manoeuvring, knowing the consequences of this eagerness for power which did not take long to come as during the latter half of 1943 famine conditions revealed themselves in their full ghastliness? Perhaps, considerations of political strategy moved the Muslim League leadership in taking this fateful step. They forgot the lesson of the life of the Muslim Finance Minister who in the year 1769—'70 had tried to please the masters of the East India Company and was made by them into a scape-goat of their fleecing the country. So will Khwaja Sir Nazimuddin and his Ministry find mention in Bengal's history as the "autonomy Ministry" that failed to meet the

Why did the Muslim League accept the Ministry?

food situation of the province, and by failing was responsible for the death of millions of their fellow-countrymen and women. Their title to a place in history was that they agreed to serve as a smoke-screen to the incompetence of the Linlithgow Government

We have discussed thus far the administrative chaos that has been responsible for this famine. We have to find the positive acts that precipitated it. We have heard of the "denial policy" in the carrying out of which the then Governor of Bengal, the late Sir John Herbert, had played such an enthusiastic part We have been told that this "denial policy" handled only about 40,000 tons of paddy and rice, about 10 lakh maunds of these. To outer seeming the amount is nothing compared to the 30 crore maunds of rice that is Bengal's annual requirement. But there is no doubt that this step started a disturbance in the normal economic life of the people, sapping their "confidence" in the established order of things We have also been told that the major portion of this "denial" of food-grains was used to feed the people of Bengal, less than a quarter went out of the province Being some sort of a military tactics, this "denial policy" is shrouded in secrecy, even people like Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi, who had "something to do" with this matter, cannot make it comprehensible to the public, owing to this secrecy people have put all sorts of interpretations on the matter. In the August (1940) session of the Central Assembly Sir Abdul Halim could only point out by dark hints and suggestions to the devious ways in which this policy was carried out And those speaking on behalf of the Government could not remove the impression created by these hints and suggestions. They were less than dark in the matter

Workings of "denial policy"

While on this subject of "denial policy", one is tempted to test its usefulness under modern conditions in the crucible of experience gained during the present war, as well during China's six years' fight against Japanese imperialism This policy had an uglier ring in the phrase—"scorched earth policy" The Anglo-Indian bureaucracy have tried to make it acceptable by this change of name. Historians have told us that Napoleon's invasion of Russia was frustrated by the burning of everything before his army -houses, buildings, granaries, standing crops—anything that could be of use to the enemy China is also in a position to claim that she has been able to hold up for these years by following this tactics, Russians are said to have drawn upon Chinese experience during their present fight with the German hordes they are reported to have sent men from their fighting forces for a course of training in the Chinese school. So much has been written on this subject that it requires hard-boiled scepticism to question its validity, the thoroughness of the destruction that the "scorched earth policy" calls before the mind. The first thing to consider is that this policy has not been able to halt the initial sweep of the invading armies either in China or in Russia that the destruction in no case has been as complete as the policy required for its success. In Burma also the retreating British army was said to have burned its way back to India. That did not prevent Japanese forces from over-running the country. We do not know the details of destruction that Chinese

Effectiveness of "denial policy"

armies wrought in their own country; the same is the case with Russia. In the adoption of the "denial policy" by the Linlithgow Government under military advice, we feel that it was done as routine business, success or failure in which did not matter much. For, it is difficult to believe that the Delhi-Simla military bureaucracy could think that invading Japanese army with their possession of the granary of Burma would be much inconvenienced by the "denial" of food grains in the eastern provinces of India where flowing rivers and creeks would enable *shampans* to accompany them with food. If Japan could invade these areas they would have established control over the head of the Bay of Bengal, the possession of the Andamans should have made it easy for them They failed to exploit this advantage in 1942, the first six months of 1943 have also passed without the Japanese being able to come over. It is not possible for us to pass judgment on the success or failure of the so-called "denial policy" that has caused so much suffering, upsetting the whole economic life of the coastal areas on the Bay of Bengal, spreading from Bengal to Ceylon. In the absence of fuller knowledge which would be forth-coming after the war when the various phases of war tactics would be scientifically studied, we need not be dogmatic The following from the *Review of World Affairs* of November, 1942, should help us to stay judgment. The article dealt with the "denial policy" followed by the Soviet in its attempt to halt the German invasion

"Between the 22nd June and October 20th (1942)—120 days—the enemy advanced along three main routes which, when measured as the crow flies, was in the north a distance of approximately 400 miles, in the central sector 600 miles, in the south nearly 700 miles. This was a gigantic operation, and we would be foolish to under-estimate it .

"But the achievement is very dangerously under-estimated. People have not realized that the industries and resources lost by the Russians have been in a large measure gained by the enemy. As reported last month the earth is not as scorched as some think. Damage there has been, but if we take the most important—namely, the Dneipprovostov Dam—we must report that it is not beyond repair. At this very moment 1,50,000 Russians are working at the job. Throughout the conquered territory the Germans have set to work with demoniacal energy to organize and restore. The system is ruthless, the method brutal, but the job is being done, and the enemy is making the utmost use of his gains"

The amount of food grains involved in these "denial policy" operations, as told us in Government statements, may not be large. But these released certain abnormal forces over the country-side that disrupted the economic structure of our habitual, placid life. In addition to meeting the needs of the "denial policy," the Government had to have food grains for the use of its fighting forces, for the vaster number of workers in the war industries for the few lakhs of its officers of all grades; the railway administrations entered the market for providing food for its people, the industrialists followed this example. All these combined to initiate the policy of purchase that has come to be known as "procurement." This vast operation of purchase became connected with the "denial policy" in the month of April—May, 1942. Previous to this period, "procurement" had been a normal process for the fighting forces only. The exigencies of war made it into a flood where competing purchasers descended on the market and upset its balance. This was how the "denial policy" and the "procurement" policy got entangled with each other.

Purchase of food-grains by Government & others

For carrying out the policy of removing "surplus food stuffs from the coastal districts" of Bengal, the Government appointed certain agents whose duty it was to remove these "to safer and deficit areas as far as possible." Muslim League politicians have told us that the Government went down on its knees to Clive Street, to help them carry out this project. But Clive Street, the "Big Business" of Calcutta dominated by Scotchmen, would not respond. So Sir John Herbert without consulting his Ministers placed this work in the hands of Ispahani & Co. But the Ministry did not like a political rival handling such a big contract. With a view to placate them the Governor seems to have permitted the appointment of certain other agents suggested by the Ministers This was how Mirza Ali Akbar, Ispahani Co.'s nominee, had to agree to the distribution of the work among four other agents—H. Datta, A. Bhattacharya, B K. Poddar and Ahmed Khan The first-named purchased about 3 lakhs maunds of rice and paddy; the second about 4 lakhs maunds, the third about 90 thousand maunds; the fourth about a lakh maunds, and the fifth about one lakh ten thousand maunds. The limit of the price fixed by the Government within which these agents were to make their purchases was about Rs. 6 per maund. There were other agents—bigger agents—Ralli Bros, Steel Bros, Louis Dephres, the United Kingdom Commercial Corporation, to name only a few—who did the same job for the Government in this and in other provinces of India It is a moot question whether or not the purchasing agents of the Government kept inside the limit of the price ceiling fixed by the Government. Their method of business has been looked upon with increasing suspicion by the general public.

How Government agents worked

Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi who has his affiliations with the Government and is a businessman who has his finger in many a pie in the line has by his indiscreet speeches in the Central Assembly exposed the activities of the Government agents Speaking in February, 1943, when wheat prices appear to have been giving trouble, he said

The case of wheat & rice purchase

"Here there was a ceiling price and wheat in the market could not be sold at more than that price. Government themselves began to buy freely, through their agents, in Bombay and Karachi, at higher prices than the controlled rates—thus themselves violating the price which they had fixed for others. this was the cause of the failure of the fixation of ceiling price for wheat. . The result was that all wheat in the market went underground .. This benefitted neither the farmer nor the man in the street."

The same thing happened to rice in Bengal. Let us describe the working of this process in Sir Abdul Halim's words:

"The Hon'ble Somerset Butler who has the experience of the working of the rice control scheme in Burma was the officer who was entrusted with the work of carrying on the denial policy and who had instructed the buying agents to buy at Rs. 6-8 per maund in the muffasil while the Secretary to the Commerce Dept. of the Government, had fixed the maximum price of rice at Calcutta at Rs. 6-8 .....The Government of India's agents were buying rice in the muffasil at Rs. 6-8 plus 10 per cent at discretion. How then could the merchants sell that rice at Rs. 6-8 at Calcutta? So they stopped importing rice to Calcutta and that resulted in the artificial shortage of rice in Calcutta."

At the August session of the Assembly he returned to the charge:

"When the Government of India fixed the ceiling price of wheat at Rs. 6 at its source plus the transit charges to its destination where it will be sold, the

United Kingdom Commercial Corporation

United Kingdom Commercial Corporation were freely buying at Bombay and Karachi at a much higher price than was fixed by the Government of India. That being the case, how could anybody believe that the level of price could be kept down? Perhaps, the United Kingdom Commercial Corporation can be said to be the first to create a black market in this country."

Some more light was sought to be thrown on this matter at the discussion in the Bengal Legislature in the middle of 1942,

How Government agents depressed the market

when members representing constituencies of the countryside brought the charge that the prices fixed by the Government were more often than not beaten down by the agents, dressed in the authority of the ruling authorities The police and even A. R. P. volunteers were seen acting as guides to these purchasers, their presence in the village markets in the company of the agents' people created an impression that helped to depress the market, to keep other purchasers off, to create conditions that favoured what is known as "cornering.' It is in an atmosphere of unsettlement created by fear of Japanese invasion, created by Governmental measures adopted to foil this invasion, that the agents of the Government, purchasing food-grains on behalf of the Government, found an opportunity to buy cheap and sell high. This was the beginning of the mischief. Other mischiefs followed naturally. Big businessmen doing war work, controlling thousands of men doing jobs essential for war, entered the rice market, and helped the confusion started by the Government agents. They hoarded food-grains for their workers, in many cases in excess of their requirements. Purchases by the Government, also in excess of their requirements, pushed the confusion a little farther.

These accumulations deprived vast areas of the country of their normal stock of food-grains These accumulations, these hoardings,

Food-grains rotting in Government's care

should bear a part of the responsibility for the famine conditions prevalent in the country We have been told that the hoardings for the fighting forces are renewed every six months, the old stocks being thrown on the market every six months. We do not know in what condition these stocks are when these are thought to be unfit for the consumption of the fighting forces. From our experience of Government supplies to the civil population during 1943, from what we have seen of Government stocks of food-grains in railway stations and sidings, in the *godowns* spread over Bengal, both in the urban and rural areas, we cannot say that the hoardings under Government are quite fit for human consumption. We know that even when these had begun rotting, the red-tapism inseparable from Government offices did not allow these to be released in time. This happened when men, women and children were not able to secure food for themselves. District authorities, their supply officers, were found helpless in ordering the movement of these food-grains at the time when under their jurisdiction people were starving, dying in hundreds and thousands. Statistics may be produced by Government apologists to prove that their arrangements were of the best or could not be improved upon. But these claims have been tested in the crucible of sufferings of millions. The dread experience of famine that Bengal has passed through has tested these arrangements, and written its verdict in the pages of history.

While writing in such detail of the personal and impersonal forces that precipitated scarcity and famine in the country we have been conscious of the fact that we are in the grip of forces that are non-moral or a-moral. Responsibility for this break-down in decent human relations may or may not be brought home to individuals or group of individuals

Exploiters and profiteers of Indian birth

The demand for the impeachment of Lord Linlithgow and his advisers for this debacle may have only a historical interest now. But what we are more concerned with is not the past but the future. We are convinced that what nas happened could not have happened if men of Indian birth had not succumbed to the impulses of greed, of getting "rich quick" driven thereto by the opportunities opened by the war Many a "House" might build up its fortunes by exploiting the helplessness of their neighbours. But the harm done to the moral life of the community by the outburst of the greed will live amongst us and influence conduct for generations to come It is to the workings of this poisonous infection in the body of society in the present and in the immediate future that we look with apprehension. Men and women who could succumb to this temptation will not be very congenial people to live and converse with, decent people to commerce with in things of body and mind We have very often felt that the late Sarat Chandra Chatterjee, the Bengalee novelist, was right when he had said that in a subject country the political quarrels and controversies that make so much of history and which appear to be mainly directed against the rule of the alien authority are really between sections of opinion and interests in the heart of the subject population. These quarrels and controversies are really caused by the divergent views entertained by various elements of the subject population with regard to the elements of good and evil implicit in alien rule. When they are agreed that the best of alien rule is evil, the quarrels and controversies cease or are not much heard of, and the days of alien rule are numbered In the light of this remark of our great novelist, the quarrels and controversies that have been raging round the famine in India, it is up to the Indian publicist to trace the causes to the impulses of greed that broke loose among the men of Indian birth and created such a havoc amongst us The external authority against which the unbribed intellect of the country has been fighting all these decades is external to our life because it has never cared to shed its external habits Today when we claim that we have understood the wrongs done by this external authority, it would be more wise, more honourable to direct our attention to the sources of evil amongst us than in the external authority which happen to hold sway over our life In this search we are confronted with the fact that men of Indian birth co-operated with the operations of the Government which knowingly or unknowingly have brought the disaster to the country, causing the death of millions.

Cloth famine—cloth makers and dealers of India

This fact should be burnt into our conscience into the conscience of our society in the heart of which these Indian profiteers will live and work. In the food-grains trade these exploiters have sought to cover the traces of their evil doings by directing the attention of the public to the policy of the Government. It may be difficult for the general public to spot out the activities of the Indian exploiter and

profiteer hid as these are behind or under the activities of the Commerce, Supply and Transport Departments of the Government in India But the section of them which are connected with the manufacture and trade of cloth cannot hide their shame behind the incompetence of the bureaucracy and its erratic policy. They have driven their people to go in rags or go naked by pushing the price of cloth four times that prevailing before the war. They have shown by their conduct that to keep them straight, to compel them to follow honest trade, Japanese and British and other foreign cloth interests should be allowed to compete with Indian mill-made textiles. The absence ot these competitors, owing to the war, has enabled the Indian manufacturer and trader in cloth to grind the face of their Indian neighbours, men and women and children. We have been told that owing to Government monopoly of the products of the Indian cotton mills, the people have had to go in rags or go naked. Here also statistics are thrown at us to confuse the issue, to mislead the people. But we find cloth-mill owners or their managing agents making a present of a pair of *saree or dhooti* within the price level of Rs. 3 a pair, as certain Bengalee cloth mills are known to have done on the occasion of the Durga Puja of 1943 in favour of their share-holders These pairs ot cloth could not have been made a gift of at less than cost price. It has not yet been explained how this trick could be done. A member of the managing agency of a particular mill was asked by a share-holder, who had been benefitted by the gift of cloth, how this could be done, he was put off with the remark that there are many intricacies in the matter which it would require a long time to explain

"Standard cloth" scandal

It has been proved that the much-advertised "standard cloth" could not reach the users owing to delay caused by the haggling of the mill interests for their pound of flesh. In the month of June, 1943, the Government announced their measures for the "control on the prices of cotton cloth and yarn" If we are to put trust in reports from Bombay there appears to have been a tug of war between the Secretary of the Government of India in the Industry and Supply Departments and the representatives of the mill-owners. The latter are said to have opposed the scheme by a frontal attack on Government failure to distribute the 50 million yards of "standard cloth' that were to have been in use by the second week of April 1943, on their allowing the export of 1,000 million yards of textiles instead of the pre-war 100 million yards. The constitution of the Control Board on which the success of the cloth-control scheme depended showed that they had been able to impose their terms on the Government Out of the 25 seats in the Board not less than 15 were given to the mill-owners of Bombay, Ahmedabad, North and South India, 2 seats went to the cotton trading interests held by the very interests that dominated the textile industry, 5 seats were given to traders and distributors affiliated to the same interests, Labour got only 1 representative. Thus the various interests got 96 per cent representation in the Control Board, the 39 crores of consumers got almost none. The cloth famine of 1942—'43 proved that the Government which was supposed to represent the people was as careless and incapable of protecting their interests as it has shown itself to be in

the matter of food. A lot of play was made with the fact that during the last six months of 1943 the price of cloth had come down 40 per cent, that is, while in the beginning of the year it had been Rs. 10 to 12 a pair, during the latter half it was Rs. 7 and 8. We do not think that this was any relief to the consumers when we remember that this pair of cloth could be got for less than Rs 3. The trick of the new order of things was that after having pushed the price of cloth to four times the pre-war price and extorting it from them, the consumers were asked to be thankful to the cloth manufacturers and cloth dealers for bringing it down! As in food so in cloth, "cornering" was allowed to flourish under the very nose of the Government In Delhi, it has been reported, there was in *godowns* cloth worth five crores of rupees, in Amritsar were huge stocks to last for a year. The Government failed to control this profiteering It has been suggested that the lure of Excess Profits Tax stayed the hands of the authorities. And Mr. Jamnadas Mehta was not far wrong in his remark that the *Bania* has beaten the Briton in this game.

People by their listlessness helped profiteering

It has often been discussed among the people that the hoarders and profiteers could not have evaded the law if there had been no connivance of their anti-social practices both by the Government and the public. It is quite possible that a certain section of the public which was making money were able to throw a smoke-screen around their goings-on, helped thereto by corruption in the high places of social and administrative life Otherwise it is difficult to explain the failure of the Government to suppress activities that defied their so-called Defence of India Rules. This failure showed that there were elements in Indian society which, if they felt inclined or found it profitable, could hold the forces of law at bay, could defeat Government in one of the major fields of its many duties. Why these elements did not choose to fight the Government in the political field, and wrest power from it? The student of affairs in India has to find a clue to this question. Again, why should the vast majority of the people, more than 90 per cent of them, consent to be exploited by their neighbours, as it was done in 1943? The Food Minister in the Nazimuddin Ministry in Bengal when he returned discomfitted from his "food drive", from hunting out the hoards of food in the homes of the people, is said to have declared that the hoarders evaded him and his hunters by removing their hoards to jungles and other out-of-the-way places. This removal could not have been done without the help of conveyances, of porters The hoards could not have been removed without the people in the neighbourhood knowing something about it Why did not these people whom the removal of food from their midst hit so hard, why did not these people raise up the hue and cry, and set the forces of law on the track of these vanishing food grains? The failure of the people to put a stop to these activities that threatened the life of them all, of their near and dear ones—how are we to explain it? The questions raised here deserved enquiry by those who aspired to lead public life, to organize their people for the assertion of their rights as human beings, as citizens of a modern State. Unless they can get at the root of this helplessness, of this lethargy on the part of the major-

ity, they will fail in their attempt to wrest political power from the present holders thereof. The better life cannot be built on such littleness of mind, on listlessness that would not put up a fight for the bare necessaries of life.

Administration & exploitation inter-linked

About forty years back Lord Curzon, the then Governor-General of India, during one of his most expansive moods of imperialistic drum-beating, addressing the tea planters in the Surma Valley of Assam, had declared that administration and exploitation were parts of the same duty in the government of India. This administration was carried on with the help of our people, this exploitation both in its good sense and bad is being carried on with the co-operation of our people. It has been a silent process, sucking the blood of the victim unknowingly to him. Now and then our people grow conscious of it, raise a howl, and make a row. 1943 was such an occasion. The Government in India and its Indian co-partners were caught in their game. The game was that concerned with financing the war activities. The "defence expenditure" has more than quadrupled under its various disguises. Lord Linlithgow's Finance Member had to find money for this willingly or unwillingly the people of India have had to find it for him. One of his devices has been the levying of an excess profits tax The mill-owners of Ahmedabad are said to have put Rs. 10 crores, and the cloth dealers Rs 2 crores on this account alone. These amounts they have taken out of the consumers, and paid them into Sir Jeremy Raisman's hands. In this transaction they have acted as collectors on behalf of the Government. If these men of Indian birth had not indulged in the orgy of profiteering, the amount of excess profits tax would on paper have made a smaller show. But they chose to find it more profitable to play Sir Jeremy's game, and thus helped in grinding the face of their own people. In this connection a great word-play is being enacted by the use of the words—inflation and deflation. Very few of us can be expected to understand the significance of these words, though we may be made to feel in our bones their depredations. The editor of the London *Economist* has tried to make the subject comprehensible to our understanding by saying that "inflation" is the "name given to the method of reducing the consumption of the public by increasing the prices of things they buy.........if the Government's expenditure increases without the public's expenditure being reduced, pound for pound, then whatever the outward appearance of the financial devices adopted, they are in fact, inflationary" Judged by this test, the hand of the Government in pushing the prices of commodities of every-day use is unmistakable. And our Indian manufacturers and traders have added strength to this hand. So will history judge.

Gandhiji's struggle against these

We have been led to devote so much space to a discussion of the break-down of social life in our country not because we expected better things from the imperialism that holds sway over us, but because we expected better things of our manufacturers and traders, many of whom have for the last quarter of a century had opportuni-

ty to imbibe the lessons of the life of Mahatma Gandhi with his message of non-exploitation. We know that our leader has no illusions with regard to the spirit that moves the ordinary man in his money-making activities. He has given us a glimpse of his mind in the *Hind Swaraj* wherein he drew pointed attention to the way in which the mill-owners of western India had exploited the Swadeshi movement initiated by Bengal in the opening years of the present century This is an old history today But we grieve that many of us who have had that bitter experience have lived to see and suffer from the outburst of the same selfish, shameless greed. And in such moments we are driven to cynicism as we watch the deterioration that set in the public morality of our country. It is of these weaknesses of this nature that Gandhiji has been trying all these years to rid our national life, it is really against narrowness of vision found in our make-up that he has been staking his life on so many occasions trying to recall us to our glory as human beings and Indians. His latest fast of 21 days may appear to be directed against the stogginess of Lord Linlithgow, against the aspersions that the British bureaucracy has thrown on his life's mission But really, it was against our internal weaknesses that enabled Lord Linlithgow to act as he did.

His latest fast & its reaction on opinion

We do not propose here to go over the reasons adduced in the Tottenham pamphlet published by the Government of India on the 13th February, 1943. British propaganda has seen to it that the disturbances that had followed the arrest of the Congress leaders after the passing of the "Quit India" resolution by the All-India Congress Committee should be interpreted to the "United Nations" public as a deliberate interference with the organisation of offensive operations against Japan with India as its main base and source of supply The violence that had characterized this ebullition of public feeling was represented as desired by Mahatma Gandhi, as a smoke-screen for his pose of moral warfare, robbed of all bitterness, pointing out to a new technique of fighting injustice and regaining self-respect, individual and national. For about four months this mud-slinging continued to mislead the world, to discredit the principle to the service of which Gandhiji has devoted half a century of active life. And at the Aga Khan's palace Gandhiji had writhed at this mis-representation, till his patience appeared to have snapped. He wrote to Lord Linlithgow a personal letter protesting against this official propaganda, asking to be convinced by proofs of the complicity of the Congress with the violence that the arrest of Congress leaders had precipitated, he assured Lord Linlithgow that he would make "ample amends" if the official charge-sheet could be brought home to him This expostulation did not move the "stern symbol of British policy"—to whom "*British* praise went for being the first Viceroy to withstand the pressure of a Gandhi fast", to quote a U.S. weekly, the *Time* of New York. India might palpitate with anxiety at the news that at his seventy-fourth year Gandhiji was preparing himself for a fast of 21 days with a view to cleanse himself and the atmosphere of the frustration that hovered over his native land. But the leading countries

of Europe and America amongst the "United Nations" could have no appreciation of the Gandhian method of political warfare. The paper we have already quoted put their point of view when it said :

"The blunt truth was that the western world had always been less interested in the fate of India than in the turn of war between the British Raj and such articulate Indians as Mohandas Gandhi. Now, once the excitement of the fast was over, the West was not greatly concerned about the life or death of a shrivelled little man in a loin cloth."

Gandhiji's faith and mission in life

These words may sound very cruel in our ears But the people of India would be gaining an understanding of "real politics" which influence politicians most if these words are accepted as friendly advice. The Archbishop of Canterbury might deplore that the political deadlock should have persisted, betokening a "spiritual alienation" not only between India and Britain but between India and the world for which the U.S. weekly speaks. Writings in connection with this matter, appearing in Britain and the United States, have followed the line thrown by the spokesman of the Government in India when it characterized Gandhiji's fast as "political blackmail"; as intending "to restore failing leadership", to use the words of the *New York Herald-Tribune*. Another U S. weekly, the *Nation*, meant kindly when it wrote : "Mr. Gandhi's 21-day fast appears to be politically a confession of weakness and personally a token of strength." We are prepared to leave it at that, knowing full well that the strength of inspiration in the leadership spreads amongst the commonalty of the land, that the spark of divinity impregnates the common clay in and through a gifted man who feels the most the injustices and brutalities of existence and by his reaction to these shortens the lease of their life. Since Gandhiji came into the leadership of his people he has not only purified himself through successive "crucifiction" of the flesh but has helped to purify increasing numbers of men and women both inside and outside of India, strengthening their faith in the ultimate goodness of human nature which is growing increasingly more conscious of the futility of the ways of politicians in settling international differences It is in this larger hope that Gandhiji has been living, it has been sustaining him through the many "experiments with truth" that he has undertaken. Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy, Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University, has described for us how he felt as he was privileged to watch by the bed-side of Gandhiji as a medical attendant. "It was like watching a *yagna*, watching a devotee at his prayers", sharing in the penance of a great soul, his "tapasya". Horace Alexander, chief of the Friends' Ambulance Unit (India), who has established kinship with our country's aspirations through his love of the ideal that Gandhiji has made his own, indicated the way in which a Christian should react to the spiritual ordeal that he had witnessed.

"...to me, I think above all, it is a call to re-dedication. In part, to me, it is a solemn act of self-purification and re-dedication for the sins and sufferings of India and of the world. I think that is surely a part of his message that he sent to us, by calling us to fresh dedication of our lives in the service of suffering humanity."

Congress & Axis Powers

Western commentators, the majority of them, appear to have no better appreciation of Gandhiji's method than that of "his shrewd sense of politics and his ability to regain prestige on fruit juice, water and an unquenchable spirit". To Lord Linlithgow and his brood of British politicians this particular Indian is "a traitor at worst, a troublesome mystic at best", and their handling of the situations created by him during the last three decades first in South Africa and then in India has been moved by this opinion of Gandhiji's personality. The rabid amongst British propagandists have blared about Gandhiji's affiliation with the enemies of the present leadership of the "United Nations"; they have publicized their belief that the Indian National Congress guided by him was prepared to make on behalf of India its peace with Japan They were, however, not sure of this brief. Lord Linlithgow's Home Member in course of his speech during the autumn session (1942) of the Central Assembly tried to say something about the synchronization of the "Quit India" movement with the expected Japanese invasion—"at a time when there was little fear of the development of an enemy attack", this plea was not sustainable as no Japanese attack could be developed at the height of the monsoon, in August, when the Government itself had precipitated the disturbances by arresting the Congress leaders During the winter session of the Central Legislature on the occasion of the adjournment motion moved by Sri Lakshmi Kantra Moitra, secretary of the Nationalist Party in the Central Assembly, rising out of Gandhiji's fast, the Home Member returned to the same plea--that the Congress had hoped that their movement would coincide in time with the apprehended Japanese invasion. The Government refused to budge from their position that no parley could be held with "rebels". even with those who non-violently worked towards disruption of the war activities being organized in India. The controversy with regard to this matter has a historic interest today The difference of opinion between the people of India and representatives of the British Government in this as in other factors in the Indo-British *relationship* will *remain* unbridged as long as they cannot agree with regard to the fundamentals of India's demand for freedom, for *Swaraj* which is another name for national self-respect. The "spiritual alienation" between the two peoples could not be better illustrated than the "logical' way in which Lord Linlithgow was allowed to handle the question raised by Gandhiji's fast.

Wider ramifications of deadlock in India

It is a misfortune that this should have been so The bitterness between India and Britain has had wider ramifications both for the present and for the future. Politicians in Britain might be found to heave a sigh of relief that the "rebellion", in India has been beaten down into sullen silence. But this sullen attitude has been extending to other members of the "United Nations". they feel that they are acting as pawns in Britain's imperialistic game; respect for and sympathy with the cause they represent have lost their initial vigour, all the high-sounding declarations about the 'four freedoms" have been losing their appeal. And the people of India appear to be

resigning themselves to a listless acceptance of things as they are. Sensitive minds in India regard this symptom as very unhealthy both for their own people and for the society of nations which cannot function peacefully with a resentful people of 400 millions, *nursing a grievance, ever open to appeals for the rectifications of* wrongs made by other frustrated peoples. Indians have survived British "dragooning" for decades past, and they hope to be able to survive a longer regime of it. She holds a key position in Asia, and with her unreconciled there cannot be a ordered peace in this continent at least, not to speak of any world-wide "new order". We do not think that the leaders of the "United Nations" do not realize the full implications of the "deadlock" in India. But they appear to be as helpless in the hands of fate as the people of this country are thought to be.

Differences amongst Indians—the stumbling block

We know that the majority of the leaders of the "United Nations" have recognized the validity of the British plea that as the various "elements' in India's myriad-minded people cannot by themselves come to an agreed formula as to what they want, as to the contents of the freedom that they demand, Britain has been left no choice but to hold on to the existing arrangements, specially at a time when these arrangements are essential for the conduct of military operations against the Asiatic member of the Axis Nations. British politicians have been saying that their anxiety to throw the reins of political power over India has created fear among those elements of the Indian population who apprehend that the ruling classes who will be inheriting this power will do them less justice than they have been receiving at British hand. This fear Britain, true to her trust, cannot ignore or brush aside This unwillingness of Britain can only be removed if the various schools of political thought, the representatives of India's various material interests, can work out a joint claim that Britain, true to her many declarations, will have to admit. The varieties of demands made by the different elements of the Indian population are hard to reconcile The ruling authorities have tried to do so, but have failed. Whether this confession of failure is a pretence or not will remain a matter of controversy. There is hardly a responsible public man in India who does not feel and has not given public expression to the feeling that this confession of failure has been a pose and a pretence. The history of British rule in this country is littered with decisions that the external authority has imposed upon the country against the inclinations and interests of its inhabitants. The present war, the way in which India was unceremoniously pushed into it, is the latest case in point. The British Government knows it, or to be honest, ought to know it. No wide-awake political party has liked this entanglement, not even the Muslim League which is being used by British imperialists as their trump card against the Indian demand for *Swaraj*. This organisation and the party it represents have not, as an organisation and as a party, consented to co-operate with the war activities as these are being conducted by the Delhi-Simla bureaucracy. The Indian National Congress had demanded that the British should "quit India" with goodwill and honourably. The Muslim League borrowed

the cry with a little variation. Its President could not think of a better slogan than—"Divide and Quit", thus stealing a thunder from the Congress We do not know if Lord Linlithgow found any consolation in this new demand. He has not been able to respond to it. as he could not to the Congress demand.

Why the Government whose agent he is in India has not given practical shape to this demand of the disruptionists of the Muslim League is not difficult to understand It knows that there are other demands of an identical nature made on behalf of sentiments, ambitions and conceits for separate *enclaves* that would reduce the country that is known to the world as Hindusthan to a jig-saw puzzle. The "non-accession" clause in the Cripps proposals had conceded the spirit of this demand, and thus stirred into consciousness many a sleeping ambition or. conceit. We are, therefore, presented with the spectacle of Dr' Ambedkar's group of the "scheduled castes" wanting a separate "sthan' for themselves , of the section of the Justice Party in Madras represented by Mr Ramaswami Naicker wanting their "Dravidasthan" of a section amongst the Sikhs wanting a separate "Khalsa" territory These are the clamant voices that have made themselves articulate. We have no doubt that with the progress of time every bit of separate caste, class or credal group will be laying claim to separate bits of territory so that they could build therein their special character in culture All such sentiments, ambitions and conceits have been floating in the air, not even the Muslim League has cared to chalk out the territories that would form the units of their Pakistan. We have been told that areas where the Muslims happen to be in a majority should be formed into separate States. Muslim League politicians have not cared to be more concrete or more logical. Because they happen to number less in census reports than the Hindus, so far as the whole country is concerned, they feel that it would not be possible for them to build up their special culture-life in the neighbourhood of other culture-groups. What these special characteristics are amongst our Muslim neighbours which require glass houses for their development, that have been withering in the atmosphere where other groups are having their being, the world has not yet been told. When science has been creating opportunities and instruments for the building up of a world culture, when smaller economic and material interests are being ironed out to form the basis of a world community of richer and more abundant life, India presents the picture of tiny separatist conceits and ambitions raising their heads and breaking up the unity and integrity of a land which geography and history have shaped as one This irrationalism is, we hope a passing phase lashed into view by encouragement from a State system that has not been able to send its roots into the soil of the country If our hope be a liar, and our country is sought to be divided into so many hundreds of *ghettoes*,—the special areas in which the Jews were confined to live in Europe — we should prepare ourselves for a "hundred years" civil war in the country not less devastating than what the World War II. of the 20th century has been causing through continents. For, in this claim for the division of the country into as many States as there are castes and creeds, groups among castes and creeds, there are involved certain

The demand for separate "sthans" in India

principles of social organisation that have never been peacefully accepted or rejected. This is the verdict of history. Perhaps world developments may drive such narrowness from the region of practical ity. But we have to be prepared for the worst, while hoping for the best.

"Non-accession" clause in the Cripps declaration

When Sir Stafford Cripps was sent by the British War Cabinet' with the copy of a draft declaration it was prepared to make, the vast majority of those who had interviews with him felt impelled to take exception to it owing to the presence therein of Clause—C—which ran as follows

"His Majesty's Government undertake to accept and implement forthwith the constitution so framed subject only to (I) the right of any province of British India that is not prepared to accept the new constitutional position, provision being made for its subsequent accession if it so decides With such non-acceding provinces, should they so desire, His Majesty's Government will be prepared to agree upon a new constitution giving them the same full status as the Indian Union."

Example of Soviet Russia & Britain

In this Clause separationists and disruptionists in India have found a new chapter of arguments for dividing the country In the controversy that ensued and has continued since then the example of Soviet Russia has been quoted for the benefit and enlightenment of the Indian people. Art. XVII. of the Soviet constitution is relevant to the issue "To every Union Republic is reserved the right freely to secede from the U. S. S. R. " The "Dominions" of the British Empire enjoy this right. And as none of the constituents of the Soviet Republic and the British Empire have cared to exercise this right, it is urged for our assurance that the "non-accession" Clause in the Cripps declaration cannot be such a bogey as the majority of Indian politicians appear to regard it. The recognition of such a right is a concession to sentiment which has to be taken account of by rulers of States. The real binding forces of States are in these modern days economic and political—the sense that economic interests and the needs of defence are best served by the arrangements that bind the territories. The "Union Republics" of the Soviet Union are held together because they find in the economic system on which it has been reared a guarantee of social well-being, securing to every man, woman and child the greatest opportunities for the full flowering of his or her personality. The colonies of Britain that have developed into "dominions" today have been held together not so much by economic ties as by the enlightened self-interest that found in the British Navy the shield of their existence. Experience during the last World War as well as during the present, appears to be leading those "dominions" to think of other affiliations for the defence of their territorial integrity, specially those offered by the United States of America. In certain previous volumes of the *Indian Annual Register*, specially those of 1940 and 1941, we have discussed the tendencies of such a development. The Soviet Union is a new experiment in economic and political organization. By her heroic fight against Germany and her allies, almost single-handed, Russia has proved the inherent strength of the

organs of her State. None of her constituent States have taken advantage of her difficulties to break away from her society of peoples, none of these have been found yielding to the temptations that Germany must have held to them, specially to those that lie in west Russia, almost across the German border. We have been told that the secret of cohesion lies in Art. XVII. of the Soviet Constitution, conceding to the constituent States the right to secede as and when they liked. We do not know. As we write, the announcement made by M. Molotov that the "Union Republics" would have the right to send their own diplomatic representatives to other States and maintain armies of their own may appear to have added strength to this argument. These two rights have been regarded as attributes of sovereignty, of sovereign independence. We do not propose to be hasty in analysing the many considerations that must have moved the Soviet rulers to concede these rights. We are prepared to leave the matter by quoting what observers have said with regard to the value of the "non-acceding" Clause. M. Stalin has been credited with finding this formula and binding thereby the heterogenous elements in the Soviet State—a League of Nations. John Gunther in *Inside Europe*, in the "war edition" published in 1940, wrote

"His main work was then (1921 and years following when Stalin was appointed Secretary-General of the Party by Lenin) in the sphere of Nationalities. (He had written in 1912 a book—Socialism & the National Question) As a non-Russian he was peculiarly fitted for this task. Soviet Russia was a *melange* of at least one hundred quite separate races and nationalities, and the job was to combine them into stable unity while conceding some measure of provincial autonomy, at least in spirit. Stalin, under Lenin, invented the idea of the U. S. S. R.—the convenient device by which independent and "autonomous" republics became the Soviet "Union", surrendering central authority to Moscow, retaining local administrative privileges."

We do not know how far the recent Molotov declaration will be modifying the existing arrangements wherein the "directives" issued from the Kremlin guide the life and thought of the more than eighteen crores of people living in areas as far apart as central Europe and the Maritime Province of Siberia.

Simplicity of Soviet thought and practice

Apologists of the Muslim League ideology have been trying to rub it in that just as in the Soviet land peace and strength have been found by conceding to peoples of many races and traditions their right to live their own lives, so should Hindusthan secure these by conceding the Muslim League demand. As the Muslims of India are a "separate" nation, because they differ in certain habits of thought and every-day conduct from their neighbours, their right to "separate" bits of territory interspersed throughout the country is legitimate both in the law and the pratice of nations. We have not been told how the Muslims of Samarkhand, for instance, have been able to accommodate themselves to the Soviet ideology, how the special characteristics of their 13-hundred years old traditions have managed to live and flourish under and side by side with those that have sprouted only 25 years back. The Russian example will lose its appeal unless we are made acquainted with facts that have a bearing on the matter under discussion. The beliefs and practices of the Soviet Republic have no relation to any of the other-worldly intuitions on which the major

religions of the world claim to build all their traditions. The ties that hold the millions of the Soviet land are made up of the warp and weft of economic activities. Art. XII. of the Soviet Constitution said · "In the U.S.S.R., work is the obligation and honourable duty of every able-bodied citizen, in accordance with the principle—'He who does not work, neither will he eat." This simple formula is as old as creation, and Soviet philosophy does not recognize any other cement of social life. This simplicity has an appeal to a world burdened with a thousand inhibitions. Not so the idealisms that move the Muslim League propaganda. They are seeking to make the particularities of their life into so many barriers between neighbours amongst whom they have been living for centuries. In one breath they deny that the counting of heads has any validity in the State-life they would like to have in India; in the next they say that where they happen to be in a majority, men of other creeds must agree to yield to their claims as a majority. The principle of majority rule cannot thus be played with in a serious discussion that concerns the life, liberty and pursuit of happiness of millions of human beings. If differences create the right to divide and separate, the minority may torpedo the Muslim League ideology as successfully as the Muslim League politicians have been holding up the advance of democratic freedom in this country. Before they expect people to seriously consider their proposals, they must show their hands—how do they propose to protect interests under whatever name these may pass—whether as Hindus or Muslims, whether as capitalists or proletariats, whether as workers in factories or in fields. They must show how they propose to solve this problem as it affected other minorities.

Exchange of population & "living space"

The logic of their propaganda should have told them that only a vast exchange of population in the immediate future can lay the foundation of the Pakisthan of their imagination The Muslims from Bihar, for instance, must leave the homes of their fathers and be provided with newer homes in Bengal, the Hindus from east and north Bengal must seek shelter somewhere else, the Muslims from the Nizam's State must seek asylum in Sind or in the Punjab, the Hindus from these two provinces and from the State of Kashmir must strike up tent and go in search of fresh fields and pastures new. We have read of an exchange of population between Turkey and Greece that concerned only about 20 lakhs of people If Pakisthan is to take shape in this country, the human beings that will be called upon to change places will be running into 4 or 5 crores. Muslim League politicians have not chosen to be explicit with regard to this logical consequence of their demands, they dare not present such a programme to their own co-religionists, they dare not terrify them with the prospect held forth by such a demand. Every province, every district, every sub-division and *taluqa*, every cluster of villages will have to be presented with such a choice, for such a change of habitation No other step except this can solve the minority problem in the shape the Muslim League politicians have chosen to raise it. But this is not the end of the story. The Pakisthan so formed must make provision for a *lebensraum*, for "living space", made

familiar to the world by the writings of the Nazi party men. As population increases Muslims or Hindus, as the case may be, may find their territories over-crowded. Where are they to go ? No Hindusthan can allow Muslims to come from outside, disturbing the position of the majority population; so also no Pakisthan can allow Hindus from an over-crowded Hindusthan. This deadlock will be the parent of wars of conquest as Nazi Germany has preached and sought to practise. She has been doing it in the name of race; Muslims and Hindus of India will be required to do it in the name of religion. The present generation of Muslims may feel that this dark prospect is not for them; the future may be left to take care of itself. But we are sure that the vast majority of them do not realize that as other communities understand the implications of the demands made by the Muslim League they are getting careful of the immediate present The furore raised by Mr. Fazlul Huq during the last census showed the direction of the storm.

Difficulties in their way—case of Assam

Events happening in our neighbourhood also illustrate this aspect of the matter. In course of discussion in the Central Legislature on the famine conditions in Bengal wherein suggestions for long-range plans for making this province and the other areas near about self-sufficient in the matter of food grains were made, complaints were uttered by certain members that there were about 20 lakhs of virgin acres in the Brahmaputra Valley of Assam that, when cultivated, will provide food for millions. But owing to the opposition of the local people to the influx of cultivators, men from Bengal, whether Hindu or Muslim—this vast area has been lying unused. The opposition of the local people is due to the fact that the emigrants were not Assamese-speaking and differed from them by certain habits of social life The vast majority of the local people are Hindus, and we have reason to believe that their opposition is being strengthened by the feeling that the emigrants, the majority of whom have been Muslims from Bengal, should not be allowed to convert their fair Valley into a Pakisthan. This will happen if they are allowed to come in unchecked. Muslim League propagandists have made no secret of their ambition to be able to swamp the local people. But their loud-voiced desires have warned the local people of the danger to their material and non-material interests held by these And they have been watchfully observing the activities of the Assam Ministry which happens to have a leader of the Muslim League as its chief minister. And the secret machinations on behalf of "Pakisthan" in this area in which members of this Ministry appear to have had a hand are traceable in many of its measures. But owing to the complications created by the war most of these activities escape scrutiny today. These areas form part of the eastern front where Japanese concentrations have been testing the strength of the defence arrangements made by the Anglo-American military authorities. And behind the screen raised by these war activities Sir Muhammad Saadulla and his followers have been playing their game. Famine conditions in Bengal have been driving thousands of Bengalee Muslims to these virgin areas, and the Assam Ministry has been conniving at their intrusion and the breaking down of the "Line System" set up as a protective measure for the local

people. This story reveals the many forces of dispute and disruption that the Muslim League ideology has let loose over the country. Assam supplies an example and a warning of coming events. As a chronicler and interpreter of events and developments, we just indicate their tendency. Perhaps there are other forces, personal and impersonal, that have had their hand in pushing the people of this country into strifes and struggles that will test their strength and capacity—the real foundation stones of stable and virile national life.

Other strands of political thought amongst Muslims

The solution of the problem of India's independence, as proposed by the Muslim League, has been characterized as "terrible" by more than one observer of things Indian. Edward Thompson who was Principal of the Bankura college had occasion to met the president of the League and found him prepared to face the dread situation that will be created. In his speech as president of the annual session of the League held at Delhi during the last week of April (1943), he was cheered to the echo when he declared " If we cannot secure power as a united India, then let us take it as a divided India.'' How this trick was to be done—this does not appear to have troubled him in this particular speech at least. From latter declarations he appears to think that the British Government would do the kindly thing by him and his community, and "divide and quit" India. It is not possible to argue with such a belief. There are, however, other schools of thought amongst our Muslim neighbours who feel that they could have "no interest in any scheme, the success of which depended on the assistance of the British,'' to quote from a resolution passed by the Council of the All-India Majlis-i-Ahrar almost about the same time. Another organization, the All-India Momin Conference, in its 8th annual session held at Delhi during those days of April (1943), came out strong for "the political unity and integrity of India." The president, Sheik Muhammad Zahiruddin, announced that their organization had decided to sever all connection with the Congress and the Muslim League. One reason for this step was that they were anxious "to give no semblance of justification for the charge that the Momins were working with the Congress to divide the Muslim community." He claimed that their organization represented 45 millions of Muslims "who are in the same position in the Muslim community as the depressed classes are among Hindus " The amelioration of these millions was only "possible under *Swaraj*" , their anxiety to have it quick was the inspiring motive of their "hurry to have *Swaraj*" ; he appears to have reached the same conclusion that the majority of politically-minded people in India have done, that Hindu-Muslim unity can wait but *Swaraj* cannot , he expressed this thought thus . "about a political agreement between Hindus and Muslims we are not in such a hurry."

Mr. Jinnah's stagey ways

We have tried here to summarise the political thoughts that have been stirring in the Muslim community of India. Prof. Gurumukh Nihal Singh, President of the 5th annual session of the Indian Political Science Conference, appears to think that the question raised by the Muslim League has "passed beyond the realm of thought into the

irrational zone of highly surcharged emotion." If this opinion can be trusted as a guide to political conduct, one can wait and let this frenzy pass. We know that the leadership of the League will not willingly allow their followers to think; they dare not call upon their members to make a realistic study of the problem of inter-communal relations in India. Mr. Jinnah who in his youth had made a name as an "actor" of Shakespeare's dramas has been using his gifts in the political stage. He prefaces and ends his speeches with abuse of Hindu public men and publicists. His Delhi speech contained the following sample:

"When we passed the Lahore resolution, we did not use the word Pakistan at all," Mr. Jinnah said. 'Who gave us this world? (Shouts of "Hindus"). Let me tell you this is their folly. They started damning this on the ground that it was Pakistan. They foisted this word upon us and they talked of Pan-Islamism. We ourselves went on for a long time using the phrase 'the Lahore resolution popularly known as Pakistan But how long are we to have this long phrase? I say to Hindu and British friends: We thank you for giving us one word".

This story is not true to the facts of recent developments in the political thoughts and activities of this country. The president of the Muslim League appears not to know the history of the idea which the "Pakisthan" cry represents. It is difficult to believe that he does not know that the late poet Iqbal used this word in course of his speech as President of an annual session of the Muslim League held at Allahabad, and how can he forget the pioneering work done in this line by Rahmat Ali whose activities find mention in Madame Helide Edib's book *Inside India*? She has quoted in her book the ideas and ideals that, according to Rahmat Ali, guide the Muslims "Our religion, culture, history, tradition, literature, economic system, laws of inheritance, succession and marriage are fundamentally different from those of Hindus They extend to the minute details of life" Rahamat Ali when he started his movement in 1933 laid the eastern boundary of his "Pakisthan" at the Jamuna, the territories that would form his State—the Punjab, Afghan Province, Kashmir, Sind and Baluchistan—are 'not a part of India" History tells us that 'although twelve hundred years ago there were Hindus and a Hindu Empire, since 712, for over a thousand years, they (the Hindus) have been a minority community there" The Muslim League leadership only varies the language in their assertion of the needs of "separate" States for Muslims, but the basic ideas are those that Rahmat Ali gave expression to a decade back Since then Rahamat Ali appears to have extended his definition of "Pakisthan" in response to changed circumstances. He has, for instance, sketched the frame of "Osmanisthan" from out of the territories that form part of the Nizam State today, simply because the ruling family of the State happens to belong to the Muslim community, and the overwhelming majority of the population although Hindu appears to have had no place or say in the matter. Here the principle of majority rule on which the Lahore resolution was based has been given the goby. Evidently neither the earliest protagonists of the "Pakisthan" idea nor the present enthusiasts for it are prepared to go by a principle, but must have the best of both the worlds. Human existence, however, does not provide for such

Poet Iqbal's & Rahmat Ali's "Pakisthan"

convenience for a long time. The history of their own community's life ought to have taught our Muslim neighbours this much wisdom in the present century at least, when for lesser principles States are being overturned. But experience is a dear school and the majority of us do learn in no other.

Other separatist conceits & ambitions

Muslim League leadership has been exciting for its own purposes many of the minority elements in the country. Those of us who have had experience of the mutations of political life and activities in India cannot but watch with a certain amount of amusement the companionate relation that appears to have grown up between, for instance, the Muslim League and the group of south Indian politicians and publicists whose guide and philosopher is Mr. Ramaswami Naicker. These gentlemen have come forward with the claim that they must have their "Dravida-sthan" where pre-Arayan culture and civilisation, now withering under adverse Aryan domination, must have room for a fresh flowering The leader of this group has declared that if he cannot have his "Dravida-sthan" he will embrace Islam and on the strength of this new affiliation carve out a new "sthan"—not certainly "Dravida-sthan"—if the culture for which the Muslim League stands has any meaning and significance. We do not know how Mr. Rajagopalachari and his followers have been reacting to this demand of Mr. Ramaswami Naicker and his followers. The "separateness" of Dravida culture from the Aryan is a proposition that is as valid as that for which the Muslim League threatens to divide the country. History, now-forgotten history at least, can be brought out to find reasons in support and defence of this particular thesis. Dr. Ambedkar's group of "scheduled castes", spread over the whole of India, has put in claims for their "separate" States. To give shape to these, vast exchange of population will have to be undertaken to bring the dispersed "depressed" classes into sizeable States. The Sikhs will have their chunk of Punjab territory which contains all the sacred places of their religion, and is the homeland of their short but glorious history. It is possible that other groups have been dreaming their dreams and seeing their visions which require but a little encouragement from the British authorities to come into the light of day. The credal States of which we have given samples here do not, however, complete the tale of India's experiment with State-making. There are linguistic nationalisms such as Assamese, Maithil, Tamil, Telegu, Canarese, to take a few instances only, which have already put in their claims for the apportionment of a "local habitation and a name." These also cannot be denied. Some of these claims would be cutting across one another , at least these cannot be accommodated in the schemes of credal States that has been the reply of the Muslim League to the needs of modern life.

Against historic development

It has been urged that the innumerable number of States in India that will evolve if the separatist conceits and ambitions of all are to be satisfied need not stand as a barrier to the freedom of each one of them. But this can only be a half-way house. For, in this world of national greed and competition where the defence of terri-

torial integrity has become a difficult task even for such an empire as Britain's, when regional groupings demanding the sacrifice of ideas of sovereign independence are thought to be the pattern of coming State-organizations, at a time like this to seek to divide into tiny bits the geographical entity and unity that India has been throughout the centuries may be going against the forces of historical developments. This can be denied only at the peril of more valuable interests.

These are long-range views. Meanwhile the Indian scene is being disfigured by controversies that has been holding up the progress of the country not only politically but economically and socially in its widest sense embracing every department of the people's life. Even in the matter of famine in Bengal candid friends from other parts of India have been found to give expression to the opinion that it came to be so incompetently handled because the Muslim League party which was the official Opposition in the Bengal Legislature during the opening phases of this famine made it into a "sport of politics', the European party which held the balance in the party grouping lent a hand to this game for reasons of their own wholly unconnected with this threat to the lives of millions This callousness has become possible because we have learnt to regard the little of political power that has been yielded by the British as a stepping-stone to the advance of personal and group interests. The representatives of the Indian National Congress have been regarded by many in this country as queerly unrealistic or idealistic when they gave up the Ministries in eight out of the eleven provinces of India where the 1935 Act had been functioning Leaders of the Hindu Mahasabha who regard the threat held by the Muslim League to the unity of the country as of more immediate concern than settling accounts with the British bureaucracy have roundly condemned the Congress for resigning the power that it had gained by beating in the elections all the political parties combined against it, and thus selling the pass to the enemies of the country, foreign and native. The resignation by the Congress Ministries have enabled the bureaucracy to tempt politicians and careerists with seats of power. And the majority of them have fallen into the trap Muslim League politicians have taken full advantage of this opportunity not because they love the British chains, but because they feel that this power will enable them to consolidate their power and work towards the establishment of the "Pakisthan" of their dreams. During the Delhi annual session of the Muslim League held during the last week of April, 1943, Muslim League politicians were found crowing with the anticipated glory of their party and the victory of their programme. Chowdhury Khaliquzzaman of Lucknow who has developed in him a Sudetan German mind made no secret of the ways in which his party would be disintegrating the activities of the Central Government, weakening its hold over the provincial administrations and in the resultant confusion lay the foundations of "Pakisthan" in the areas where the Muslim League party dominated the Ministries. And, if fortune favoured their efforts in this behalf they will regain the political power over the whole of India that had slipped from the hands of the descendants of Babar. It is useless to argue with sentiments and hopes like these. There are other dreamers and visionaries who have

For capture of political power

their own particularistic schemes for the capture of political power in India. All of them do not belong to what has come to be known as British India

These developments lie in the womb of the future. In the immediate present British policy has seen to it that the people do war work driven thereto by hunger, that they do not interfere with war activities in which their higher impulses cannot be enlisted owing to reasons well understood all over the world. The manner in which Lord Linlithgow was allowed to handle the policy raised by Gandhiji's fast of 21-days showed that the ruling authorities did not feel the necessity of full-hearted Indian support in their fight for existence Other leaders of the "United Nations", except the Chinese, have accepted this British interpretation of the situation in this country. Of course, they must have fretted when the sabotage and incendiarism of the latter half of 1942 threatened to disrupt the organisations for offense against Japan that the British and United States Governments were building up in this country. But the suppression of those subversive activities has removed their fears—fears that often quicken human conscience. Another argument for the continuance of the British arrangements was supplied by the quiet way in which the people have been paying the mounting expenses imposed on them by the Finance Member of Lord Linlithgow's Government This quietness may have led to paths to the grave. But that has not deflected State policy in India. In direct and indirect ways, more through the latter, Sir Jeremy Raisman has been squeezing out of the people the crores required to carry on Britain's war of survival as an imperialist Power. The railway budget will illustrate this method of exploitation. Since 1936 railway rates and fares have been increased four times. They have a depreciation fund in the railways which requires Rs. 8½ crores a year, but they put in it Rs. 12 crores every year. They have also a reserve fund in which they have been able to put in Rs 84 crores All these monies come from rates and fares, they are much in excess of what is required for the proper running of the railways. In the coming year it has been estimated that they will have a surplus of Rs 36 crores, out of which Rs. 27 crores will go to the general revenues according to the convention of 1924, Rs 9 crores going into the reserve fund. It has not been thought desirable that out of this huge profit something can or should be set apart for the relief of rates and fares. The member in charge of the railways has not in reply to these criticisms cared to justify this technique of exploitation. He tried to make much of the theory that the railways were a public utility concern, concerned not with profit but with service to the public. But in practice it has been the other way about.

Financial exploitation of poor people

This exploitation has been pressing hard on the people, a proof of which has been afforded by the famine conditions that have become a feature of India's participation in a war that was to secure "freedom from want" and "freedom from fear" to the commonalty of the world. Controversy with regard to the responsibility for this state of affairs has become, perhaps, by the time we write these lines irrelevant.

India's defence expenditure

During the winter session (1943) of the Central Legislature other items of controversy erupted into attention as the Finance Member presented his demands and the various financial commitments undertaken on behalf of the Indian people by the British administration For as long a time as the beginning of British connection with this country the non-Indian bias of the Government has left no choice to the subject population but to look with suspicion on the financial arrangements made by the British bureaucracy that in theory carries on the administration on behalf and for the benefit of the British people. Specially is this so when Indian men and Indian money are being used for fighting Britain's war The feeling has been that India has always been a loser by these transactions, by some financial jugglery that is hard to trace Britain walks away leaving Indian pockets lighter. During the last World War such a thing was suspected to have happened, and people mockingly ask today whether or not a repetition of the same experience was being staged by the India Office under Mr. Leopold Amery and the Delhi-Simla bureaucracy under Lord Linlithgow as part of recompense for the use of India's resources in the present World War. Sir Jeremy Raisman presented a picture of Britain's generosity in bearing a large part of the war expenses in and about India as reflected in the settlement of November, 1943 Under it India has to pay, (a) her pre-war normal budget for effective charges of about Rs. 36 77 crores, (b) a sum in adjustment of the normal budget for rise in prices, (c) the cost of 'Indian war measures', that is, such war measures as can be regarded as purely Indian liabilities by reason of their having been undertaken by India in her own interests, (d) a contribution towards the additional costs of her external defence India has paid a lump sum of Rs. 1 crore on this account. "His Majesty's Government is to pay for the remainder of all general defence and supply expenditure incurred by India, subject to separate post-war negotiations concerning the liability for surplus war stores in India acquired in the common interest. Non-effective charges were to be dealt with separately" It cannot be expected that a lay man would understand the technicalities of this arrangement And the Finance Member sought to illustrate the implications of these in the following words

> "Expenditure on Supply in its widest sense—the production of guns ammunition, armoured cars, clothing and war-like stores of every description (some 6?,000 items) was so closely related to direct defence expenditure that it also was covered by the *Financial Settlement*. The arrangement was broadly speaking the same: India pays for whatever she takes from Indian production for Indian war measures, and for her share of joint war measures including storage charges, and His Majesty's Government pays for, and owns, all the remaining stores produced together with practically all the capital assets created for the purpose of expending production and storage."

In the absence of detailed explanations in this behalf it is difficult to estimate the charges that will ultimately fall on the Indian exchequer, though Sir Jeremy emphasised "the importance of avoiding the meticulous calculations, arguments and adjustments which gave rise to such endless trouble and confusion in the last war" Even the lay man sees that there are loop-holes in the Financial Settlement and its wording that will be creating troubles when the accounts come to be squared. This is a subject in which India does not expect to receive

India a creditor country—use of her "sterling balances"

fair dealing, owing to the unnatural relation that subsists between her and Britain. Speeches of loyalists even during the last winter session of the Central Legislature voiced such a fear Connected with this is the huge amount of purchases being made on behalf of Britain in this country on account. A great part of the value of these transactions has been paid for by the liquidation of a part of the public debt of India held in sterling, by the sale of railway annuities held in Britain The remaining totalled about Rs. 460 crores in the second week of 1943. An estimate says that India's sterling credit have been increasing at the rate of Rs. 20 crores every month. Concern is being naturally felt in this country for the proper utilization of these "sterling balances". The Finance Member disclosed the ways in which they proposed to get paid. One was the funding of yearly payments in sterling of about 5 to 6 millions a year on account of pensions, family pensions and provident funds. Another is a Reconstruction Fund made out of the "sterling balances", to be kept in London, "to provide for the financing of a programme of post-war reconstruction, including the rehabilitation and re-equipment of industries." Both these proposals are being regarded with "suspicion and disapproval", to quote the words of the Finance Secretary. The first proposal—"the advance provision of remittance for sterling pensionary liabilities"—is regarded as a pointer to the lack of confidence on the part of the British authorities in the willingness or ability of the "self-governing India" to meet these liabilities. Bitterness is being felt that the British authorities somehow getting control over certain Indian resources should refuse to allow India to use these as she desired, to withhold payment of these on one excuse or other The Reconstruction Fund proposal is also not looked upon with favour because it is believed that it will bind India to buy her requirements of "capital goods"—machineries and other equipments for modern industrialism—from Britain, from the "sterling area". Sir Jeremy Raisman indicated the nature of these requirements "in the post-war period India will have heavy demands for imported machinery and plant to equip her greatly extended industrial system, to re-equip her railways and to enable Provincial and State Governments to carry out schemes of electrification, irrigation and the like, which have had to remain in abeyance during the war". He also indicated the source from which India could get these things—"apart from their being available as a reserve wherewith to pay for the capital goods which the United Kingdom will be in a position to supply for India's industrial expansion and the replacement of machinery...", this fund will "enable India to trade as one of the principal commercial countries of the world and play a helpful part in building a system of international trade such as would ensure a fair market for goods of export". In theory the proposal made here may have points to recommend it for acceptance. But from her experience of British handling of her resources during two centuries of their relationship, any move, however well-intentioned, on the part of Britain for the benefit of India is watched with suspicion and distrust. This must be a permanent factor so long as Britain does not end this unnatural state of things, this unfortunate feeling, this "spiritual alienation", will remain as a festering sore to embitter the whole system of Indo-British interests, and even that

envisaged in the "United Nations"? That poison has already begun to work as those who have got inside knowledge and psychological understanding of the mind of India as it has been reacting to the many developments that have been laying the foundation of the new world as it will be emerging out of the fires and ruins of the present war.

This brings us to the handling of the political situation in India in which both the rulers and the ruled have reached a blind alley.

Mr. Jinnah's Invitation to Gandhiji

Apathy and resentment characterise the conduct of the ruled, while Churchillian arrogance struts in the world's stage as the quality needed to win the war and win the peace that was to follow this war. A United States observer has reported that the head of the British bureaucracy in India confessed that his country was never more unpopular in this country than it was at that time. Delhi-Simla observers have reported that other members of this bureaucracy share the same feeling but they know not how to change this state of affairs and are reconciled to carrying on in the accustomed way, however distasteful the duty may be, and ultimately unsuccessful it may prove to be. The mind of the British Government stood revealed in all its nakedness during those anxious days--21 days—of February, 1943, when Mahatma Gandhi had undertaken his "capacity fast". Men of good will all the world over were stirred into appealing to the "civilised conscience" of Britain for doing the decent and generous thing to an "enemy" that fought them without malice and anger, that has ever been trying to raise politics to a plane where guns and airplanes had no place. The Archbishop of Canterbury had appealed to his Government to rise equal to the occasion, to help remove the tension that has been standing in the way of constructive work in India and enlist India's full-hearted help in solving the many problems that face a war-scarred world. Gandhiji survived the test, but there was no lifting of the clouds from over the Indo British scene. The world might heave a sigh of relief but felt all the same that the British Government has failed the test of humanity, to put the matter in its most rudimentary implication. Another opportunity came to them to rectify when Gandhiji sent a letter addressed to Mr. Jinnah, to be re-directed to him This letter was in response to the invitation that Mr Jinnah had extended to Gandhiji in course of his speech as President of the annual session of the Muslim League held in the last week of April, 1943. The Government of Lord Linlithgow, however, refused to transmit this letter. The world does not know the contents of this letter, and can only surmise that Gandhiji wanted to meet Mr Jinnah to discuss matters political with him, to find a way out of the deadlock. The words that Mr. Jinnah had used in his impromptu invitation as it appeared in the Press on May 26 when it gained importance by an act of Lord Linlithgow's,

"Nobody would welcome it more than myself if Mr. Gandhi is even now really willing to come to a settlement with the Muslim League on the basis of Pakistan. Let me tell you that it will be the greatest day both for the Hindus and Mussalmans. If he has made up his mind what is their to prevent Mr. Gandhi from writing direct to me? He is writing letters to the Viceroy. Why does he not write to me direct? Who is there that can prevent him from doing so? What is

the use of going to the Viceroy and leading deputations and carrying on correspondence? Who is to prevent Mr. Gandhi to-day? I cannot believe for a single moment—strong as this Government may be in this country you may say anything you like against this Government—I cannot believe that they will have the daring to stop such a letter if it is sent to me. It will be a very serious thing indeed if such a thing is done by the Government But I do not see evidence of any kind of change of policy on the part of Mr Gandhi or Congress or the Hindu leadership"

Mr. Jinnah backs out

For a little while Lord Linlithgow's "daring" to do what Mr. Jinnah expected him not to do appeared to have created a "serious thing", putting to test the attitudinizing of the 'President of the Muslim League Important members of the Muslim League talked of this as a "challenge" to their importance and prestige as the second largest political party in India. But the "situation" subsided as Mr. Jinnah refused to make good the challenging words that he had uttered in April, a month back only. The excuses that he came forward with were two. that he had been mis-reported, that he did not use the words exactly as these appeared in the Press, that the purpose of Gandhiji's letter was not what it seemed, seeking reconciliation with the Mulim League by, accepting its "Pakisthan" demand, the real purpose was to "embroil" him and his organization in a quarrel with the British authorities. One can speculate cruelly on the lesson of this episode. But we do not propose to do so. We would rather interpret it as another proof that public life in India was not strong enough to assert its will and brush aside the opposition of an irresposible bureaucracy. It proves the hollowness of the plea that British Government was anxious to receive a united demand on the part of the various elements of the country. This was another proof that it refused to facilitate the quickening of conditions favourable to the evolution of a united demand and agreed formula for the solution of the Indian problem. World developments have favoured the pursuit of this policy of negation, of the denial to the Indian people the satisfaction of the deepest of human desires—the desire for national freedom which is national self-respect.

"Die but do not retreat

In these favourable developments Soviet Russia played the most heroic and significant part by throwing back the German hordes from the heart of Caucasia almost. The miracle that was worked at Stalingrad did not prepare the world for all that has happened since February, 1943. A Japanese announcer had said on February 8 · "The German Sixth Army has suffered dire defeat at Stalingrad, a defeat unprecedented in German history......German troops surrendered on February 6." In the halo of glory that victories gained since then has surrounded the *Rodina* (Motherland) of the Russians we are apt to lose sight of the sacrifices, sufferings and organisations that have snatched these from the hands of the most competent military machine that the world has seen during modern times. Mr. Wendell Willkie has reported what he saw during his trip to Russia at the end of 1942: "Clothing nearly gone......Children work in many of the shops the full 66-hour week worked by adults...... The only food that could be bought in the markets was black

bread and potatoes at exhorbitant prices" This report gives but a faint idea of the "food front" as it is being maintained in the Soviet land. But these give an idea of the endurance that have enabled the Soviet people to respond to Marshal Stalin's slogan—*Umeraite No Ne Otstu paite* (Die, But Do Not Retreat). The procession of victories that has passed throught the whole year of 1943 without any serious interruption has demonstrated the "magnificent will to resist of the Russian people—who had as much claim to glory as the British people had when they withstood the *blitz* of 1940." For as long as human history will last these achievements will shine as examples to all liberty-loving people.

What the German forces achieved

But to understand the magnificence of this record we have to place it against the background of what their chiefest enemy—Germany—achieved during the first twenty months of the Russo-German war. An appreciation of the situation by Lord Beaverbrook, a member of the Churchill Ministry, made on February 3, 1943, can be relied on to give not too favourable an estimate of the German position.

"There is a great deal to be said from the German point of view In the first place, the German line is practically the same as it was a year ago—practically the same as it was on January 1, 1942 —for the bridge-heads held by the Germans at that time are still in their possession with the exception of the two in the north, and these losses are countered to some extent by one additional bridge-head held in the south. We have heard about the relief of Leningrad, but that relief has not succeeded in re-establishing the railway from Leningrad to Moscow ...You cannot regard Leningrad as relieved until that direct line to Moscow has been recovered by the Russians. Then again the Germans may be 'shortening their line "

What they learnt from the Russians

A year hence since those words were uttered Nazi Germany's adventure in Russia has suffered unbelievable defeats. As we write (January, 1944), almost three-fourths of the territories that had passed under the invaders and remained so for more than twenty months have been recovered. This goes beyond the strategy of "shorter lines" to which Lord Beaverbrook referred The loss of the areas round about the Grozny oil field in the heart of the Caucasian Republic, the utmost limit of the German lines in the south, has not halted the German retreat In quick succession Rostov, Orel, Gomel, Kharkov, Kursk and Kiev have been lost in this front. The loss of Smolensk, greatest base in Russia of the Nazi invaders in the central sector, maintains the Russian pressure. In the north the same uniform story of victories brings a message of hope to the vanquished peoples of Europe under Nazi heels But these do not support the facile generalisation that the "German defensive in Russia and Italy has lacked background" The more than six months of retreats and defeats forced on the German army in Russia have a plan to tell on the side of the retreating and defeated forces To understand all the mazes of this strategy we have to depend on military commentators belonging to the principal warring nations. General Dietmar, official spokesman of the German High Command, in course of a nation-wide broadcast in the first week of June, 1943, sought to bring out the ideas that ruled the the-then tactics of the military leaders of the Nazi Reich.

"Our enemies declare that the time for offensive warfare is over so far as we are concerned, and that the initiative has definitely passed to them. The question of

who is able to attack is less important at the present time than the question of who is forced to attack. Those who must attack are our opponents, not ourselves.

Previously we had to conduct *blitzkriegs* (lightning warfare) in order to win the space which now serves us so well.

Clausewitz says that the defensive is the stronger weapon of the two. His words about the advantage in war which springs from possession fully applies to our present position.

A United States commentator made the following point in the second week of January, 1943

German forces "islanded" in Russia

"For the Russian front is now, in many respects, similar to the Pacific front: the Germans were pocketed in a series of 'islands' where the beleagured armies could survive only as long as they were supplied from centres many miles away "

"The vast reserves of men and weapons available for the Red Army's winter offensive showed that the retreats of last summer and fall had been triumphs of military thrift. Stalin and the Red Army Command had sacrificed Russian cities, resources and territory rather than risk the Soviet reserves."

In the second week of March, 1943, a report in the New York weekly—*Time*—said :—

First half of 1943 shows German stability

"Strategically, the Russian victories last week were as big as any that have been won in the entire winter offensive But comparatively few troops were killed or captured. This suggested that the Germans had previously withdrawn the bulk of their forces, and that they were still shortening the line, sacrificing precious geography to save their armies."

"The net strategic effect has been to leave the Germans on something very like the same line from which they started a year ago, except that they now hold all Crimea and the Novorossiks bridge-head. The Rzhev salient was reduced and the Leningrad seige lifted, but the hoped-for offensive eating into the Baltic States had not been realised" (*Time, April 10, 1943.*)

"It appeared that the Germans had sacrificed land in favour of men, and that the Russian winter campaign had done more to destroy Hitler's prestige than to destory Hitler's force."—(*Time, April 10, 1943.*)

The food front in the Soviet land

Since then, within eight months, Russian forces have been eating into the Baltic States, into Poland and has been able to maintain a full offensive without haste and without rest, either to themselves or to the enemy. The picture that emerged out at the end of June, 1943, the events and developments during which form the subject matter of the present study, can be summarized from the Press Each army had the same problem · to hold a 2,000-mile front with sufficient forces, with handy reserves to deploy into chosen limited offensives. The Germans had 190 divisions in their eastern front, their allies contributing another 28 divisions. They were outnumbered by the Russians. This superiority forced on the Germans a defensive strategy or a "limited offensive". The German High Command began to prepare the minds of their people for this change in their conceptions of war when they allowed their commentator to say : "We started this war with different conceptions from those we hold now. Many illusions were shattered......We realize that such an adversary cannot be knocked out with one blow." We have seen suggestions that regarded German confessions like these to be a feint and a snare. "The Germans would like nothing better than to make the world believe that their defensive strategy in Russia automatically means the defeat of the *Wehrmacht* in Russia." But the realists at the Kremlin have not been taken in by German

confessions of a sort of defeat They know that in their two winters of war they were not able to crush the German forces : that the Red Army alone cannot do it. Thus the position is being reduced to a "race between two processes of attrition." The Russians cannot like this position, as they are being worried "probably over food."

'For all its brave bragging to the world the U S S R has never recovered completely from the loss of the Ukraine's grain fields Belated rains in Central Russia last week (last week of June) improved the uncertain crop prospects, but at the best a severe food shortage will continue. Vast but often badly-tilled new acreages plus Lend-Lease shipments have not filled the shortage or ended the drain on the U. S. S R 's dwindling grain reserves. The result is that only the Red Army, a few foreigners and higher officials are tolerably well fed in Russia The rest exist and labour at a level of bare subsistence."

This report appeared on the 5th of July, 1943 in the New York weekly we have already quoted from. It explained why the rulers of Russia have been pressing so urgently and insistently on their western allies for the opening out of a "second front". Their idea of a "second front" had been that 60 Axis divisions would be withdrawn from Russia to meet the Allied offensive on western or southern Europe It is true that in November, 1942, when the Anglo-American offensive started in north-west Africa, Marshal Stalin had declared that for "the first time in this war a blow at the enemy from the east by the Red Army merged with a blow from the west delivered by the armies of our allies in a single united blow". But the rigid Russian definition of a "second front " does not appear to have been satisfied even by the subsequent events in north Africa where only 15 Axis divisions could be put out of action, in Sicily and in the mainland of Italy This becomes evident from what appeared in the *Pravda* (Truth) when it contradicted a London report that 50 German divisions had been transferred from the Russian front. In doing so the Soviet paper said that "211 German divisions are now on the German Soviet front and no withdrawals from that front are taking place" , it also referred to the disposal of the German forces in other parts of Europe—91 divisions, including not more than 20 in Germany and Austria, 35 in France, Belgium and the Netherlands At the time we write these lines, many more German divisions must have been withdrawn from the eastern front that had been pushed inside Russian territory by Germany during the first 20 months of her war in eastern Europe.

Germany shortening her lines

Germany has been "shortening her front"—these words have been appearing in the Press of the world since the Stalingrad disaster overtook her Within a year she has been able to shorten her lines to about 700 to 1000 miles This tactics has enabled her to withdraw about 100 divisions from her eastern front An estimate we have seen, embodying a detailed study of the problem, helps us to understand the motives, certain of the motives, that have been guiding German strategy in this matter It has been found that the German High Command had employed a division of about 12,000 thousand strong in every 10 miles of the Russo-German front, that is, a soldier in every 2 yards of it . this estimate has been based on the employment of about 225 divisions in a front of 2,300 miles. The front that the German

And using her "released" divisions in "Fortress Europe"

military leaders have been able to shorten in course of the year 1943 is understood to be not more than 800 miles. This policy has been forced on her partly, if not mainly, by the strength and violence of the Russian attack, and partly by apprehension of the Allied invasion of her "Fortress Europe". This short line can be held by 90 divisions, thus making a saving of a little over 100 divisions. The forces thus released and relieved from the Russian front are likely to be employed in the manner indicated below 50 divisions in Italy instead of the present strength of 22 divisions, 50 divisions in the Balkans instead of the 22 stationed there at present, 70 divisions in France, Belgium and Holland in place of the 40 dispersed throughout this vast area. This estimate also secures to the German High Command about 30 divisions for use in emergencies to be rushed to threatened points. The movement of this "mobile strategic reserve" is easier for the Axis Powers owing to the possession of what have been called "interior lines"—the railways and motorized roads which Todt, Speer, and other German engineers have brought to such perfection. Munich, Vienna, Dresden and Prague form centres and key-points of this co-ordination of the movements of vast armies. In the eastern front Germany will consolidate her position in the hills of the Carpathian range, while holding the northern section of it in "defence in depth" through the lavish use of concrete structures—the whole front in a straight line north and south from Riga to Odessa This 'type-writer strategy" has this value, that it enables the general reader to understand the meaning of the world-shaking events happening in Europe.

Allied victories during January—June 1943

But to fully understand these German moves and counter-moves we have to turn to the activities of the Allied powers, chiefly the United States, Britain and "Free France' The year 1943 opened for the Allied Powers with hopes of ultimate victory, these have remained undimmed and have brightened as the war drama has been evolving before our very eyes. The north African campaign was limping forward to success, owing to weather difficulties, the rainy season lasting through February, sometimes into April The forces that the United States had ferried over were "green", and they suffered one or two major set-backs that irritated feeling in that country. The British 8th Army had to come as "relief" to them. U. S A correspondents sent home dark hints that "the going would be tough and probably long, before we have cleaned up Africa and are ready to move to bigger fronts" But at the end of six months the Anglo-American armies did move into the bigger front of Sicily, finishing the Tunisian job by the end of May 1943, exactly to the day when six months ago they had started their campaign in north-west Africa The mystery of the break-up of the Axis morale in this front has yet to be explained It appears that in the last phases of this war the Italian forces gave a better account of themselves than their German comrades. It has yet to be explained why Pantalleria and Sicily did not show a better record than Malta which for two years had stood the assaults of German bombers and of the Italian Navy. For about three years Malta had lain open to attacks by sea and air, its importance could not be unknown to the Axis High Command.

its overthrow would have enabled German and Italian forces to move freely through the Mediterranean, to drive the Allies from Africa. Sicily occupied the same position so far as the defence of the Italian mainland was concerned, and was part of the defensive armour of the "Fortress Europe" that Germany had been able to build up.

Allied talk about invasion of Europe

The fall of Sicily has brought nearer the day when this Fortress could be assaulted either through the south of France and Itlay or through the Aegean Sea and the Balkan areas. The successful issue of the Tunisian campaign, and the opening of the Italian campaign are seen to be linked together. The Allied Powers could then loudly think of an invasion of the continent. A London *Daily Mail* correspondent had called the victory in Tunisia as "fantastic", but that did not detract anything from its importance, as it enabled Allied strategists to indicate the lines on which they could move towards the heart of the "Fortress Europe" from the south. They could talk of the "key-point in mid-European strategy" lying on "the Middle Danube" which could be reached "from Northern Italy", they could talk of Vienna, standing at one of the cross-roads of Europe being linked with Trieste on the Adriatic by "main railway", hostile armies striking at the heart of the continent "along the valleys of the Danube and the Elbe", they could talk of going up into Poland "through the Moravian gap", they could talk of Budapest in the south-east that commanded the "great Hungarian Plain".

Speculations & facts

But all these have remained in the region of speculations. Except Russia none of the European and American Allies have been able to make any sizeable inroad into this "Fortress", the fall of Signor Mussolini and the setting up of a pro-Ally Government in Italy have not removed the obstacles in the path of this strategy. We do not know the strength of the help that Marshal Badoglio has been able to bring to the Anglo-American invasion armies; we do not know the strength of the regime that Signor Mussolini has been able to set up under the name of "democratic Fascism". But we are face to face with the fact that for more than six months the German forces, helped by a remnant of the Italian armies, have been able to hold back the Allied invasion attempts, and confine these to the south of Rome. The loud-voiced claims that the Mediterranean has been made free, that the Adriatic has become some sort of an Allied lake had not been made good. In the eastern Mediterranean Allied attacks on the Dodecanese Islands have been beaten back; these, and Rhodes, Scarpanto and Crete guard the Balkans Peninsula, denying to the Allies opportunity to attack at any point either in Greece or in Jugoslavia where guerrilla bands and under-ground organisations have been active trying to disrupt the grip of the Axis Powers. These are factors on the debit side of the Allied Powers which have to be kept in mind in judging the situation in southern Europe. The minimising of difficulties is no help either to morale or to practical measures. It is not possible for us to get to know all the facts that have been halting Allied offensive in Italy and further north, east or west. An explanatory note to a map of the north Mediter-

ranean area connected with these operations says that German Labour Commissioner Fritz Sauckel, has demanded the conscription of 1,50,000 Frenchmen "to work on the *Mittelmeerwall* (Mediterranean Wall), the defensive fortifications that are supposed to extend from Spain to Alexandroupolis near the border of Turkey."

Germany's central position—a great advantage

This picture is relieved by what British and the United States air forces have been able to do in wrecking German war industries But the plan appears to be bigger than these bombings indicate. And this plan is made plain to us by what the leader of the "Free French", General de Gaulle, is reported to have said in November, 1942. "The land of France has become the strategical centre of the western war." Oliver Stewart, editor of the *Aeronautics* (London) in elaborating this dictum has said "the problem of the United Nations consists in bringing to bear upon certain points in the large circumference that has France for its centre an air force which is capable of breaking through or at any rate of preparing the way for a break-through." This comment weakens the idea that air attacks alone can win wars; "strategical bombing might be partially wasted if it were directed against an objective which could not be subsequently assailed by land or sea forces." This is, however, a side issue. The main point suggested by General de Gaulle—"there is no body with a keener strategical sense than this Frenchman"— is further analysed by the writer:

"There are two concentric circles which have their centres in France—the defensive air circle of the Axis and, just outside it, the offensive air circle of the United Nations The very fact that the United Nations were exercising their air power centripetally implies that their problems of supply were greater than those of the Axis But their output was also greater, so that in consequence they were able in some measure to overcome their positional handicaps by mass they were able to overcome these difficulties by the ingenious use of the long-range capabilities of some of their machines."

Air bombings or Germany—an 'experiment"

Here we get a fuller picture of the war situation as it affected the Allied Powers in their war against Germany This study explains the many difficulties that stand in the way of an all-out invasion of Germany's 'Fortress Europe" —*Festung Europa*. It explains why the weight of bomb tons thrown on it by British and United States bombers have not been able in course of twelve months (1943) to disrupt her war activities The report of the damages caused in Germany makes quite impressively horrifying reading In January 6,000 tons were rained on key positions and places in Germany, in February 10,000 tons in March 6,000 tons in April 11,000 tons, in May 12,500 tons in June 19 000 tons (1 ton is equal to about 27 maunds). The list of places bombed during the period 11th June to 28th June—in Germany, France and Italy by the British bombers gives us an idea of the vastness of the operations—Dusseldorf—Muenster, Bochum, Oberhausen, Cologne, Le Cruesot (France), Friedrichshafen, Krefeld, Muelheim, Spezia (Italy), Wuppertal; Bochum—Gelsenkirchen, North-West Germany: Cologne. During almost the same period the U. S. A. air force stationed in Britain bombed the following places: Wilhelmshaven, Cuxhaven, Bremen; Kiel: Huels (Belgium), Antwerp, North-West Germany; French air fields; St.

Nazaire (France) ; Beaumont-le-Roger , Le Mans (France). The damage caused to the war potential of Germany is not possible to estimate with accuracy. It has been reported that damage to the Rhenish-Westphalia area centering around the Rurh has suffered a 35 per cent drop in production, accounting for a 1[illegible] per cent drop throughout the whole of the Reich What the Rurh stands for in the industrial life of the country is indicated by the following figures Germany gets 67 per cent of her hard coal from this region 80 per cent of her coke, 60 per cent of [illegible] pig iron and 6[illegible] per cent of her special steels. Under threat of [illegible] she might disperse her industrial plants all over the Reich beyond the range of Anglo-American bombers, but coal and iron [illegible] and [illegible] parts of the industrial plants cannot be [illegible] [illegible] great hopes were built on these bombings [illegible] and German industrial plants that [illegible] in the fields with instruments and implements of war The Prime Minister of Britain in his speech made to the United States Congress on May 19, 1943 recommended the air war [illegible] as long as other measures were not [illegible] He [illegible] opinion was divided as to whether air power alone [illegible] lead to collapse in Germany and Italy "

The experience since then, during about seven or eight months, with 1000-bomber attacks, has not [illegible] [illegible] The question has also been raised whether [illegible] are as effective in destruction as these have been represented to be Prof [illegible] of Harvard University (U S A) has [illegible] thus "To read the British official accounts of the first [illegible] on Cologne in May, 1942, one would conclude that this first class industrial city and rail centre had suffered an irreparable blow But one wonders If the damage was as great as implied, wh[illegible] it be necessary to attack it again and again in 194[illegible] with [illegible] 1000 tons dropped on June 16, 1,500 on June 28, [illegible] on July 3, and again more than 1,[illegible]00 on July 8 This [illegible] was actually the 119th air attack on Cologne since the war began Prof [illegible] is a supporter of the plan to bomb the Axis Powers [illegible] submission And in his article he has accumulated almost all the evidence of the destruction caused He made special mention of the blasting of the "largest reservoir dams in the Reich"—the Moehne Dam being 2, 407 ft long and 1[illegible]2 ft. high, and Eder Dam [illegible] ft long and 13[illegible] ft high—on May 16, 1943 Photographs showed that the currents suddenly released drowned 4,000 people and rendered 1,50[illegible] men, women and children homeless, submerging roads, silting electrical plants, destroying bridges, railway plants and road beds Since then the tempo of air attacks on Germany has been raised higher. But signs of a collapse have not made their appearance.

How effective in destruction

Thus we have been left in the region of speculations as far as invasion of the continent of Europe by the Allies was concerned. In the beginning of 1943, the President of the United States took the unprecedented step of leaving the country and meeting the British Prime Minister at Casablanca in north-west Africa across 2,000 miles

Priority of attack on Germany

of Atlantic waters ; here they have been represented as having devised an offensive that would result in the "unconditional surrender" of the Axis Powers. Radios have sought to drive home into the minds of peoples of Europe that deliverance was near at hand, that the leaders of the "United Nations" had determined that their enemies should "unconditionally surrender," and that this declaration should be a spur to them to rise against the invaders. In the middle of May they again met, this time at Washington, to discuss and evaluate the progress of events. Into this conference came Sir Archibald Wavell, commander-in-chief and two other commanders from India. It appears from Mr. Churchill's speech to the U. S. A. Congress that the difficulties of carrying on the war against Japan from India with a view to bring "aid to hard-pressed and long-tormented China" were threshed out in "friendly candour". The British Prime Minister gave assurance on behalf of his Government that as soon as they were relieved of the war in Europe by the "unconditional surrender" of the European Axis Powers and their allies, the whole offensive strength of the British people would be directed to the Far East. This follows the time-table that the President and the Prime Minister and their "high expert advisers" had decided in January, 1943, that Germany would have priority of attack and defeat—that "while the defeat of Japan would not mean the defeat of Germany, the defeat of Germany would infallibly mean the ruin of Japan".

Mr. Churchill tries to justify this strategy

Mr. Churchill felt constrained to give this explanation because he knew that a "substantial segment of American opinion" felt that the U. S. A. should turn its "chief present energies against the Jap" We summarise from the New York *Time* the many influences that were giving point to this argument. Geography, old hates and fears, and honest military opinion unite the diverse groups which believe the defeat of Japan more urgent and more important than the defeat of Germany The West Coast faced the Orient Isolationists still nourished their conviction that the U. S. had no business in "Europe's messes", still argued "privately" that Japan was the only one that had attacked them. And "a considerable number of sense making military officers and civilian observers believe and can show that Japan is more dangerous than many Americans realise." A U. S. Senator appears to have given voice to these "collective sentiments" at a meeting of the Senate which forced Mr. Churchill to enter into the argument. Senator Chandler had argued his points thus · (1) Japan may become unbeatable if given time to consolidate its vast territorial conquests · (2) China may soon be forced to drop out of the war unless given substantial help : (3) Britain and Russia are both likely to drop out of the war as soon as Germany is finished, leaving the U. S. to fight Japan alone : (4) in that case, the U S will be helpless to intervene as its former Allies divide up the world at the peace conference (5) the failure of Britain's 20,00,000-man army in India to oust 60,000 Japs from Burma already indicates Britain's lack of determination. It is reported that none in the Senate could or cared to refute the arguments of Senator Chandler And Mr. Churchill had to take up the task, and give the assurance on behalf of his Government that "we will wage that war side by side with you in accordance with

the best strategic employment of our forces, while there is breath in our bodies and while blood flows through our veins."

"Jungle war" & other difficulties

Mr. Churchill was here speaking of the future At the time he was pledging the word of his nation to a war with Japan till victory was gained, the reports of the front where his forces were specially engaged in trying to break through the Japanese defences in Burma were none too cheerful. The five-months-old enterprise to retake the west coast of Burma was ending in failure The main British objective had been to take Akyab, the small seaport in Burma nearest India. Its success depended on "speedy movement and sea landings", and "neither was forthcoming." By land the almost impassable mountains and hills running north and south between India and Burma barred the way to "all but diversionary forces", the major effort to re-conquer Burma must be made by sea, with landings in the western coast, between these stood "a Japanese fleet in being." All the reports, British or non-British, spoke of the difficulties of the terrain, of the new technique developed by the Japanese in this war of and through jungles. This plea ought by this time to have been discarded, as it is difficult to believe that the army that was sent from India did not contain a sufficient number of soldiers recruited from the hill tribes of the north-west, of the Himalayan ranges—Pathans, Gurkhas, Bhutivas, Assamese, Garos, Kukis and others numerous to mention. If these hill tribes could not supply jungle fighters born to the game, there must be something wrong somewhere that has yet to be found by the organisers who aspire to beat the Japanese. They have to meet impatience and criticism from their own people. This is how the New York weekly—*Time*—frames these

"The troops used had been trained for the desert had only a few weeks jungle experience. They never solved Japanese tactics, never exploited the jungle. Casualties through disease and action approached [illegible] per cent in the original units, replacements had even less training, hence the troops became rawer and rawer. Commanders were no more prepared for the jungle than the soldiers, they showed a singular lack of knowledge and imagination in their conduct of the campaign"

Supply difficulties & others

In Britain also this campaign was expected to be "a sizeable" undertaking that would help to retrieve the prestige of the British army and traditions built by it in the Middle and Far East The failure of the expedition created a feeling that it was not easy for the Churchill Ministry to easily mollify By the third week of May, 1943, news of this discomfiture was at regular intervals being broken to the British public. Graham Stanford, London *Daily Mail* "special correspondent with the British forces in Burma", in summing up the situation made reference to "infiltration by small Japanese parties" in the Arakan campaign this has become a "bogy since the beginning." Why it has not been explained. The Wingate expedition had during this period secured for about three months a part of North Burma between the Chindwin and the Irrawaddy A map in a *Daily Mail* issue traced the progress of this expedition which took the raiders to Myitkyina and passed through the State of Manipur on its return journey. The story told showed that infiltration and jungle warfare—the difficulties made so

much of in despatches from Arakan in 1943, and during 1942 in Burma and Malaya—need not be trotted out on all occasions as an excuse for failure of campaigns against Japan. These have lost novelty even to the man in the street. Incidentally the story told revealed that the organization for "jungle warfare" need not be a long or difficult task The British contingent in the Wingate expedition were made up of "medium-sized, rather sallow operatives from Lanchashire mills and factories", within six months Brigadier Wingate, leader of the expedition, had "turned these men into expert jungle fighters who could stalk either Jap or wild animals in the forests and mountains with Indian stealth". The British organisers in India had at their command this "Indian stealth" for more years than one can remember, why they could not use this "Indian" skill in fighting the Japanese during these more than eighteen months in the wilds and jungles of Arakan and other areas further north, the world does not yet know If Lancashire mill operatives and factory workers could be trained into expert jungle fighters in course of six months, the children of hills and jungles of India should not have taken this much time. The Delhi-Simla military bureaucracy have somehow failed to utilize their services And it would be wise for their propagandists to refrain from mentioning those difficulties of jungle warfare in their propaganda sheets Silence is golden here The failure of supply also was mentioned—jungle warfare was handicapped by "a complicated supply system". In the second week of May, a New Delhi message elaborately explained the various causes of this set back. The event was thus described. "The difficulty is that the Japs as a people are accustomed to a strenuous life on the diet which is easily carried, while British troops depend still on tinned foods, tea and condensed milk to keep up strength. Even Indian troops require more food than the Japanese." There also appears to have been faulty co-ordination of activities by the land, sea and air forces. The British came to within 25 miles of Akyab, main Japanese supply base in the area, the only port in north-west Burma, capture of which would have opened the way to Mandalay to them, as well as enabled them to dominate this part of the Bay of Bengal Similar misfortune happened in another front to the Japanese They failed to proceed nearer than 30 miles to Port Moresby in the New Guinea island the capture of which would have brought them to Australia. These are instances of the fickleness of war's fortunes. The re-opening of the Arakan campaign six months later (November, 1943) has not improved matters for any of the combatant armies, as we write these lines (January, 1944). The day-light bombing of the Calcutta Port area in December (1943) was spectacular That it could not be followed was a proof that air cover over eastern India had reached a pitch which Japanese tacticians had to take careful note of It may, perhaps, also be that following German strategy Japan was organising her defensive arrangements and building some sort of a "Fortress" in south east Asia.

In the north & south Pacific front

At the end of the period we have been dealing with (January—June, 1943), the Japanese have not been dislodged from any of the far-flung strong-holds which they have captured from the Allies or established in the mainland of Asia and in the thousands of islands and atolls in the area stretching from Timor in the Dutch East Indies to

the Solomon Islands—forming an arc of about 2,000 miles. A U S. A. estimate has it, published in the last week of June, 1943, that the Japanese air force "scattered along the South Pacific front probably totals 1500 to 2,000—a good many more than the Allies have mastered in the same theatre". The air bases built by the Japanese in this area had brought them within "bomber range" of the "northern territory" of Australia: Rabaul, the great Japanese base in New Britain, about 1,000 miles north-east from Townsville in Queensland; Koepang, 500 miles north-west from Darwin which is the only worth-while port and base on the northern cost of Australia, and Wewak in New Guinea is only 700 miles off. Their names recur ever again during this period as points of attack by U S and Australian air and naval forces, as places from which the Japanese sent their raiders on Allied concentrations. During the latter half of 1943 American and Australian bombers appeared to have rendered inoffensive certain of these bases, specially those in New Guinea, New Georgia, Rendova, Bougainville—Munda and Viru in the second and Kahili in the last. Bombing expeditions over the Gilbert and the Marshall Islands further north approaching the "Fortress" built by Japan in the mandated islands, have been reported. In the farthest north the island of Attu was cleared of Japanese forces. Chicagof Harbour was the last to surrender. The success of this side-show was not unimportant, as the following considerations will show.

Possibilities opened by Siberian bases

The loss of the Aleutians has removed from under her feet the stepping-stone from which Japan could have tried to jump on Alaska and Canada's west coastal areas. She had built a "bomber runway" at Attu, its loss has rendered the "fighter runway" built at Kiska inoffensive. It has also laid open to U S A attack the Kurile Islands, 600 miles off—not a great distance for modern bombers. And we have been told that though Tokyo is 2,000 miles from there by air, it "is not a large gap to cover." This is propaganda we know, for during the present war half of that gap has not been easy to cover. Instances of such adventure have been rarest. Of course, air-craft carriers from which Tokyo was once in a while in April, 1942, bombed, was a different proposition. But there are even in their case difficulties in the way. Otherwise, bombers over Japan would have been more frequent. And the leaders of the Allied Powers know that the time for such improvisations is not yet. They have recognised the fact that for the success of any such venture, some attacks on the island home of the Japanese people, they would have to depend on Soviet Russia. Mr. Churchill thought loudly of such an eventuality when in the last week of May, 1943, he—"seated side by side with President Roosevelt in the President's study at White House"—to quote from the London *Daily Mail* correspondent at Washington, bespoke such help:

> "...it was no secret that the Allies would like to make use of Siberian bases at an appropriate time for bombing operations against Japan"

This kite-flying coincided in time with the visit of Mr. Joseph Davis, some-time U. S A. ambassador at Moscow, to Marshal Stalin with a "sealed" letter to him from his President. The world's Press was busy speculating on the contents of this letter. We have seen a

version to say that the letter contained among many other topics a request for permission to use by the Allied Powers of the Siberian bases to which Mr Churchill had made such wistful reference. Marshal Stalin has not yet been able to accede to the request of his western allies The "appropriate time" has not come, appropriate to Soviet interests and necessities, though there has been a meeting at the capital of Iran of the three leaders of the principal "United Nations". Japan was having a needed respite.

War weariness—a war weapon

Allied military commentators have begun to say that Japan, was being forced, as Germany has been, on the defensive ; that her strategy was "to hold every inch of this outer rim (in the Pacific) as long as possible, to make every Allied move as expensive as possible". It is being contended that the Allies could well afford to stand this expense which Japan could not. They were better able to stand a long war. Up to the end of 1942 the Allied Powers built their hopes of ultimate victory on a long-drawn war, their industrial potentiality, specially of the United States, would, it was claimed, enable them to outstay the power of endurance of the Axis Powers, they hoped by prolonging the war to create war weariness amongst the peoples of the Axis countries and break their morale. But such a strategy cut both ways. The leaders of the Allied Powers were conscious of this development. Mr Churchill gave expression to fears and hopes bearing on this subject, sometime in May, 1943.

"There is one grave danger which will go along with us until the end That danger is the undue prolongation of the war. It is in the dragging out of war at enormous expense till the democracies are tired or bored or split that the main hopes of Germany and Japan must now reside. We must destroy this hope as we have destroyed so many others".

Japan's appeal to Pan-Asiatic sentiment and interests

But this was speaking of the future In the immediate present, the present that we have been speaking of - the first six months of 1943—Japan was on the top grade. Her Premier, General Hideki Tojo, speaking at the 82nd Extraordinary Session of the Imperial Diet, held in the second week of June, reiterated the permanent element of his country's foreign policy—"It is Japan's immutable policy to free Greater Asia from age-long Anglo-Saxon domination". Returning from a tour in the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity region a few weeks later, he could report that the peoples of these areas understood "Nippon's true intentions" and were "concentrating full efforts to destroy the Anglo-American Powers." As preliminary steps towards securing this "collaboration" Japan had taken certain steps that would appeal to the interests and sentiments of the peoples concerned. First came the Nanking administration It has been given a certain amount of more power in the administrative field, its fighting forces under Japanese officers were being given a little more military training with modern arms and ammunitions, these were being used for garrison duty thus relieving regular Japanese units. In the session of the Imperial Diet referred to above the Japanese Premier promised "to accord the honour of independence to the Philippines in the course of the current year", he intended "to realise this state of affairs as early as possible in Java and Burma" India also was not forgotten by him. "Japan

is resolved......to enable India to obtain full independence in the true sense of the term", declared he; and Subhas Chandra Basu's "army of liberation" was being nursed and licked into shape by the Japanese war lords, if we understand aright the words of Lord Linlithgow's Home Secretary uttered in reply to a question in the Council of State. Thailand received slices of territory—about 38,770 square miles—transferred to her from the Malaya States "as an earnest of better things to come." These items of news pointed out to the process by which Japan was trying to lay the foundation stones of her "Greater Asia Co-prosperity Sphere", and strengthening their setting

As against this political strategy, Britain and the United States have not been able so far to put a better show, to erect a better sounding-board. In the "protectorate" of Burma, Japan has been able to place at the head of the administration, Dr. Ba Maw, a former Premier of Burma whom the British had to imprison for a little while during the last days of their regime in the country. In the Philippines, men like Mayor Jorge Vargas of Manila. once a close friend of President Quezon and General MacArthur, have been "collaborating" with the new ruling authorities. A U. S. A. publicist, Clark Lee, Associated Press Pacific correspondent, has said that "it would not be realistic to write off" such men as "Quislings"

The case of Philippines & Burma

This writer has also described how Japan has been organising the natural and human resources of these territories for fighting her wars with Britain and the United States 25 per cent of the staffs of the Tokyo Ministries of Commerce and Industry, of Railways, of Welfare, of Agriculture and Education, together with other "specialists", are being sent there. The Japanese language is being taught, as well as customs and beliefs. Thousands of Japanese families are going there as pioneers of "better life" represented by Japan; they will make their homes in these territories Young men and women from China, Java, the Philippines, Indo-China, Thailand, Burma are being brought to Japan to be trained to appreciate the virtues of the "Co-prosperity Sphere", and work and labour for its firmer foundation, for beating back the assaults of Anglo-American capitalist-imperialism. Mr. Lee appears to think that the Japanese have been making a success of this job, being allowed the time to do so. Already they have had two years to achieve the "military, economic and political consolidation" of East Asia From the Philippines they have been getting chrome and copper; from Malaya tin and rubber, coal has been coming from the Selangor mines, petroleum suitable for aviation gasoline comes from the Sumatra oil fields, from Borneo come coal, high-grade petroleum, gold, copper, mercury and cinnabar, Indo-China supplies rice and coal; Java rubber, quinine and petroleum; and in North China "there is all the iron and coal that Japan can use". These resources have been enabling her to strengthen and extend her heavy industries. And for their protection from Allied bombers she has been dispersing these to different points in her far-flung empire. Certain elements of these have already been set up in North China, Korea, Shanghai, Manila, Singapore, and Manchuria, relieving pressure from the cities of Tokyo, Yokahama, Nagoya, Kobe,

Japan is having time to organize her conquests

Osaka, Shimoneseki, and Moji—all concentrated in four areas along a 440 mile strip of coast south and west of Tokyo. Japan has also began trying to connect Shanghai with Singapore by railway. This would give her a net-work of interior communications—securing to her a position almost as strong as Germany's in Europe. These defensive arrangements follow the pattern set up in every country that has been caught up by "total war".

Japan's attempt to break China's "rice bowl"

We have brought out the story of Japan's fight with the Anglo-American Powers. But the key-stone of the offensive operations directed against her lies in China—she who has borne the heat and burden, the sorrows and sufferings, the insults and indignities at the hands of her rapacious neighbour for six long years—for four years unaided by anybody, and for the last two years with inadequate help from these two leaders of the "United Nations". The New York weekly—*Time*—in its issue of July 12, 1943, gives a "balance sheet" of the sixth year of her war with Japan . "two terrible famines that swept Honan and Kwantung; a price level now 87 times the pre-war level ; the throttling grip of blockade , the hunger of vast armies for medicines and munitions ; the creeping paralysis of transport.'' As against this is to be put the "only major Japanese military drive—the campaign in western Hupeh—(that) has been smashed", the Chinese air force has "taken the air for the first time in several years, shot down enemy planes, and co-operated with the U. S. 14th Air Force''. This report does but give a very inadequate picture of the China front as it was being sought to be battered down by Japan. During the whole of March, 1943, the Japanese threw "an eight-pronged drive southward toward huge dyke-bound Tungting Lake". The campaign had an economic objective—it "seriously interfered with the spring plantings of rice and cotton in one of China's too few fertile basins.' The blasting of the dykes of the Lake flooded a huge area west of it which not only fed lakhs of soldiers but people in far distant provinces." Eight weeks later the Japanese tried to exploit this position by driving toward the key mountain passes—Yuyankwan and Changyang. But they met with stiff resistance here. The Chinese threw "crack'' units into the fight and broke the Japanese formations stationed at the Yuyankwan Pass, and pursued them east. By the first week of June reports of "the victory on the Yangtze" could be given to the world. "Elements of five Japanese divisions" followed by soldiers of the "puppet'' regime at Nanking, were hurrying back to the north of the river. Ten miles up the river from Ichang stands a mammoth slab of rock called Shihpai. Here was "one key to the fortifications of Central China" ; against it the Japanese threw full three divisions. But the defence held. And the attackers had to beat a quick retreat. "The Chinese had defeated the largest single striking force the Japanese had put together since Burma in 1942" in the China front. This gave a new confidence to the Chinese themselves, put heart into their carefully-nursed air force, and demonstrated the value of the help that the 14th U. S. Air Force could render to China. This force was stationed in bases in South China, it hurried to Central China in time to strengthen the small Air Force of China when news of this Japanese offensive reached it.

But this victory did not assure the Chinese people that deliverance was near. She could not forget that Japan had caught her unprepared to wage a modern war; that victory in this war could come out of effective help from the Western world that had not felt able till the sixth year of the war to accept her as an equal in the comity of modern nations. Bitter experience has been teaching her how dependent she was for survival as an independent nation on this world lying across ten thousand miles of ocean waters, the waters of three of the greatest oceans. This dependence was brought home to her by three facts even during 1943. Madame Chiang Kai-shek had to undertake a journey to the United States to plead with the leaders of the "United Nations' for greater help to her war-scarred people. Lieutenant-General Arnold, chief of U S. Air Force, was sent to Chungking by President Roosevelt, with instructions to "find out how best to build up an air strength in China". The gist of his report is not of a hopeful nature, a sizeable air force could not be maintained in China "if it must be supplied by air alone", real and effective help to China could only come when "a land supply route" has been cleared. The easiest was "probably through Burma", as a commentator has surmised. That has yet to come. The other fact that has been disturbing the mind of China is the political strategy that Japan has been directing to secure the help of Asiatic peoples to uphold her "Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere". We have tried to indicate above certain of the lines followed by her. Mayor Vargas' speech on the anniversary of the first Pearl Harbour day linking the fortunes of the Philippines with those of Japan, Dr. Ba Maw's declaration that the blood of Burmese would flow for making the "Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere' dream into a reality—these may have no intrinsic value of their own. But public men and publicists in China who have felt in their bones the cruel effectiveness of Japanese methods of war and who know their Japan if anybody in this world can be said to know her as well- they have never been been able to reconcile themselves to the Churchill strategy that ruled the "United Nations"—Germany comes first, then Japan Their impatience with this policy has been well-known. It found a new expression in the March of 1943 when Japanese hordes were driving to the "rice bowl" of China lying north-west of Tungting Lake. The Communist newspaper of Chungking—*Ta Kung Pao*—asked·

China's fear of Japan's political strategy

> "How strong will Japan become in nine months. in one and half years, or in two and half years during which the United Nations are concentrating against Hitler ?"

The months that have followed since then have not shown the "United Nations" to military advantage in the front that Japan has created in east Asia for liquidating Anglo-American domination from the life of half the world's population huddled in this region. The world has come to know since December 7, 1941, how strong Japan is. It has often wondered at the way that China has been able to fight back the successive waves of Japanese armies as these have sought to engulf her. We have often called it a "miracle", and have

'Miracle" in China—an explanation

tried to understand and explain it. In Vol. I of 1942 of the *Indian Annual Register* we made a special attempt to do so. As months have been added to months and lengthened into years our wonder and admiration have grown at this spectacle. The Generalissimo and Madame Chiang Kai-shek have represented to us the heroic spirit of this ancient people—a co-equal with ours in time and in the ageless philosophy of decent human conduct. Their deeds have written their names in imperishable letters in the world's history. Their speeches and messages have carried to the world's farthest corners the call to heroic endurance in the cause of national self-respect. The majority of these, addressed as these were to the Chinese people, could not be understood by non-Chinese-speaking peoples. It was only recently, on the sixth anniversary of Japan's unprovoked and undeclared war on China, that 60 of the Generalissimo's speeches and messages have been compiled and made available to English-speaking peoples, in a volume entitled—*Resistance and Reconstruction*. Extracts from these have brought us near to an explanation of the "miracle" in China. These give us an idea of the "strategy of vast space" by the adoption of which China's military leadership has been able to hold back Japan for six long years. On October 25, 1938, the Generalissimo indicated it thus :

"Our plan has been to establish the bases of our resistance, not along the coast or rivers or at centres of communication but in the vast interior......(The) war.. ...is beyond considerations of time and space."

But it is not military acumen only that has enabled the Chinese people to withstand Japanese attacks. The "will" of the people has been transformed into a "powerful weapon", into a "dynamic force". When Japan launched on her "China Incident", her militarists failed to take into account this impalpable force. The Generalissimo who had his military training in Japan and came to know of the limitations of this group, put his fingers on these on April 10, 1940 :

China's hope of the future

"Nothing will ever make (the Japanese) understand the measure of the spiritual strength of our people ; their ignorance of the age is incurable, and of China still deeper."

These quotations prepare our minds for the future of China in the comity of modern nations. It was sketched out in words that are true to the traditions of a country that had put the soldier at the lowest rung of the social hierarchy. On November 17, 1942, the Generalissimo said :

"We repudiate the leadership of Asia idea because the Fuehrer principle has been synonymous with domination and exploitation precisely as the [Japanese] East Asia Co prosperity Sphere has stood for a race of mythical supermen lording over grovelling subject races. China has no desire to replace Western imperialism in Asia with an Oriental imperialism or isolationism".

This repudiation by China's supreme leader of "Chinese imperialism" of which certain Euro-American publicists have already begun to talk is a sign-post that should be taken note of. It gives expression to a hope that perhaps may not be fulfilled if human nature,—Euro-American human nature rather than Asiatic—does not undergo more radical change in its mental make-up. But in the living present

Allied strategy in Pacific area

the men and women of China have been writing in blood and tears their repudiation of the cannibal principle in State-craft. Their Western allies can but send them trickles of help on which to sustain their offensive and defensive arrangements. The situation, as it is, is not satisfactory if we are to judge by the articles that have ben appear-in the Press of the United States. We have already referred to one such article which had a sensational heading *Japan has already won her war*. We have culled from it the items that indicated how Japan has been stabilizing her position owing to the failure of the two leaders of the "United Nations"—Britain and the United States—to disturb her from the juicy portions of the newly-got possessions. Another article, written after an actual tour of the fighting fronts in the Pacific area, by Hans Baldwin, military editor of the *New York Times*, is more disturbing. It tries to throw the spot-light on the Pacific strategy of the Allied Powers, on the deficiencies that mark the China front. He discussed the possibilities of the various routes from which the heart of the Nipponese empire could be attacked. Mr. Baldwin thinks that as "the real, almost insuperable problem is supply", that as China is virtually cut off from the world, the strategists of the Allied command have to find a route of supply. The British thesis appears to be that the winning of the "Burma Road" would open out such a route, the U. S. thesis appears to be that on the Indo-Burma frontier the Allies should keep the Japanese engaged and try to send supplies to China through India, while the main attack on Japan should come from the sea and air, starting from Hawaii. Mr Baldwin subjects by implication the British thesis to criticism by making light of the possibilities of the "Burma Road" As one ground division in active combat consumes about 18,900 maunds of ammunition per day,—the "Burma Road" which used to bring about one third of this weight every day, cannot be much of a help by itself alone in modern warfare. The east coast ports of China are all in Japanese possession. Canton, for instance, used to admit about eight times the supplies that could be carried on the "Burma Road" The capture of these ports from the land side would require the conquest of Burma, Malaya, Thailand, and French Indo-China. And "in those jungles and steamy vastnesses the enemy might be able to hold out for years". Without Russia's help or connivance war cannot be brought to bear against "Japan's continental power". She is a great sea power also, and it has become the special United States job to tighten the ring that encircles Japanese strongholds--from Australia and the Solomons, from the Aleutians, from India and China. But

"The main effort may well be westward from Hawaii and Midway—a direct thrust against the heart of Japan"

The division of work sketched by Mr. Baldwin appears to relegate the Burma front, and the base in India, to a subordinate position.

Sir Archibald Wavell as war chief

The announcement in the last week of June, 1943, that Sir Archibald Wavell, commander-in-chief of India, would succeed Lord Linlithgow as its Governor-General, suggested other changes in keeping

with this speculation. Sir Archibald had been supreme commander of the A. B. C. D. forces in their fight against Japan during the disastrous months of 1942 Did his record in this campaign count in this change-over as Sir Claude Auchinlek's Lybia record had sent him into temporary eclipse? It is useless for us to speculate on the various considerations that must have influenced the British War Cabinet to relieve Sir Archibald of his life's vocation and to send him to the gilded chambers of Delhi-Simla. British military policy has seen to it that the people of India do not develop their military instincts and judgment. We, therefore, cannot judge Sir Archibald as a leader of men in modern warfare. We can only share with our readers what a U. S. commentator said of him during the Lybian campaign:

"Up to the early summer of 1941 he had not learned to handle a large force as ably as he has repeatedly shown that he can handle a small force. When the Italians entered the war in June, 1940, General Wavell had a compact little army in the Western Desert He moved it easily and beautifully, holding off the Italian force ten times the size of his own. Gradually, as the Middle Eastern forces expanded under his feet, he floated out of depth. The bigger the forces, equipment and units he had to handle became, the harder General Wavell found it to keep control."

His "Far East Asia" record

To a layman this criticism pointed out to a lack of the power of co-ordination from which Lord Linlithgow's administration of India has suffered the most during the war years (1939-–'43). The Governor-General-to-be when he was called upon in the opening months of 1942 to guide the Allied forces in east Asia had an almost impossible situation to handle owing to the supineness of London and the crass incompetence of the local administrations. The conceit of an imperial race had twisted all natural human relation in the "dependent" part of the empire, and the sullen but silent discontent of the subject population found expression in non-co-operation with war activities, and when the Japanese actually attacked, in armed revolt against the ruling authorities. The self-complacence of the Imperial General Staff had neglected to organise the forces and resources of the "dependent" empire with a view to fight a modern war which we have been told is "total war" requiring the co-operation of the heart, mind and body of the people concerned. The empire statesmen of Britain had under-estimated all the material and non-material dissatisfactions that Japan would exploit and inflame against the racial arrogance of the Euro-American peoples. It is these inadequacies of Britain's imperial policy that Sir Archibald Wavell had at short notice been required to patch up in 1942. And if he failed to meet the demand, the fault was not his alone, but of the system. He was part of a machine, and that machine went wrong. His individual responsibility for the breakdown in the military campaign will be assessed by the future historian.

Sir Archibald as a politician

Now that he has been called upon to play a new role the publicist in India will naturally hunt out his political ideas and affiliations. He is said to have helped to ease the situation in Egypt when Sa'ad Zaglul Pasha was leading that people. We have not heard that when Sir Stafford Cripps came out on his mission to India,

and Sir Archibald was commander-in-chief of India, the latter was any way helpful in trying to enlist nationalist Indian feeling on the side of the Allied cause. We know that he had interviews with the Congress President, Moulana Abul Kalam Azad, and Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru, for the purpose of evolving a self-respecting formula for the defence arrangements of the country the failure to find which was one of the causes of the rejection of the Cripps proposals. It may be that the individual in Sir Archibald could not rise above the British class interests and conceits that really guided and ruled the Delhi-Simla bureaucracy. That was in 1942 Fifteen months later the soldier has been made into a politician. His supreme duty now was to bridge the "spiritual alienation" that separated India and Britain. The months ahead will show how he rises to the call of the situation.

The British Press on Sir Archibald

It is natural, however, on such occasions to speculate on the course of activities as it is hoped or apprehended to be pursued by the new ruler or rulers. In the present instance, since the announcement of Sir Archibald Wavells' appointment, the speculation has been mostly done by the British publicists, their opposite numbers of India having found the thing useless The soldier has been made into a politician not because unsuspected qualities of statesmanship have been discovered in him, but because he will be best able "to steer India's course through the storms of war and the upheaval of an industrial and social re-making ', to quote from the editorial in the London *Observer* (weekly). The more clever among the interpreters of British opinion have sought to build up a thesis on the material improvement in the life of our people to be worked under the new Governor-General by fixing on an item out of his "mental bag ' The ruling classes in modern nations were found prepared to spend thousands of crores of rupees in carrying on the destructive activities of war; these same classes were found to be violently opposed to the spending of a few crores of rupees for the arts of peace that would enrich the life of the commonalty of their lands. Sir Archibald had commented on this contrast, and British commentators hastened to drive its lessons home into us that under the Wavell regime we would have our *dal* and *bhat*, and plenty of them. These mentors took pains to educate us anew into the belief that the problem in India was not political alone, concerned with her inferior status in the comity of nations, it was more economic concerned with the poverty in the material life of India. They played round this topic, forgetful that British policy during the centuries has made matters worse, the latest manifestation of which was the famine in Bengal that killed off more than twenty lakhs of people. They talked, as the London *Times* did, of pressing on with "social and economic programmes, too long subordinated to politics and neglected in India" , they hoped at the end of this process—"at one later stage to seek in practical objectives and measures the release of the will and power to co-operate, without which the constitutional outlook is dark indeed."

There is nothing new in this line of argument. When alien rulers are confronted by a political blind alley, they and their apologists

begin to talk of the object of all government being "roast mutton, potatoes"—the equivalent of the Indian *dal bhat* or *roti*. The London *Times* was not the only organ of British opinion that harped on this theme. The *Observer* talked of the "Industrial Revolution" that has been remaking our life—"a period comparable in some respects with the first decade of Soviet Russia." One can only smile at this allusion when he remembered that in the land of the Soviets there were no alien rulers to dictate the thoughts and activities of the people, no foreign finance-capital that preferred its own interests to those of the natives of the soil. The *Economist* chimed in with this thesis when it wrote: "There can be no better foundation for the common cause between Britain and India than the formulation of steps towards social and economic rehabilitation that are needed", it talked of the "bread and butter requirements" of India that alone can be "sure foundation for the bid of this soldier turned statesman to be the last British-chosen Viceroy of India."

Building a new character for him

The similarity of the language used by these three papers cannot be accidental. We have yet to find out why they were led to build up a new character for Field Marshal Sir Archibald Wavell as a miracle-man in financial and economic affairs. We propose to wait and see. During the interval we are prepared to leave the subject where it was left by Sydney Smith speaking of another victim of imperialism. That was about a hundred years back when Daniel O'Connell was making a new history for Ireland, and a potato famine was on the way to halve the population of that island. Those who profitted from British exploitation of Ireland had cogent reasons to feel disgusted with things as men and nature were making these for the discomfiture of the ruling classes. And Sydney Smith prescribed for the ease of their souls a nostrum as ineffective in the 19th century as it will prove in the 20th.

An old, familiar technique

"The object of all government is roast mutton, potatoes, claret, a stout constable and honest justice, a clear high way and a free chapel. What trash to be bawling in the streets about the Green Island, the Isle of the Ocean; the bold anthem go bragh. A far better anthem would be Erin go bread and cheese, Erin go cabins that will keep out the rains, Erin go pantaloons without holes in them."

—(*Specially contributed by Sri Suresh Chandra Deb.*)

Proceedings of

The Council of State

AND

The Central Legislative Assembly

AND

Provincial Councils & Assemblies

JANUARY—JUNE 1943

The Council of State

LIST OF MEMBERS

NOMINATED—(a) Officials—(13)

1. His Excellency General Sir Claude John Eyre Auchinleck, G.C.I.E., C.B., C.S.I., D.S.O., C.B.E., A.D.C.
2. The Honourable Sir Mahomed Usman, K.C.I.E.
3. The Honourable Malik Sir Firoz Khan Noon, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E.
4. The Honourable Sir Jogendra Singh.
5. The Honourable Sir Satyendra Nath Roy, C.S.I., C.I.E.
6. The Honourable Mr. C. E. Jones, C.S.I., C.I.E.
7. The Honourable Mr. E. Conran-Smith, C.S.I. C.I.E.
8. The Honourable Mr. G. S. Bozman, C.I.E.
9. The Honourable Mr. N. R. Pillai, C.I.E., C.B.E.
10. The Honourable Mr. H. C. Prior, C.S.I., C.I.E.
11. The Honourable Mr. M. S. A. Hydari, C.S.I., C.I.E.
12. The Honourable Mr. Shavax A. Lal, C.I.E.
13. The Honourable Mr. B. R. Sen

(b) Non-officials—(13).

1. The Honourable Sir David Devadoss.
2. The Honourable Diwan Bahadur Sir K. Ramunni Menon.
3. The Honourable Sir A. Parasuram Patro, K.C.I.E.
4. The Honourable Sir Rahimtoola Chinoy.
5. The Honourable Sir Josna Ghosal, C.S.I., C.I.E.
6. The Honourable Rai Bahadur Satyendra Kumar Das.
7. The Honourable Rai Bahadur Sir Satya Charan Mukherjee, C.B.E.
8. The Honourable Mr. Mohendra Lal Das.
9. The Honourable Raja Charanjit Singh.
10. The Honourable Mr. Khurshid Ali Khan, M.B.E.
11. The Honourable Sir Maneckji Byramji Dadabhoy, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., L.L.D., Bar-at-Law (*President*)
12. The Honourable Lieutenant-Colonel Sir S. Hissam-ud-din Bahadur, C.I.E.
13. The Honourable Sardar Bahadur Sobha Singh, O.B.E.

ELECTED—Non-officials—(32).

1. The Honourable Sir N. Gopalaswami Ayyangar, C.S.I., C.I.E.
2. The Honourable Mr. M. Ct. M. Chidambaram Chettyar.
3. The Honourable Mr. Narayandas Girdhardas.
4. The Honourable Mr. V. Ramadas Pantulu.
5. The Honourable Saiyad Mohamed Padshah Sahib Bahadur.
6. The Honourable Mr. Govindlal Shivlal Motilal.
7. The Honourable Sir Shantidas Askuran.
8. The Honourable Mr. Manockji Nadirshaw Dalal.
9. The Honourable Sir Suleman Cassum Haji Mitha, C.I.E., J.P.
10. The Honourable Khan Bahadur Ali Buksh Mohamed Hussain, C.B.E.
11. The Honourable Mr. R. H. Parkar.
12. The Honourable Mr. Kumarsankar Ray Chaudhury.
13. The Honourable Kumar Nripendra Narayan Sinha.
14. The Honourable Mr. Susil Kumar Roy Chowdhury
15. The Honourable K. B. Syed Ihtisham Hyder Chaudhury (Deceased)
16. The Honourable Mr. Abdool Razak Hajee Abdool Suttar.
17. The Honourable Mr. J. H. Burder
18. The Honourable Raja Yuveraj Dutta Singh.
19. The Honourable Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru.
20. The Honourable Pandit Prakash Narain Sapru.
21. The Honourable Haji Syed Mohamed Husain
22. The Honourable Chaudhuri Niamatullah.
23. The Honourable Rai Bahadur Lala Ramsaran Das, C.I.E.
24. The Honourable Sardar Sir Buta Singh, C.B.E.
25. The Honourable Choudhury Ataullah Khan Tarar
26. The Honourable Maharajadhiraja Sir Kameshwar Singh K.C.I.E., of Darbhanga.
27. The Honourable Rai Bahadur Sri Narain Mahtha.
28. The Honourable Mr. Nikunja Kishore Das.
29. The Honourable Mr. Hossain Imam.
30. The Honourable Mr. V. V. Kalikar.
31. The Honourable Mr. Brijlal Nandlal Biyani.
32. The Honourable Maulvi Ali Asgar Khan.

Proceedings of the Council

Budget Session—New Delhi—15th February to 3rd. April 1943

RAILWAY BUDGET FOR 1943—44

The Council of State began its Budget session at New Delhi on the 15th. February 1943, Sir *Maneckji Dadabhoy* presiding Sir *Leonard Wilson*, Chief Commissioner of Railways in presenting the Railway Budget for 1943-44 said :

"During this year, the railways over the main traffic routes have been working available engines and wagons to full capacity when these were not interrupted by floods and cyclones and by sabotage, yet the number of wagons loaded up to date this year is less by about 15 per cent on the gauge and about 17 per cent on the metre gauge than in last year This is due to the hold up of wagons in ports and military depots and to dislocation of goods traffic by the movement of a larger number of military special trains."

Sir *Leonard* paid a tribute to the Central and Regional Priority Authorities which have so ably helped transportation and consequently the war effort, by the prevention of unnecessary movements of traffic, by distributing traffic between available means of transport and by giving priority to the movement of commodities most necessary for the life of the country and for war purposes.

He added, "The shortage of visible supplies of food is one of the major difficulties with which the country is faced today. Up to date it can be said that an adequate supply of wagons has been made available for this purpose but food grains have not been offered for transport to the extent required to meet the demands in the deficient areas. The importation from overseas of large quantities of wheat, which has been arranged, will help to solve the food problem and railways will assist in the distribution of this vital commodity though this will further tax the already heavily loaded system.

"The disturbances to railway working due to unforeseen occurrences have been more than usual this year. Hurs caused some dislocation to the traffic in Sind in the early part of the year, there were serious breaches of the lines in Sind, Bihar and Assam due to floods during the monsoon and in November a cyclone was the cause of a breach of the line in Orissa In August a campaign of destruction of the railways was started by misguided people and their attempts to interrupt communications adversely affected traffic especially in August and September. The list of disturbances would be incomplete without reference to enemy bombing though this has not been severe. Our expenditure has been increased by the employment of many additional men for the prevention of accidents due to sabotage and whilst in most cases their efforts have proved successful there have been regrettable accidents to running trains some with loss of life.

In view of the ever-increasing demand for rail transport we may assume that during 1943-44 the railways will as in this year be worked to full capacity. The dislocation to traffic caused by sabotage and by floods and cyclones has to some extent adversely affected this year's earnings and though it would be unwise to assume that there will be no dislocation next year we do assume that any which may result from unforeseen occurrences will have less effect than those of this year. We, therefore, expect that the gross traffic receipts in 1943-44 will exceed the estimate for the current year by ? of a crore and will reach the record figure of 150 crores In addition we expect a net revenue of 2.17 crores from miscellaneous transactions.'

In conclusion he said : "I would commend to the House the railwaymen who have done so well during a year in which the pressure on them has been greater than ever before. The greatest trial with which they have had to contend was that imposed by those who set out to destroy the track and other railway property, and in this trial they displayed the courage necessary to restore the damage and to keep the traffic moving. On each of the many occasions of sabotage to the track, a derailment with loss of life might have occurred, had it not been for the vigilance of the staff, Despite the vigilance there have been derailments and loss of life Yet the train staff continued to work their trains in the face of this danger. There have been several panic evacuations due to bombing or the fear of it, yet those who left the danger area expected railwaymen to continue at work and this they did with few exceptions, though there is nothing more infectious than panic. I said in this House last year that the

country expects railwaymen to carry on despite the fear or consequences of enemy attack. I said then that I believed they would do so and I still hold that belief."

Changes in E. P. T. Act Urged

16th. FEBRUARY :—The Council today rejected by 31 votes to 2, Mr *Hossain Imam's* resolution recommending changes in the Excess Profits Tax Act, 1940 increasing the percentage to 80%, lowering the taxable limit from Rs. 30,000 to Rs. 10 000 and requiring that no standard profit should be less than 4% on the invested capital, and that standard profit should not be higher than that shown in the return submitted by the assessees. Mr. *Imam* said that he believed in the theory that the war should not be made an occasion for profiteering, and his resolution would not only be helpful to the Government but a large number of people. He wanted a large number of those persons who were making huge profits from war supplies to come under the purview of the Act. Opposing the resolution, Mr. *P. N. Sapru* said that to work a capitalist system of economy the incentive effort should be kept alive. He wondered why the so-called capitalists had been marked out for a special attack. Mr *V. V. Kalikar* was of the opinion that if the mover's new point was accepted, it would help to kill Indian industry Speaking on behalf of the Government, Mr. *C. F. Jones*, Finance Secretary, said it was impossible to discuss the present resolution at a time when the whole budgetary position was not before the House. An isolated aspect of the budget could not be discussed in advance. The resolution affected the incidence as well as the working of the EPT Act, and it was regarded by the Government as entirely unnecessary. As there was considerable opposition to his resolution, Mr Imam wanted to withdraw it but the House insisted that it should be put to the vote.

Decontrolling of Prices

Pt. *H. N. Kunzru* moved a resolution urging a co-ordinated policy throughout the country in respect of wheat and other foodstuffs, following the recent decontrolling of prices. He criticized the Government of first adhering to price-control and trying to make it effective by exports and also by the increased requirements of the country resulting from the greater purchasing power of the people. A situation like the present, Pt. Kunzru said, called for effective remedy, and the whole country should be treated as one economic unit. He also urged for substantial shipments from abroad to relieve the food situation. Sir *Jogendra Singh* said that one striking result of the removal of control was that there was no black market now in the Punjab and that prices were now steadily going down. He said that an incentive had also to be provided to the producer so that more food could come into the market, which would result in an automatic fall in prices. Mr. *B. C. Holdsworth*, explaining the Government's attitude, said that he was prepared to accept the resolution. He said the Government did not remove the maximum price of wheat to please the Punjab Government as was suggested in some quarters. but in order to try to restore normal conditions of trade with a view to restoring confidence in the country, for want of which, and consequent hoarding, the country had to face the present condition. He thought that a return of confidence would bring out supplies and ease prices. Mr. Holdsworth added that the Government of India were getting a good deal of co-operation from the Provincial Governments who were putting their surpluses at the disposal of other deficit provinces. Discussion had not concluded when the House adjourned till the 22nd.

General Discussion of Railway Budget

22nd. FEBRUARY :—The Council held a general discussion on the Railway Budget today. The War Transport Member, Sir *Edward Benthall* referred to the manufacture of locomotives in India, and said that the Government had already decided to manufacture them in this country. The question was how soon construction could be taken in hand. He referred to the recommendations of the Humphrey-Srinivasan Committee, which were about to be implemented, when the war broke out. The scheme had to be held in abeyance in order to take up munitions production, more vitally important at that time. He claimed that the Government were perfectly justified in converting railway work-shops in India into munition-production factories. Consequent on Japan's entry into the war pressure on India's transport considerably increased, and in order to cope with the situation, there were heavier demands on locomotives and rolling stock available in the country. Sir Edward stated that all wagons ordered by the

Railway Board were being constructed in this country, very largely from Indian material but orders had to be placed abroad for locomotives. After explaining that a sudden turn-over to locomotive production in India was not possible as it involved the setting up of large new munitions factories in place of the railway workshops and also raised the question of availability of locomotive construction, the War Transport Member declared that the Government were discussing for the past several months, with experts the question of the best design for India. After it was decided upon, he said, they would consider whether at the juncture it would be profitable to have their own locomotive factories or to continue for the war period to obtain them from America Referring to dismantlement of certain branch lines, the War Transport Member stated there was no likelihood of any further dismantlement, judging from present conditions. The post-war rail-road problem would be given serious attention at the proper time, but at the moment, there were other more serious problems facing us. and it was not possible to study a problem of such vast dimensions now. It had pleased him, he said, to find that the House had liked the Government's endeavours to systematize railway finances with regard to the Reserve Fund Depreciation Fund and transfer to General Revenue of portions of the surplus.

Sir *A. P. Patro* urging a revision of the allocation policy, said there should be a steady development of the Reserve Fund to enable the railways to stand on their own resources during the coming years He further regretted that nothing had been done to provide facilities to passengers in spite of huge profits. He urged the speedy restoration of dismantled lines, as their removal had caused distress to the people.

Mr. *Hossain Imam*, referring to the walk-out by the Progressive Party earlier in the day said: "We are in sympathy with our fellow countrymen, but we have a duty to those who have sent us here and therefore we are taking part in the discussion. Stating that the operating expenditure of the railways had increased enormously, he said a watch should be kept that increased income was not being squandered away in increased expenditure. He urged that more attention should be paid to the transport of people's food and asked the Defence Department to limit themselves to the bare necessity in the matter of wagons, etc.

Mr. *M. N. Dalal* referring to locomotive construction in India, said that if 200 locomotives had to be ordered from abroad, alternative arrangements should be made to replenish our stocks by starting locomotive factories in this country He said that even experts had recommended that the use of railway workshops for other purposes was not proper.

Sir *Shantidas Askuran* also stressed the need for manufacturing locomotives in this country, apart from other reasons, in the interests of India's future industrial development. He said: "We have large sterling assets accumulating to our credit. There is the danger of utilizing these assets merely to patronize British industry even after the war. I want to guard against all such dangers".

Mr. *R. H. Parker* asked the Government to give proper consideration now to the difficult rail-road problem that would face them soon after the war, and give the matter proper weight while considering different aspects of the problems of railways.

ORDINANCES DURING WAR

24th FEBRUARY :—The necessity for giving the executive authority a free hand in all matters concerning the prosecution of the war was stressed by Sir *Sultan Ahmed*, Law Member, in the Council today. He emphasized this point during a debate on Mr. *P. N Sapru's* resolution urging the appointment of a committee to review the scope of ordinances promulgated by the Governor-General since the commencement of the war and their effect on the powers of the High Courts as criminal courts of appeal

Sir Sultan said: "The power to issue ordinances is vested in the Governor-General under Section 72, Schedule 9 of the Government of India Act, 1935. He is the sole authority in cases of emergency to make and promulgate such ordinances and no authority can question his power to do so and ordinances so made have the like force of law as an Act passed by the Indian Legislature. That being the position if the Governor-General has promulgated an ordinance, the scope or any provision of which does not appeal to anyone else, neither the Governor-General-in-Council nor the Legislature have any jurisdiction to question his authority."

The Law Member, therefore, considered the resolution futile. He said it had, however, given him an opportunity to deal with the question of ordinances

generally about which misconception seemed to exist in the country. He said that when a country was at war the safety of the people depended on the efficient conduct of the war, for which the executive authority, as opposed to the Legislature, was primarily responsible. In conducting the war, the executive authority must not be hampered by the law but must be allowed to invoke it to its aid quickly. One way of enabling it to do so was to have an Act empowering it to make the rules. The other way was to use the ordinance making power. Analyzing the directions in which these powers had been used he said that at the time when India was not involved closely in the active operation of the war and when the chief task was to organize production and control activities which might help the enemy directly or indirectly, the most important ordinances of the period related to man-power. After the entry of Japan into the war when the menace to the safety of India became obvious a large number of ordinances had to be promulgated. The main principle of these was, in accordance with the first duty of the Government, to protect the law-abiding population from any outbreaks and to enable Government to act effectively. Dealing with the question of the effect of the ordinances on the powers of the High Courts, the Law Member said that the right of appeal as such was affected only in the case of 2 or 3 ordinances from among the 116 or so which had been promulgated. He gave the assurance that the Government of India would consult the Provincial Governments whether any feasible procedure could be adopted regarding the revisional powers of the High Courts. Government would also consider the removal of certain other technical difficulties in respect of the Special Courts Ordinance and the Enemy Agents Ordinance. In conclusion he pointed out that law-making in peace time and law-making during war were different. In peace-time, there was time for a leisurely examination of problems and law to a great extent was designed to regulate conditions which had already arisen. In war, speed was essential, and Government had to legislate largely for conditions which might arise but had not arisen. He declared thot no one would be more pleased than the Governor-General or the Governor-General-in-Council if some of the situations envisaged in Government legislation never materialized, but wisdom demanded that Government had all its preparations made.

Moving the resolution, which he later withdrew on assurances given by the Law Member, Mr. P. N. *Sapru* said that the ordinances were extremely drastic and had tended to substitute a reign of the executive for a reign of law. Assuming that an emergency existed and there was need for expedition in passing them, at least they could be referred to the Legislature for ratification. He claimed that the need for judicial safeguards in the country was greater to-day than ever before and no attempt should be made to override the powers of High Courts

The resolution was withdrawn.

AMENDMENT OF INDIA ACT 1935

Pandit Kunzru's resolution demanding an amendment of the Government of India Act, 1935 in order to make the Section 93 provinces subject to the control of the Governor-General-in-Council instead of the Governor-General, was rejected by 7 votes to 6, Government remaining neutral. Moving the resolution, Pandit Kunzru said that nearly 181,000,000 Indians living in the 6 provinces now under the direct rule of Governors had no means of ventilating their grievances. Six Governors were exercising dictatorial powers. The main purpose of his resolution, he said, was to enable the Central Legislature to discuss the provincial administration.

Sir *Mohammed Usman*, on behalf of the Government, announced that the Government would remain neutral on the resolution. Referring to Section 93 provinces he said that the fault lay with the Congress who had gone out of office and refused to serve the country in time of its dire needs. Sir Mohammed claimed that under the Act the provinces were free in their own field of activities Section 93 provided for the breakdown of the constitutional machinery and therefore it was of a temporary nature. The proposal on the other hand would acquire for the Centre powers of interference in the provincial field of administration, which was opposed to the spirit of the 1935 Act. Furthermore in cases of difference between the Centre and the Provinces, the latter would be placed at a considerable disadvantage. Giving the Government of India's view-point with regard to "discriminatory legislation" in Ceylon, Mr. *G. S. Bozman*, Secretary, Overseas Department during question hour, said that there were measures on the Statute Book in Ceylon to which the Government of India had taken and still took objection. Certain administrative instructions also appeared to the Government of

India to deprive Indians in Ceylon of that equality of opportunity to which the Government of India considered them to be entitled The Government of India had made suitable representations on all cases where they seemed to be required and were continually watching the interests of Indians in that Island.

The Council adjourned till 5-30 p. m. on Feb. 27 when the Finance Secretary, Mr. *C. E. Jones*, presented the Budget for the year 1943-44.

CONTROL & DISTRIBUTION OF FOODSTUFFS

2nd MARCH :– The House took up consideration of non-official resolutions to-day Mr. *Hossain Imam* moved a resolution urging the appointment of a committee of economists and representatives of parties in the Central Legislature to go into the question of distribution and control of prices of the necessaries of life, especially foodstuffs, and to suggest remedial measures, which should be implemented by the Government. Messrs *Lalal*, *Badshah Sapru*, Sir *Shantidas Askuran*, *Sardar Bahadur Sobha Singh* and Mr *Kalikar* supported it. Sir *S N Roy*, War Transport Secretary, explained the position with regard to the alleged lack of transport. He did not think that the alleged wagon shortage had in any manner appreciably affected the transport of foodstuffs. Since August last the Government had been giving the highest priority to food but 3 months later a situation arose in which nothing was offered to be transported although the wagons were there. There was a tendency to put the blame on transport. It was not right or just. The Government, he said, never for a moment overlooked the urgency and the importance of transporting the people's goods Regarding coal, he said, that everything possible was being done to improve the wagons' position and to approach the standard of quota already laid down. The Commerce Secretary, Mr. *N. R. Pillai* explained the Government's position with regard to charcoal, firewood and kerosine and cloth. He declared that cloth purchases by the Supply Department this year would be on a lower scale than last year. He considered that the setting up of a committee of the kind suggested in the resolution would be of little value because the Government were determinedly set on comprehensive plans regarding the supply of the necessities of life in this country. The Council rejected the resolution without a division.

ACCUMULATION OF STERLING RESOURCES IN U. K

A brief debate followed on Mr. *M. N. Dalal's* resolution urging prompt and speedy measures in regard to the situation created by the huge accumulation of sterling resources in the UK and the huge expansion of the volume of currency The discussion had not concluded when the Council adjourned till March 6.

GENERAL DISCUSSION OF BUDGET

6th. MARCH :–The Council of State held a general discussion on the Budget today. Sir *K. V Menon* dwelt on the urgent need of mitigating the hardship caused by the recent rise in prices, especially of foodstuffs. He had no doubt that the additional purchasing power of the public and the stationary or diminishing supply of goods available for purchase were the chief causes of the increase in prices He welcomed the scheme for increasing food production and stressed the need of controlling prices and introducing rationing wherever necessary and feasible. He hoped the new loan would have a great anti-inflationary effect For providing rupee finance for purchasing war supplies for the Allies in future, he thought that the experiment of floating special Government of India rupee loans was worth trying He approved of the new taxation proposals, which in his opinion were very light.

Mr. *M. N. Dalal* said that the new taxation was high considering the poverty of the people of India. He remarked that an increase in the Corporation tax would impede the growing habit of the people towards investing in industrial and other shares. In view of the rising cost of living, he said, middle-class people were really in need of relief and, therefore, the exemption limit for income-tax should have been raised from Rs. 1,500 to Rs. 2,500 Regarding the tobacco tax, he wanted Government to exempt country "biris." He also held the other taxes unjustifiable and said that the Government could have borrowed a little more

Sir *A. P. Patro* championing the cause of the ryots, said that the burdens imposed on them by the proposed new taxation would be very heavy. While he did not approve the tax on tobacco he hoped that Government while making rules would frame them so as to minimize their effect on the ryots. He said that the decision of HMG to continue the present financial arrangement with India was highly gratifying.

Mr. P. N. Sapru dealt with the financial settlement and declared that the fact that it was possible for us to release portions of our troops for service abroad, showed that all the troops we had in the country were not needed for local defence and it struck him that the principle of regarding them as constituting joint war measures required that the portion of the cost which was due to the expansion of the India Army for service abroad should be borne by HMG irrespective of whether these troops stayed in India or went out of India. He saw no reason why the entire cost of the British garrison should not be borne by HMG.

Mr. *N. K. Das* complained against both the direct and indirect taxes announced in the new Budget and said their pinch would be felt by the middle and poor classes. The Posts and Telegraphs Department was a public utility concern which was at present making profits. To further increase its profits by raising the postal rates, was entirely unjustified.

Mr. *R H. Parker* could not understand how borrowing alone could have balanced the Budget. The critics of the settlement regarding war expenditure and the Lease and Lend arrangements, he said, ignored altogether the huge contributions made by Britain for India's benefit and the huge sacrifices of other members of the United Nations for the safety of India. He favoured the keeping down of prices instead of increasing wages and dearness allowances in order to provide relief to those adversely affected by the rise in the cost of living.

Mr. *Hoosain Imam* complained that with the exception of the Posts and Air Departments, expenditure had mounted up as compared with last year's figures of expenditure. He also protested against "the suppression of Mussalmans" in the Government of India services, in which he claimed all the higher posts were held by non-Muslims Mr. Imam urged that HMG should take over the sterling liabilities of Burma and should give credit for them to India by reducing India's liabilities. He also wanted the remaining "agency charges" of the India Office to be borne by England. India's Supply Department was today doing agency work for Britain free of any charge. Why should not, he asked, the British Government free this country from the liability on account of India Office charges.

Pt. Hirdaynath Kunzru confined himself to military expenditure. He felt that to divide military expenditure into revenue and capital expenditure, when both the items were being financed from current revenues, was not justified After referring to the Auditor-General's Report on Appropriation Accounts, Pt. Kunzru said that it was true that the phrase 'joint war measures" did occur in the report, but he could find no evidence for the Finance Member's claim that the measures adopted and allocation of expenditure made followed from the basic principles laid down in the Indo-British defence expenditure allocation agreement. Similarly, he claimed that the increase in the expenditure on the Air Force, aerodromes and other items was not justified on the basis of that agreement. The allocation of expenditure between India and England was no longer a simplified process, nor was it according to India's capacity, which were the 2 virtues of the agreement as claimed by the Finance Member 2 years ago. Pt. Kunzru claimed that, with this experience, they did not know with what new items of defence expenditure India would be saddled next. Referring to "White troops" in this country Pandit Kunzru felt that their replacement by Indian troops would increase the number of troops 3 times. He, however, asserted that the strength of the present Army in India was kept up to reconquer Burma and Malaya both of which were Imperial concerns. It was, therefore, HMG which should bear the cost of such additional army needed for reconquering Burma.

Replying to the discussion, *Sir Jeremy Raisman*, Finance Member, said that it appeared to him from the course of the debate that he was widely regarded as entertaining complacent feelings on the subject of inflation and the expansion of currency. His object had been to give the country a considered and balanced view of the currency position as a whole. He did not want to give the impression that the difficulties did not call for the exercise of imagination or the finding out of some constructive remedy. He said that the difficulties mainly arose from the existing large amount of free purchasing power in the country, which could be dealt with by either borrowing or taxation. The Government of India had constantly in mind the subject of mopping up this surplus power. Another method was to use the methods of control and stabilizing prices. Experience had proved that the best method was not a simple price control ; it was only effective when there was entire control over supplies, and, for a country like India, that involved the setting up of vast machinery. Sir Jeremy indicated that in wartime the ideal handling of economy could be achieved by stabilizing wages, stabilizing

prices, restricting dividends, restricting and rationing consumption and immobilizing additional purchasing power. To do all this, the powers and machinery at the disposal of a dictator were required. With the powers at his command, he said, he was doing his best to approach a wholesome ideal and he was certainly not complacent

Sir Jeremy pointed out that a good deal had been said about the financial settlement, particularly about the use of British troops in India. The plea had been put forward that their cost should be borne by the British Government. He reminded the House that HMG and the Government of India were sharing the cost of the expansion of the land forces in India. A very important element, which should be remembered, he said, was the cost of equipment of guns, aeroplanes and tanks, which were supplied free by HMG. Only the pay and rupee expenses of the British troops while on Indian soil were borne by India, whereas the entire cost of their training and equipment was borne by HMG. Explaining the reason why defence expenditure last year had increased beyond the estimated figure, he referred to the development of the military situation. While the troops were engaged beyond the Indian border, their cost was not borne by India, but when they were actually in the country and defending the country's soil, their liability had to be borne It was extraordinary to find that the magnitude of the defence expenditure had shocked some of the members Replying to the criticism relating to the capital expansion of the Supply Department, Sir Jeremy Raisman said if we were able to pick and choose items which were going to be of real value to us after the war, why not bear their whole cost. The 50-50 settlement was commendable for its simplicity and equity and it saved having to go into details of what we were going to have or not. An arrangement of that kind could not be criticized as unfair to India. Coming to the question of sterling balances, he said a remark had been made that these balances should be left for the future Government of India to deal with. He did not see how any future Government was prevented from handling these balances to the advantage of India. The Government of India were anxious he said, when thinking of a mutual aid agreement with America to see that India's fiscal policy after the war was not unduly hampered. In the post-war world there would be international economic arrangements which would tend to prevent future wars, and also prevent a return of the anarchic conditions of trade prevailing between the last and the present war and, in this world arrangement, India would surely find her rightful place and have her special economic circumstances recognized The Council at this stage adjourned.

ACCUMULATION OF STERLING RESOURCES IN U. K.

10th. MARCH .—The Council to-day resumed discussion on Mr. *M. N. Dalal's* resolution relating to the utilization of sterling balances held in London *Pandit Hridaynath Kunzru* through an amendment, wanted a committee of the Central Legislature to be appointed immediately to examine the best way of utilizing sterling balances in the interest of India. He claimed that the issue of sterling balances was intimately linked with inflation which was not merely an economic question. The constitutional issue overshadowed economics in this country The Government should take immediate steps to conciliate public opinion by the transfer of political power to Indians That alone would attract larger amounts of money to defence loans and would in its turn check inflation. Sterling balances, notwithstanding large-scale repatriations, stood at Rs 460 crores on Feb. 12. Large sums of money on account of goods and services sold to HM's Government were still due to be paid and prolongation of the war, say by another 2 years, would further increase sterling balances in London. He suggested various proposals for utilizing sterling balances, including buying up of the remaining 3 company-managed railways, acquiring of non-Indian investments in India and securing machinery and plant for setting up in this country of machinery and machine tool industries The Government should not repeat "the reverse councils incident" which cost India Rs. 40 crores. As for inflation, he showed by figures that the rise in prices had been steeper since March 1942 This he attributed to the expansion of currency on account of payments made in India for goods and services purchased on behalf of HM's Government. He maintained that taxation having reached a high watermark, inflation could only be checked by borrowing. This in its turn depended very largely on the solution of the political issue. He urged that in order to check effectively the growing menace of inflation, Government should take early steps to end the constitutional deadlock.

Mr. *C. E. Jones*, **Secretary, Finance Department, replying on behalf of the**

Government, observed that from the debate it appeared that both the sterling balances and the expansion of the currency were regarded as a menace. The argument had been advanced that the rise in prices resulted from expansion of currency and expansion of the currency was due to accumulating sterling balances. On the other hand, the House had shown its anxiety to get full value of the sterling balances. This showed that the utility of the sterling balances was in fact recognized. He emphasized that all these naturally resulted from India's huge war effort against the Axis Powers A country at war had inevitably to face various difficult problems and one of them was expansion of currency owing to large amounts required for the raising, equipping and training of the country's armed forces The rate of expansion of currency must follow the tempo of the war effort of a particular country. He recalled the imminent danger of land invasion and exposure to aerial attack with which India was threatened a year ago, to prepare against which a huge expenditure on defence programmes had to be incurred. Similarly the rise in prices was alone one of the direct results of the war. The greater the war effort the greater would be the rise in prices He, however, admitted that expansion of the currency and the rise in prices did act and react over each other. Proceeding, Mr. Jones said that the statement that the growth of external assests represented sacrifice of domestic consumption by the people of India was exaggerated He considered these sterling balances to be largely the result of India's industrial development which had taken place owing to the war. Replying to criticism levelled against the utilization of India's sterling assets, Mr Jones pointed out that it was baseless to regard the discharging of pensionary and other liabilities with suspicion. The whole arrangement was nothing more than the extension of the repatriation policy Moreover, it was not proper to remain indebted on the one side and accumulate credits on the other With regard to the constitution of a Reconstruction Fund, the Finance Secretary pointed out that the proposal was still in its early stages He thought India would welcome this, because it would ensure a systematic and orderly flow of her capital needs in the post-war period, a period of acute scarcity the world over, in which if the needs of the countries were not met in a systematized manner, there was a danger of the repetition of the conditions of trade prevailing after the last world war. He revealed that the proposal for a Reconstruction Fund had been referred to the Reconstruction Committee, on which are represented the Central Government, the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research, the Board of Scientific and Industrial Research the Provincial Governments, Indian States and prominent public and businessmen of the country.

Mr. *Dalal* agreed to the alterations and the Council passed the resolution which read . "This Council recommends to the Governor-General-in-Council that such measures as are possible should be taken in regard to the situation created by the accumulations of sterling resources in the UK and expansion in the volume of currency."

RATIONING OF PAPER

Mr *Hossain Imam*, by another resolution, recommended that paper be rationed to all consumers, including the Central and Provincial Governments and that a small committee of Government officials and representatives of parties in the Central Legislature be formed to devise methods of economy, especially by controlling advertisements, size and copies of news-papers, exports, Central and Provincial Government publications, rules of procedure, the kind and quantity of paper manufactured by paper mills, and the Defence Department's consumption. Mr. Imam said that he wanted immediately an all-embracing action so that the situation created by the black market might be eased. Referring to newspapers, he complained that as much as 50% of space was being taken up by advertisements, particularly of goods not available in the country and of the National War Front. He also wanted total stoppage of export of paper from India He urged standardization of certain qualities of paper to intensify production. By quoting Budget figures, he deduced that the Government were acquiring paper in excess of their demand and were, therefore, hoarding paper. In this view, rationing was the only remedy to meet the situation. Mr. *H. C. Prior*, Labour Secretary, explained the steps the Government had taken to economize paper consumption. He said that the original demand of the civil departments had been reduced by 13,000 tons in the period Oct. 1942 to March 1943 and publication of forms alone had given them a saving of 126 tons. The Government had appointed a committee to examine the question of publication of reports and effect economies. Economies in consumption of the Defence Department were also being rigorously pursued.

are detained, further discussion was thereupon postponed and the House adjourned.

INDIAN FINANCE BILL DEBATE

25th. MARCH :—The Indian Finance Bill, as passed by the Lower House, came up for consideration in the Council today. Support to the idea of forming a united national opposition in and outside the Legislature, in order to force the hands of the Government to concede power to India was given by Pt. *H. N. Kunzru*, who spoke for 1½ hours. Quoting pronouncements by Mr. Churchill and other spokesmen of the British Government, Pt Kunzru said : "The indications are that they hold out no promise of the establishment of a free government in this country either now or in any measurable time." Stressing the need for constitutional advance and the solution of the political deadlock in the country, he said that Britain had "accused us of taking advantage of her difficulties, but the boot was on the other leg." In his opinion, India could more legitimately accuse Britain of hardening her attitude towards this country and strengthening her resolve not to part with power owing to an improvement in her military situation. He commented on the Viceroy's reference to the Federal part of the Government of India Act of 1935 in his Calcutta speech of December last and asked if the Viceroy had shown any keenness or desire to be constructive since then. Had a Federal Government been established at the Centre, India's position would have been much stronger" He criticized the publication of the 'Congress Responsibility" pamphlet, which, according to him, hardly contained any matter of which the public was not already aware. He asked what was the good of publishing it when it did not contain anything new and if all that was valuable was too confidential to be published. If the object had been to impress U S public opinion the Government had even failed in that, as borne out by Sir Mohd. Zafrulla's Press interview. Pt Kunzru maintained that Government had indulged in exaggeration and tried to pile up charges against Mr Gandhi who was summed up as pro-Japanese Pt Kunzru expressed dissatisfaction with the result of the Arakan campaign Glad at the expansion of the Indian Air Force, which was in the hands of Indians from top to bottom, Pt Kunzru said its size was still small After referring to the paucity of Indian Staff Officers at GHQ and the large number of European offcers attached to certain units, he replied to the Government's assertion that "sufficient number of candidates with the requisite qualifications were not applying for emergency commissions" by saying that the political situation in the country was to some extent responsible for holding back qualified young men from training as military officers

Earlier in his speech, Pt Kunzru dealt with the expansion of currency, and the utilization of India's sterling balances. He asked Government to take over the 3 remaining railways under companies, and to acquire port trusts, improvement trusts and other European-owned public utility concerns with these sterling balances and also nationalize the oil and coal industries in India.

26th MARCH :—Mr. *Hoosain Imam*, who opposed the Bill to-day, claimed that the Government had failed to popularize the Central Executive. Concluding his over-night speech, he detailed a 5-point charge sheet against the Government First, he said, the Government had not reached a decision on capitation charges, though the question had been pending since 1939 2nd. the apportionment of capital defence expenditure was one-sided without any sanction from IMC . 3rd., the Government had misconceived the idea of financial settlement under which Britain was trying to foist the maximum financial burden on India : 4th., the manner in which India's resources were being handed over to Britain did not do credit to the India Government ; and 5th , he objected to the way the Government were treating the Central Assembly in regard to adjournment motions. Mr *P. N. Sapru* said that the winning of freedom was the paramount problem before them, and although he would deeply regret a partition of India, he held that questions like the geographical unity of India which in itself was a creation of a foreign power. were of secondary importance. He also claimed that the apportioning of responsibility for the August disturbances was of minor importance. The more important question was the transference of power to Indians.

An appeal to the country to unite in the demand for Federation was made by *Sir Jogendra Singh*, Member, Education, Health and Lands He said that the presence of Indians in the Viceroy's Executive Council was a harbinger of coming events, when India's Government would be completely in the hands of Indians. At present England and India were partners in the great cause of world peace, and that partnership guaranteed peace and symbolized independence. The unity symbolised in

India's Army, the War Effort and the National War Front provided the foundation of Federation, which must come to serve now and for the future peace. After referring to the perils that threatened India and the need for making a united effort to avert those perils, he said "Let an appeal go out from all India that Federation should be brought into action and let us build from stage to stage that Federation till we get independence, which is what India [illegible]." He considered that that independence would create a sense of inter-dependence and perhaps draw close India and England together, and it might bring other countries also to the great fold of world peace and world order guaranteeing security and progress.

Rai Bahadur S. K. Das urged the Government to take energetic steps to improve the food situation in the country. He also asked for relief to labour in the interest of the successful prosecution of the war.

Mr. *M. Padshah* said that India while having no grouse about its present Defence expenditure, wanted to be spared from being over-burdened and he therefore supported the demand that a ceiling be fixed for it. He protested against the position of Muslims in the Services and said that there had been hardly any improvement in their position, in spite of the Home Department resolution on communal representation and the periodical promises made by the Government in the Legislature.

Mr. *V. V. Kalikar* maintained that Britain, whose agent the Government of India was, had failed in its duty to give attention to the establishment of major war industries in India. If the Government had taken proper care of that, he said there would have been no need to place orders abroad for new types of aeroplanes, heavy machinery, etc. "There is no use finding fault with the British Government for not resolving the political deadlock. The solution is in the hands of the people," declared Sir *Mohd. Usman*, Leader of the House. "When there is no agreement between all the important communities and interests, the transfer of power into the hands of a very anti-British and pro-Japanese party will land the country in utter confusion and chaos." Was this the time, he asked, to try this experiment when the whole country was engaged in a life and death struggle?" He said that six months after the rebellion of August last when Mr. Gandhi saw that there was no chance of Congress capturing the Government of this country, and did not like the Allied victories, he began his fast with the object of coercing the Government to come to terms with him. When the Government of India stood firm and refused to yield, Mr. Gandhi recovered from his fast. Sir *Mohd.* maintained that some political leaders who believed in the Gandhian policy of "quit India" and indirectly carried on his work made statements and speeches which would not only go against the war effort of this country but would also directly help the enemy. The [illegible] was thoroughly justified. Some of the members opposite, went on Sir *Mohd.*, had great faith in the democratic form of Government. They found fault with the present Government of India for not being representative—as India had enjoyed before the advent of the British in this country a democratic and representative form of Government. "Recently we had witnessed the fate of democracy in this country. The moment the Congress Governments resigned in the provinces it was an occasion of great festivity throughout the whole country ending in the celebration of Deliverance Day." Parliamentary democracy was not an indigenous institution. It had been imported from England to India and in his opinion, had been a [illegible] failure in some of the provinces on account of the attitude of the Congress. The Leader of the House continued: "It is to be regretted that the [illegible] are getting into the habit of constantly abusing and attacking the British Government. It does no good to anybody. Mr. Amery has rightly said that the British people need not be ashamed of the great services they have rendered to this country. To mention some of them, they have introduced into this country the British system of education, the British system of justice and [illegible] parliamentary institutions and maintained law and order in this country. The majority of the people of this country realize and recognize the great work accomplished by Britain in India and are very grateful to them." About the criticism that the Muslims and the minorities were not properly represented in the Services, he gave the assurance that no administrative department could ignore their claims to a proper share in the administration of the country.

During the 3rd reading of the Bill there were heated exchanges between *Sir Mohammed Usman* and members of the Opposition led by *Pt. Kunzru*, Mr. *Sapru* and Mr. *Kalikar* who entered vehement protests against Sir Mohammed's observations on the failure of democracy in India. Pt. Kunzru said that Sir

Mohammed had made it appear that the British Government were opposed to the establishment of democracy in India. He wanted to know whether that was the considered view of the India Government and whether they regarded all criticism as incitement to violence. He added that Indianization of the Council was a "curse." Mr. *Kalikar* asserted that if Sir Mohammed was responsible to the House he would not have made those observations. The fault lay with the system. Mr. *Sapru* said that the statement made by Sir Mohammed would have to be repudiated by Mr. Churchill and Mr. Amery. Mr. *Hossain Imam* said that Muslims did not believe in the western form of democracy and he therefore did not find fault with Sir Mohammed. He blamed the Sapru Conference for the Council expansion. Sir *Mohammed* reiterated that democracy had failed in India because Muslims would have nothing to do with it. It was not his fault if it were not palatable to some members.

With regard to martial law in Sind, the Deputy C-in-C, Gen *Sir Alan Hartley*, said that it would be withdrawn as soon as the Hur menace was eliminated completely and the local police was strengthened adequately for the purpose of maintaining order. He related the circumstances in which martial law was declared at the request of the Sind Government and the difficulties the troops and the police had to contend against. He said : "Intensive operations by military and police over the ten months have done a great deal to break the Hur rebellion, arrest Hur leaders, destroy gangs of criminals and restore public confidence. On account of the difficulties of terrain and the large areas involved, it was found necessary to employ aircraft to assist the troops and police in the location of gangs, patrolling of communications and protection of isolated localities against sabotage. Allegations that aircraft have used explosive bombs are quite untrue and had already been denied." Gen Hartley said that Pir Pagaro had a fair trial in the military court. The Government had engaged at its own expense a well-known and leading advocate of Hyderabad to defend the Pir. Every facility was given to him to cite witnesses for the defence and the trial was a long hy one, lasting 26 days. Gen Hartley countered Pt Kunzru's remark that "the Army was the chief agency which fostered racial feeling" by saying that it was the chief agency which fostered racial fellowship. There was hardly a race or caste or creed in the whole of this sub-continent which had not some representatives in the present day Indian Army. He said : "This vast body of human beings, of different creeds, castes and races live together, work together and do their duties together in perfect amity. I should have thought, and I believe, that most members of this House will agree with me that the Indian Army is an example for the whole of India, as a symbol of Indian unity." Replying to the allegation that racial discrimination was one of the reason why suitable Indian candidates were not coming forward for emergency commissions, Gen Hartley said that if the reference was to differences in pay, he would only remark that the pay of the ICO in India was exactly the same as the pay of the British Service Officer in England ; in fact, it was somewhat higher in the earlier stages. He hoped this would be regarded as a fair basis for fixing remuneration. "We always set our face," he declared, "against what may be construted as discrimination in general treatment." In order to assist soldiers after the war to adjust themselves to civil life, he said, in addition to deferred pay, the Government credited amounts equivalent to deferred pay to a reconstruction fund, to be devoted for schemes for the permanent welfare of the soldiers. There were also other saving schemes which were nearing finality and about which announcement would be shortly made. Referring to airfields, he said they had been sited with a view to the most efficient prosecution of the war, both for the defence of India and also for operations against enemy-occupied territory. It would not be right to allow considerations as to the peace time utilization of such airfields to detract from operational efficiency ; but, subject to paramount operational needs, a considerable number of airfields had in fact been so sited as to make them extremely useful for communication in peace-time.

The Commerce Secretary, Mr *N. R. Pillai* announced that the Government had decided to publish the report of the "fact finding committee" relating to the handloom industry. They had also under consideration a scheme for the proper control and distribution of yarn. Referring to industrial development since the war, Mr. Pillai said that their policy had been to scrutinize every item of import and to see whether import could not be substituted by local production, with regard to availability of raw materials, economic production and possibilities of post-war survival. Among non-ferrous metals a notable example of development was the production of aluminium. There had been substantial development in the

field of chemicals and many articles which were hitherto imported were now being produced in India. Their cost of production showed that they would be able to face post-war competition. Mr. Pillai particularly mentioned safety razors, the production of which had been developed at a number of centres and was sufficient to meet the vast requirements of the Defence Services and which would in peace-time go a long way towards meeting civilian demand. Referring to post-war plans he said that six sub-committees of the Reconstruction Committee had recently been set up to deal with the different aspects of the problem.

Referring to criticism relating to ... Provincial Police Mr. C. E. Jones, Finance Secretary said that the principle was approved by the Standing Finance Committee as early as September ... The dangers from external aggression and internal commotion were so real and grave then that the India Government had advised the provinces to proceed with the scheme regardless of expense and that they would share in the cost of the additional security measures. As for Mr. Hossain Imam's suggestion that the Reserve Bank should not buy sterling at rates in excess of the official rate, Mr. Jones said that in the opinion of the Government, operations of the Central Bank should not be carried on primarily with a view to profit. As for depreciation allowance he said that the Government's schedule had been framed after a conference with the interests concerned. There had been no complaints until EPT was introduced. The Government would strenuously resist all attempts to secure a higher depreciation allowance, because they were convinced that depreciation of plant and machinery had no relation to work ... shifts. If, however, in individual cases it was proved to the satisfaction of the Government that the basic rate was inadequate the Government would give their favourable consideration to these cases. Referring to the shortage of small coins he gave figures to show how the output had increased in recent months. Mints were working 24 hours at considerable risk to plant and machinery. A third plant was expected to commence work by June. He also expected active public co-operation to safeguard the poor man's interest. Mr. Jones regretted that it was not in the interests of India to give details of silver sales. The silver market was an extremely sensitive and speculative market, which reacted on other markets and any disclosure of silver transactions was bound to have serious repercussions all round.

Dealing with currency expansion and inflation the Finance Secretary said that the operation of two factors, speculation and fear of invasion, was bound to result in a general rise in prices. He claimed that the present expansion of currency did not justify the extent of the rise in prices. In recent months people in increasing numbers were writing and speaking on this problem and were using phrases such as "inflation" which created what might be called an "inflation psychology." This was having a serious effect on the ignorant masses. The Government were fully aware of the potential dangers of such a situation and would not hesitate to take effective steps to deal with it. They were determined to use all the resources at their command and he hoped that the Council would lend its full support to any anti-inflation measure the Government might bring in the future. War saving was the crux of the problem, declared Mr. Jones. The obvious way was to mobilize the resources of the country and return money to the Government in the form of loans. Those who generally cited the UK and the USA should know that war saving was the only method by which prices were being kept in check there. The existence of external assets would provide for resumption of the import trade and automatic contraction of currency. Increase in currency was therefore only a temporary phase. Mr. Jones asserted that sterling would not depreciate after the war as was feared by some persons. As for "joint war measures" he said that the term was used by the Finance Member two years ago. He, however claimed that the result of the financial settlement was all to India's good. India for instance would be able to show that she had paid off her foreign debt and had created a sufficient reserve to rehabilitate her industries after the war. The public debt of India had increased to a moderate extent. India would be able to show considerable progress in industrial expansion and would have trained personnel to man her industries.

THE TOBACCO EXCISE BILL

29th. MARCH :—The Council of State today adopted without a division the Tobacco Excise Bill and the Vegetable Product Excise Bill as passed by the Legislative Assembly. The Opposition challenged a division on the motion for consideration of the Tobacco Bill but was defeated by 21 votes to 11.

Opposition criticism against the Tobacco Bill was that it imposed not only an

additional burden on the poor consumer but excessive responsibilities on growers. They also expressed the apprehension that cultivation of tobacco might be given up altogether by a large number of growers, who would not like to sow a crop which would involve them in risks and troubles. The fear was also expressed by Pandit *H. N. Kunzru* that a premium would be placed on the cultivation of tobacco by capitalists on small cultivators. He also questioned the validity of the Bill as agriculture seemed to him a matter entirely under the control of the Provinces.

Reiterating why his party were opposed to the bill, Mr. *Hossain Imam*, Leader of the Muslim League Party said that they were not going to support any taxation measure because the Government had not given them a share in the government of the country. He referred to Mr. Fazlul Huq's resignation, and said pointers were coming up daily and proof multiplied to show the popularity of the League and the unanimity with which it was representing the cause of Muslims.

Mr. *Shavax A. Lal*, Deputy Secretary, Legislative Department, referring to the constitutional validity of the Bill, quoted an authority on the Canadian Constitution which was similar to the Indian Constitution to prove that any measure which impinged on the Provincial sphere was to the extent of ensuring the success of an essential Federal measure, "intra vires" of the Federal authority. He said the provisions of the Bill had been brought to the notice of the Provincial Governments and none of them had questioned any of the provisions.

Replying to the debate, Mr. *Harry Greenfield*, Director of Central Excises explained the whole system of licencing and returns and said the Government was anxious to get the growers on their side. He assured the House that the rules would be worked lightly for the cultivators and that they should look forward to reaping the benefit of the scheme for the improvement of tobacco cultivation as early as possible. The House then adjourned.

Indian Tea Control Amend. Bill

30th. MARCH.—The Council of State this morning adopted the official Bill to amend further the Indian Tea Control Act as passed by the Assembly.

Assam Tea Labour

The House then resumed discussion on Mr. *P. N. Sapru's* resolution recommending the appointment of a committee to investigate the conditions of work and living, rates of wages, and methods of recruitment of workers in Assam tea gardens. The resolution was rejected without a division. Mr. *H. C. Prior*, Secretary, Labour Department, expressed sympathy with the resolution and declared that the Government of India considered that an enquiry of the kind suggested was necessary not only to investigate conditions of Labour on tea gardens in Assam, but also on other plantation areas in India but the inquiry could only be taken up when the time was opportune. The reason why the Government were not able to accept the resolution at the present time was that the time was inopportune for conducting such an inquiry when the war and defence were uppermost in the minds of everybody in E. India. Moreover, in the interests of labour itself, an inquiry in the present abnormal times was not suitable to get a fair picture of the real conditions of the responsibility of holding an inquiry at the earliest opportune time.

Visit to Security Prisoners

Pandit *H. N. Kunzru* moved a resolution recommending to the Governor-General in Council to suggest to Provincial Governments that members of the Central Legislature should be treated as visitors to jails and camps in their constituencies where security prisoners were detained and allowed to perform the same functions for such prisoners as non-official visisors did for ordinary prisoners. The resolution was withdrawn after the Home Secretary, Mr. *E. Conran Smith* had explained the Government's viewpoint. The Home Secretary claimed that there was no difference of opinion between the Government and the Pandit as far as the question of non-official visitors visiting detenus including Congress security prisoners was concerned. The difference, however, lay in the personnel of non-official visitors. The Government maintained that the members of the Central Legislature had no special qualification for that type of work except if the object of the resolution was to discuss policies with Congress detenus. This, however, was not permitted under the rules governing non-official visitors. Furthermore, in some Provinces members of Provincial Legislatures were already appointed ex-officio non-official visitors to jails, and the Government saw no reason to superimpose on them or supplement them by members of the Central Legislature. If, however, the object of appointing members of the Central Legislature as non-official visitors to

The Central Legislative Assembly

List of Members

President :—The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim, K.C.S.I.

Elected—Non-Officials (102).

(1) Madras—16.

1. G. Rangiah Naidu, Esq., M.L.A.
2. K. S. Gupta, Esq., M.L.A.
3. A. Satyanarayana Moorty, Esq., M.L.A.
4. Prof N. G. Ranga, M.L.A.
5. M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar, Esq., M.L.A.
6. T. S. Avinashilingam Chettiar, Esq., M.L.A.
7. K. Sitarama Reddiar, Esq., M.L.A.
8. T. T. Krishnamachari, Esq., M.L.A.
9. Shrimati K. Radha Bai Subbarayan, M.L.A.
10. Sri K. B. Jinaraja Hegde, M.L.A.
11. Umar Aly Shah, Esq., M.L.A.
12. Maulvi Syed Murtuza Sahib Bahadur, M.L.A.
13. H. A. Sathar H. Essak Sait, Esq., M.L.A.
14. Sir F. E. James, O.B.E., M.L.A.
15. Raja T. Manavedan, M.L.A.
16. Sami Vencatachelam Chetty, Esq., M.L.A.

(2) Bombay—16.

17. Dr. G. V. Deshmukh, M.L.A.
18. Sir Cowasjee Jehangir, Bart., K.C.I.E., O.B.E., M.L.A.
19. Diwan Lalchand Navalrai, M.L.A.
20. Bhulabhai Jivanji Desai, Esq., M.L.A.
21. Hooseinbhoy A. Lalljee, Esq., M.L.A.
22. Jamnadas M. Mehta, Esq., M.L.A.
23. Rajmal Lakhichand, Esq., M.L.A.
24. S. K. Hosmani, Esq., M.L.A.
25. Mahomed Ali Jinnah, Esq., M.L.A.
26. Nabi Baksh Illahi Bakhsh Bhutto, Esq., M.L.A.
27. Seth Yusuf Abdoola Haroon, M.L.A.
28. H. G. Stokes, Esq., O.B.E., M.L.A.
29. E. L. C. Gwilt, Esq., M.L.A.
30. Manu Subedar, Esq., M.L.A.
31. Khan Bahadur Mian Ghulam Kadir Md. Shahban, M.L.A.
32. Sir Vithal N. Chandavarkar, M.L.A.

(3) Bengal—17.

33. N. C. Chunder, Esq., M.L.A.
34. Dr. P. N. Banerjea, M.L.A.
35. Babu Amarendra Nath Chattopadhyaya, M.L.A.
36. Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra, M.L.A.
37. K. C. Neogy, Esq., M.L.A.
38. Akhil Chandra Datta, Esq., M.L.A.
39. Sir Abdur Rahim, K.C.S.I., M.L.A.
40. Hajee Chowdhury Mohammud Ismail Khan, M.L.A.
41. Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi, M.L.A.
42. Chowdhury Muhammad Hussain, M.L.A.
43. Shaikh Rafiuddin Ahmad Siddiquee, M.L.A.
44. Dr. Habibar Rahman, M.L.A.
45. C. C. Miller, Esq., M.L.A.
46. C. P. Lawson, Esq., M.L.A.
47. T. Chapman-Mortimer, Esq., M.L.A.
48. Srijut Dhirendra Kanta Lahiri Chaudhury, M.L.A.
49. Babu Baijnath Bajoria, M.L.A.

(4) United Provinces—16.

50. Ram Ratan Gupta, Esq., M.L.A.
51. Choudhri Raghubir Narain Singh, M.L.A.
52. Pandit Sri Krishna Dutta Paliwal, M.L.A.
53. Badri Datt Pande, Esq., M.L.A.
54. Sri Prakasa, Esq., M.L.A.
55. Khudan Lal, Esq., M.L.A.
56. Shri Mohan Lal Saksena, M.L.A.
57. Raja Jagadambika Pratap Narain Singh, M.L.A.
58. Sir Syed Raza Ali, C.B.E., M.L.A.
59. Qazi Mohammad Ahmad Kazmi, M.L.A.
60. Sir Muhammad Yamin Khan, C.I.E., M.L.A.
61. Nawabzada Muhammad Liaquat Ali Khan, M.L.A.
62. Dr. Sir Zia Uddin Ahmad, C.I.E., M.L.A.
63. Mohamed Azhar Ali, Esq., M.L.A.
64. B. L. Gray, Esq., M.L.A.
65. Raja Bahadur Kushal Pal Singh, M.L.A.
66. Lala Sham Lal, M.L.A.
67. Raizada Hans Raj, M.L.A.
68. Bhai Parma Nand, M.L.A.
69. Syed Ghulam Bhik Nairang, M.L.A.
70. Maulana Zafar Ali Khan, M.L.A.
71. H. M. Abdullah, Esq., M.L.A.
72. Nawab Sahibzada Sayad Sir Mohammad Mehr Shah, M.L.A.
73. Khan Bahadur Shaikh Fazl-i-Haq Piracha, M.L.A.
74. Khan Bahadur Nawab Makhdum Murid Hossain Qureshi, M.L.A.
75. Sardar Mangal Singh, M.L.A.
76. Sardar Sant Singh, M.L.A.
77. M. Ghiasuddin, Esq., M.L.A.

(6) Bihar and Orissa—12.

78. Satya Narayan Sinha, Esq., M.L.A.

79. Babu Hari Sharan Prasad Srivastava, M.L.A.
80. B. Das, Esq., M.L.A.
81. Pandit Nilakantha Das, M.L.A.,
82. Ramayan Prasad, Esq., M.L.A.,
83. Gauri Shankar Singh, Esq., M.L.A.,
84. Kailash Bihari Lall, Esq., M.L.A.,
85. Babu Ram Narayan Singh, M.L.A.,
86. Muhammad Nauman, Esq., M.L.A.,
87. Muhammad Ahsan, Esq., M.L.A.
88. Maulvi Mohammad Abdul Gani
89. Maharaja Bahadur Ram Ran Vijai Prasad Singh, M.L.A.,

(7) Central Provinces and Berar—6

90. Govind Vinayekrao Deshmukh, Esq., M.L.A.,
91. Seth Govind Das, M.L.A.
92. Pandit Shambhudayal Misra, M.L.A.,
93. Nawab Siddique Ali Khan, M.L.A.
94. Seth Sheodass Daga, M.L.A.,
95. Waman Gopal Joshi Esq., M.L.A.,

(8) Assam—4

96. Kuladhar Chaliha, Esq., M.L.A.,
97. Sreejukta Ananga Mohan Dam,
98. Abdur Rasheed Choudhury, Esq.,
99. P. J. Griffiths, Esq., C.I.E., M.L.A.,

(9) Delhi—1.

100. M. Asaf Ali, Esq., M.L.A.,

(10) Ajmer-Merwara—1

101. Rai Bahadur Seth Bhagchand Soni, O.B.E., M.L.A.

(11) North-West Frontier Province—1

102. Abdul Qaiyum, Esq., M.L.A.,

MOMINATED—(39)

(a) Officials—(20).

103. The Hon'ble Sir Reginald Maxwell, K.C.S.I., C.I.E.,
104. The Hon'ble Sir Jeremy Raisman, K.C.S.I., C.I.E.,
105. The Hon'ble Dewan Bahadur Sir Arcot Ramaswami Mudaliar, K.C.S.I.,
106. The Hon'ble Sir Sultan Ahmed,
107. The Hon'ble Sir Jwala Prasad Srivastava, K.B.E.,
108. The Hon'ble Sir Edward Charles Benthall
109. The Hon'ble Dr. B. R. Ambedkar
110. The Hon'ble Sir M. Azizul Huque, C.I.E.,
111. The Hon'ble Dr. N. B. Khare
112. The Hon'ble Sir Asoka Roy
113. Zahid Hussain, Esq., C.I.E., M.L.A.,
114. Sir George Spence, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., M.L.A.,
115. Sir Gurunath Bewoor, C.I.E., M.L.A.,
116. J. D. Tyson, Esq., C.B.E., M.L.A.,
117. C. M. Trivedi, Esq., C.S.I., C.I.E., O.B.E., M.L.A.,
118. L. J. D. Wakely, Esq., M.B.E., M.L.A.,
119. Dr. N. G. Abhyankar, Esq., M.L.A.,
120. Dr. T. G. P. Spear, M.L.A.,
121. Y. N. Sukthankar, Esq., C.I.E., M.L.A.,
122. H. Greenfield, Esq., C.I.E., M.L.A.,

(b) Non-Officials—(19)

123. Sardar Bahadur Sardar Sir Jawahar Singh, C.I.E., M.L.A.,
124. N. M. Joshi, Esq., M.L.A.,
125. Dr. Sir Ratanji Dinshaw Dalal, C.I.E., M.L.A.,
126. Major Nawab Sir Ahmad Nawaz Khan, C.I.E., O.B.E., M.L.A.
127. Rao Bahadur N. Siva Raj, M.L.A.,
128. "Shams-ul-Ulema" Kamaluddin Ahmad, M.L.A.,
129. Muhammad Muazzam Sahib Bahadur, M.L.A.,
130. Seth Sunder Lall Daga, M.L.A.,
131. Kunwar Hajee Ismaiel Alikhan
132. Hony. Captain Sardar Bahadur Dalpat Singh, O.B.E., I.O.M., M.L.A.,
133. Saiyid Haidar Imam, Esq., M.L.A.,
134. Major Thakur Singh, M.C., O.B.E., M.L.A.,
135. Sir Henry Richardson, M.L.A.,
136. Khan Bahadur Shamsuddin Haider, C.B.E., M.L.A.,
137. Frank R. Anthony, Esq., M.L.A.,
138. Mrs. Renuka Ray, M.L.A.,
139. Khan Bahadur Shaikh Habibur Rahman, M.L.A.,
140. Principal S. C. Chatterji, M.L.A.,
141. Piara Lall Kureel Talib, Esq., M.L.A.,

Proceedings of the Assembly

Budget Session—New Delhi—10th. February to 2nd. April 1943

SHORTAGE OF SMALL COINS

The Central Legislative Assembly commenced its Budget Session at New Delhi on the 10th. February 1943. The news of Mr. Gandhi's fast became known just about the time the House was assembling and members received it with grave, and for the most part, silent concern. Mr *William Phillips*, President Roosevelt's representative was in the Distinguished Visitors' Gallery

The House discussed Mr. *Baijnath Bajoria's* adjournment motion on the "failure of the Government of India to cope with the serious situation created by the shortage of small coins" Members of the Muslim League and Nationalist parties voted for the motion which was rejected by 32 votes to 26 Mr. Bajoria, in his speech, asked for a categorical answer to the question whether Government minted small coins for Australia. He asked for rigorous punishment for hoarding but not of people who kept small quantities of coins.

In his reply to the debate, the Finance Member, *Sir Jeremy Raisman* stated that the existing 2 mints, one in Bombay and another in Calcutta were working 24 hours a day, turning out small coins at the rate of 125,000,000 pieces a month and it was hoped that when the 3rd mint was put up the output would be increased by 30,000,000 pieces a month. Government had ample stock of metal and would go on turning small coins out as long as the demand was there. On the preventive side, he mentioned the recent Ordinances designed to facilitate detection of hoarding and punishment of hoarders Referring to the complaint of minting coins for other countries, Sir Jeremy said that the minting of small coins was a lucrative operation and foreign orders for minting were accepted at a time when it was not expected that conditions would become so acute in India In any case, foreign orders absorbed less than 1% of our capacity, and Government had slowed them down to the minimum

PAPER CONTROL ORDER

11th. FEBRUARY:—The Assembly to-day passed by 32 votes to 25, Mr. *Baijnath Bajoria's* adjournment motion to censure Government on the Paper Control Order. The Nationalist Party, the Muslim League and the Europeans voted for the motion. Mr. Bajoria, initiating the debate, drew attention to the great hardship caused by the order requisitioning 90 per cent of paper manufactured in India. Mr. Bajoria explained that pre-war Indian production of paper amounted to 96,000 tons annually and the civil consumption then was 190,000 tons annually This consumption had been reduced to 10 per cent which would amount to about 19,000 a year. This worked out to about 18 per cent of pre-war consumption The Government consumption, on the other hand, had increased by 402 per cent since the war began. He admitted that the Government had cut down their demand by 10 per cent, but there was still considerable room for economies *Sir Frederick James* characterised the Government of India a "Paper Government" and asserted it had not yet begun to exercise any economies in paper consumption He referred to the "wastage" in the P. W. D., the Information Department particularly in its publication, *Indian Information* and the Government generally in the publication of the Gazette of India and the Legislative Assembly Department Sir Frederick suggested that on the British model the Government of India should appoint a Paper Economy Committee of non-officials to assist the Government in the paper economy campaign and that the Paper Control Order should be rigidly enforced.

The Labour Member, Dr. *Ambedkar*, replying to the debate explained that the Paper Control Order was merely a freezing and not a requisitioning order The order was served on the mills and not on the stockists The implication of these two factors was that the Paper Controller could allow the mills to sell more than 10 per cent to the public and the public itself could buy its supplies from stockists and hoarders of paper. Explaining the immediate causes for passing the order, Dr. Ambedkar said that in the first six months, April to September, Government demand for paper amounted to 34,000 tons. It was found that the mills had already delivered 16,000 tons The Government had contracted for 27,400 tons of paper from the mills The Government, therefore, were left with 9,000 tons to carry on for six months. They therefore revised their estimates and unified their

Minting of Coins for Other Countries

The Finance Member reiterated that, in accordance with the Government's policy of utilising to the full their available resources to further the cause of the Allied Nations, certain foreign orders were in the past undertaken from time to time mainly for Middle East. Some of these orders included coin of smaller denomination. The only order executed for Australia consisting of nine million bronze pennies and six million bronze half pennies was undertaken as long ago as December 1941.

No foreign orders had been accepted since the small coin shortage became manifest in India and the rate of execution of outstanding commitments was slowed down at once to a minimum and now represented less than one per cent of our minting capacity. These transactions were all carried out at a reasonable profit to Government.

Mr. Bajoria asked if the Finance Member would enquire into what happened to the large number of small coins paid into the railway stations and post and telegraph offices.

Sir Jeremy explained that in normal times these places had to be provided every day with a certain amount of small coins and under present conditions, the net result of the transactions was an outgo of small coins and there was therefore only a small quantity of small coin available even at these places.

Brothels in Calcutta

In reply to Mr. Neogy, Mr. Trivedi stated that following a strong remonstrance on the part of the military authorities, the allegations made against those authorities in the November issue of the Calcutta Diocesan Record about the provision of brothels for the fighting forces were substantially withdrawn in an article in the December issue.

The Government of India had been informed as follows by the Provincial Government as regards the question whether respectable people of the localities concerned were asked to leave their houses in order to make way for brothels : "With the arrival of large numbers of troops, brothels sprang up in various localities in Calcutta. Numbers of these were at once closed down, but some started in the vicinity of existing brothels were allowed for a time to remain : but there was no question of turning residents out of their houses to make way for such establishments, nor was any action with the object taken ; and on receipt of various complaints, including complaints from the Metropolitan of India, these were also closed down. No brothels for the troops have been provided by the authorities."

"It is no part of the policy of the civil or the military authorities," added Mr. Trivedi, "to provide brothels for troops or to assist in such provision."

Govt. and the Press

Sardar Sant Singh asked a number of questions about the 'breach' between the Government and the Indian Press over the publication of news concerning Professor Bhansali's fast.

Q. What steps do the Government propose to take to conciliate the Press ?

The Home Member : As what the hon. Member calls the breach has been closed, this part of the question does not arise.

Mr. Navalrai : Is the breach completely closed ?

The Home Member . A breach is either closed or open. I think it is closed. (Laughter).

Q. Is the Press satisfied ?

A. I have no means of knowing that.

Air Raid Casualties

The Civil Defence Secretary, replying to Mr Chattopadhyaya, gave details of the time and date and number of air raids in Calcutta, Chittagong and Feni areas from September 16, 1942 to February 10 1943.

In reply to supplementaries, Mr Symons said that the total casualties in all raids in India since April 1942 were 348 killed and 459 wounded.

War Position In The East

Mr *C. M. Trivedi* read out a lengthy answer to a question on the situation on the Eastern and Southern borders of India.

The *President* pointed out that the object of interpellations was to elicit answers on definite points and it was a well established rule of the House that during question time any lengthy statement on any subject was not the proper way a

replying. What the Chair would suggest was that as regards the war situation the Government might consider whether it was not desirable to issue a proper statement and whether the Member responsible for Defence should not take the House into confidence in some other manner so far as the progress of war was concerned.

Mr. *Trivedi*, in his reply to the question, stated:

"The defence policy on the Eastern border of India, which was necessary during the time when the Burma Army had to be reorganised and re-equipped following its withdrawal, has now given place to one in which the armed forces in India are only waiting for the most suitable moment to take the offensive. During the Summer of last year there was every possibility that the Japanese would follow up our withdrawal by attempting to invade Northern Assam and our forces were disposed to meet not only the threatened land invasion, but also the possibility of a seaborne attack either in Bengal or on the coast of Eastern and Southern India.

"The eastern frontier may be considered in two parts: the Assam-Burma border and the frontiers of Eastern Bengal. In the former, there has been, as yet, no major encounter with the enemy and activity has been confined to patrolling by both sides. The situation is, however, very satisfactory, the morale of the troops is high and we may be confident of the results of any action with the enemy.

"On the Bengal Frontier, we have made an advance down the Arakan Coast which has removed the immediate land threat to the Bengal Frontier and has carried our pressure against the enemy's forward troops into Japanese-occupied territory. There is little which I can add to the reports which have been published in the press, except to say that, owing to maintenance difficulties in a country largely devoid of roads suitable for military transport, operations have necessarily been slow. The morale of the troops in this area also is very high and good relations prevail with the civil population who have given our troops much assistance. The Royal Indian Navy has played its part in the Arakan operations in support of our military forces. In the air, our forces and those of our American allies are being steadily augmented with modern types of aircraft, and bomber formations are regularly attacking military objectives in areas occupied by the enemy, while other aircraft carry out fighter sweeps and escort duties. The results of these air operations have been most satisfactory.

"In Southern India, energetic preparations for defence still continues; but although the threat of sea-borne invasion has not entirely disappeared allied naval successes in the South-West Pacific have considerably reduced the possibility of such attacks and our forces are fully sufficient to deal with any attack which could possibly develop

JAP AIR RAIDS

"There have been no naval or land attacks on the frontier of India Enemy air forces have, however, attacked certain areas in Eastern India Chittagong district has been raided ten times and on the whole damage has been slight. There have been five attacks in the Feni area which have caused negligible damage On three occasions in October 1942, aerodromes used by American forces were bombed Calcutta has been raided seven times and full reports of these raids have appeared in the press Apart from this, there have been no other air raids on India during the last six months.

"I am afraid that it is not possible for me to give details of defence arrangements, since these details might assist the enemy in planning further attacks The Hon'ble Member may, however, rest assured that adequate precautions have been taken and that full use is being made of modern equipment Our defences are capable of dealing with any scale of attack which the enemy is likely to deliver. It is, of course, impossible to guarantee interception of enemy aircraft but the recent successes of our night fighters over the Calcutta area have provided impressive evidence of what the enemy is up against in any attempt to penetrate far into Indian territory."

ALLEGED POLICE EXCESSES

The House next resumed discussion of Mr A. C. *Neogy's* resolution moved in the last session urging an enquiry by a committee of members of the House into allegations of "excesses" committed by the police and the military in dealing with the recent disturbances in the country The debate did not conclude to-day and was adjourned to the next non-official day, February 18.

In the course of the debate on Mr. Neogy's resolution, Mr. *Jamnadas Mehta*, in an unreserved denunciation of the movement which followed after August 8

last, declared that it lacked not only an appreciation of the grave international situation, but also lacked all sense of proportion; it was a movement for the enslavement of India by the Japanese. He believed that the people responsible for it has been arrested too late. He, however, could not see how "excesses" could be justified in suppressing disturbances. In the interest of the war effort these excesses could not be allowed to occur. At present in the provinces a policy of frightfulness was followed in order to terrorise the people and it fell on the Government to enquire into cases of intimidation and terrorisation and to punish those responsible for them.

Pandit Nilakanta Das urged that instead of entrusting the enquiry to the members of the House, the investigation should be carried out by a judicial body to be appointed by the Government He wanted to incorporate this amendment in the resolution

Sir Mohd Yamin Khan (Muslim League), supporting the amendment of Dr. Ziauddin that the enquiry should also be held into the "excesses" on the other side, said that the policy of the Muslim League had been not to allow or tolerate excesses by any party, either by hooligans or those in charge of law and order.

Sardar Sant Singh asked if any steps had been taken to verify the allegations made in the House during the last session against the Government. The Government's present policy was a negation of the Rule of Law.

Mr. *Govind Deshmukh* and Mr. *Lalchand Navalrai* further supported the resolution, Mr. Deshmukh giving details of incidents in his province, the Central Provinces, including those of Chimur. Mr. Navalrai said if the Government opposed the demand for an enquiry, it would be construed as an attempt to screen their own men.

The Home Member, *Sir Reginald Maxwell*, replying to the debate, announced that the Government would oppose all attempts to place their employees in the dock. Public servants must be supported, he said, in all their legitimate actions. The House, he was sure, would agree that all outrages must be suppressed by all means available. Law and Order would become impossible if Government servants had to face an enquiry as proposed by the resolution. Without a firm and loyal police and public services the writ of the House and similar institutions could not run

The Government had not been idle since the resolution was first debated last session. They had sent round to the Provincial Governments copies of the debate for such action as they thought fit to take. He explained that no enquiry was possible into vague and indefinite allegations and most of the allegations made during the debate were vague, indefinite or represented only one side of the story. For instance Mr. Jamnadas Mehta's story of Nanderbagh omitted the fact that the police had to deal with a mob of over 1,000 strong, which was pelting stones and brickbats on the former. The police fired 19 rounds Fourteen people were injured and five killed, but only one amongst those killed and three amongst the injured were under 16 years of age. The House must remember that Mr Jamnadas Mehta was not present on the spot and his statement was based on hearsay evidence.

Mr. *Neogy*. Was the hon gentleman present on the spot? *Sir Reginald*: No.

Mr. *Neogy*: Then his statements are equally based on hearsay statements.

Sir Reginald referred to the Law Member's speech on the resolution during last session and said that the Government entirely stood by the assurances given by Sir Sultan Ahmed then. "Government entirely deny that there is any policy of frightfulness as alleged by Mr Jamnadas Mehta", he declared. The Home Member asserted that no excess were committed and no excessive force was used in putting down the disturbances of last August If excesses had taken place, they represented only isolated cases and not the general policy of the Government. The Governments concerned, however, had taken action against persons in those cases. For instance, cases against policemen were pending in C. P., U. P and Delhi. As these excesses were not a part of the general policy of the Government, there was no case made for an All India enquiry.

The Home Member asked the House to be careful in judging so-called excesses. The House must remember that it was the mob which was violent to begin with and the police had the arduous task of restoring order and protecting Government property. Sir Reginald disclosed that till the middle of November last, 49 fatal and 1,363 non-fatal cases amongst the police force were reported from mob violence. Mob violence was responsible for detroying or badly damaging 192 police stations and posts. 494

Government buildings, 318 railway stations and 309 post and telegraph offices. There were 103 cases of serious damage to railway track and 11,285 cases of serious damage or destruction of telegraph and telephone lines and installations. There were three cases in which military property and installations were destroyed or damaged. There were 14 fatal cases and 70 non-fatal cases amongst the military from mob violence. These figures would indicate the seriousness of the rebellion, the government had to face in this country

As for women and children the Home Member said that it was not denied that in dealing with mob violence of the character referred to above, in some cases innocent persons had suffered. But he assured the House that it was not wilful action against them. The House, he said, must also take into consideration how innocent persons were made to suffer by mob violence and bomb outrages in various parts of India He was surprised that no demand had been made for an enquiry into the conduct of the perpetrators of such outrages Looking from this point of view, Sir Ziauddin's amendment was more logical. The Government, however, were opposed to any enquiry and, therefore, would oppose the resolution and the various amendments

Dr. *Banerji* gave full support to the resolution. He had not concluded when the debate adjourned to the next non official day and the House took up Mr. Jamanadas Mehta's adjournment motion.

INADEQUACY OF DEARNESS ALLOWANCE

Mr. *Jamnadas Mehta's* adjournment motion expressing dissatisfaction with the dearness allowance recently given to non-railway Government employees was next debated and rejected by 37 votes to 27. Members of the Muslim League Party voted for the motion The European Group voted against it, although earlier in the sitting when Government objected to admitting the adjournment motion and the Chair asked supporters of the motion to stand, members of the European Group were among members who stood

Moving his adjournment motion, Mr. Jamnadas Mehta criticised the Government policy with regard to the question of dearness allowance to all low-paid servants and said that whereas the cost of living had risen by [illegible] per cent the maximum compensation granted to a low-paid Government servant was only 21 per cent What should have been done was that the low paid staff should have been treated as they were in September 1939 He also protested strongly against the "conduct of the Government for not consulting the representatives of the various employees most vitally affected by the rise in the cost of living". In any case, he said, those living on the verge of starvation should be fully compensated

Replying to the motion, Dr. *Ambedkar* said that it raised two points, namely. the meagreness and inadequacy of the dearness allowance announced on January 23 and the failure of the Government to consult the representatives of the trade unions. He said he had great sympathy with the motion but it was evidently based on misunderstanding. There was no finality in the decision of the Government and there was no reason to assume that the amount granted could not be altered subsequently. It was a matter for the Government to decide the form of any further dearness allowance whether it should be in cash or foodstuffs With regard to the other point, he explained that there was no difficulty in contacting the representatives of labour The Government could easily do so in the case of railwaymen whose Federation existed, but similar contact with other departments could not be established for want of single representative bodies. Even then, he pointed out, that the Government made efforts to consult the representatives of the postal employees and the secretariat staff. The policy of the Government was that it always consulted its workers in such matters as far as possible

RAILWAY BUDGET FOR 1943 44

15th. FEBRUARY :—The Railway Budget for 1943-44 was presented in the Assembly today. Presenting the estimates, *Sir Edward Benthall* Transport Member, forecast for 1942-43 a surplus of Rs 36.25 crores (Rs 8.21 crores more than last year and Rs. 8.33 crores more than the original estimate) and for 1943-44 a surplus of Rs. 30.04 crores. Increase in earnings he said, had been almost continuous, though varying in extent practically from beginning of the year, except during periods affected by political disturbances and widespread sabotage, when a decrease occurred only in goods traffic. The broad fact was that in spite of a severe strain, the Railways had succeeded in maintaining the life of the country while meeting the demands of the military and every essential industry. Food had been given high transport priority and would be transported at all events.

In his review of a year of "unparalleled activity and prosperity" for Indian State-owned railways, Sir Edward said: "Prosperity is illusory but although critics will give the Railways little credit for it, I would remind the House that if that been earned not as in other industries by a heavy increase in the price of what we offer, transport, but mainly by making the best of the available equipment.

"For the Army, we are running more than 400 special troop trains every month, and we estimate that in the current year we shall carry 15 millions tons of military traffic, compared with 500,000 tons in peace-time.

'The Railways have provided a large number of vehicles, specialized and otherwise including ambulances, for use in India and on other fronts, and also a very large mileage of sidings and a number locomotives and wagons for Army Depots; while 19,000 men in railway workshops have made a notable contribution on the munitions front.

"We have the assurance of the military authorities that the requirements of the Army have been met satisfactorily".

In 1942-43 total traffic receipts were expected to be Rs 149¼ crores (Rs 144 crores from State-owned lines and Rs 5¼ crores from worked lines), i. e Rs. 11 crores more than last year and Rs. 19 crores more than the original estimate Total working expenses including Rs 12.58 crores for depreciation and Rs 2.67 for payment to worked lines are Rs. 86.52 crores, and exceed last year's expenses by Rs. 7 crores. Of the expected surplus of Rs 36.28 crores, general revenues will receive the originally budgeted amount of Rs. 20.13 crores, which is Rs 2.36 crores over and above the current and arrear contributions actually due from railways under the existing convention and the railway depreciation fund will receive Rs. 16.08 crores, the balance of Rs 7 lakhs going to railway reserve. The depreciation fund will also receive Rs. 6.30 crores by transfer from the the railway reserve and the railways' debt to the depreciation fund will thereby be wiped out. The balance in the fund will be Rs. 82.19 crores. The balance in the railway reserve will be about Rs. 56 lakhs,

Against a works programme of about 26¾ crores, including Rs 1½ crores for the balance of the purchase price of the B and N W and R and K Rys there is a provision of Rs. 24 crores (Rs 13 crores from capital and Rs. 11 crores from depreciation fund) more than half of which is for locomotives and wagons

Sir Edward pointed out that despite a vigorous campaign to induce passengers to travel only when they must, there had been an increase of 3,000 million passenger miles last year as compared with 1938-39, while this year these figures had been exceeded. Reductions in passenger train services amounted to a saving in train miles of approximately 37% of the pre-war figure, and this curtailment had been necessary to provide for military and goods traffic and to conserve coal stocks.

He could offer no hope at all of any improvement in respect of comfort or speed in passenger travel so long as priority demands continued, but if it was any solace to passengers in this country, he would mention that he had been informed recently by a prominent American railway official that in the U. S. passenger trains were on certain lines subject to the same great delays as in present-day India

No change in fares and freights is contemplated in 1943-44 and the budget estimate assumes traffic receipts of Rs. 15 crores Rs. 75 lakhs more than the current year. Total working expenses, including depreciation and payment to worked lines, are estimated at Rs. 88.14 crores, Rs 1.62 crores more than the current year. Of the surplus of Rs 36.04 crores, to which strategic lines contribute Rs. 29 lakhs, Rs. 27.10 crores will go to general revenues and Rs 8.94 crores to railway reserve At the end of the year there will be a balance of Rs. 84 crores in depreciation fund and Rs. 9½ crores in railway reserve.

He paid a tribute to railway officers and staff, of whom 90.7% are Indians or Anglo-Indians, for their loyalty during the open rebellion of last autumn and for carrying on in dangerous areas. They had deserved well of India during a difficult year. No less than 126,000 men serving therein have voluntarily enrolled the Defence of India Units

Referring to the grant of relief to railway workers he said: "In addition to dearness allowance, numerous other arrangements have been made to assist them, such as family evacuation concessions, war injury relief, emergency allowances, educational concessions and so on. The scheme of dearness allowance sanctioned in

August 1942 is estimated to cost Rs. 5 crores a year." Grain shops had been opened which were gradually being extended to supply other necessities of life at prices which would help stabilize the cost of living for the workers.

Stating the position of wagons and locomotives he said : "So far, we have placed orders for 9,973 broad gauge wagons of which we have received 265 and expect to receive about 6,207 by the end of 1943-44. Of metre gauge wagons we have ordered 736, all of which we expect to get. Pressure has been maintained on the UK and US Governments for the supply of broad gauge locomotives, and although some outstanding orders on England have been suspended, arrangements have now been made for the supply of 40 heavy goods engines from America. Deliveries of these are expected to begin in June 1943.

"Indian railways are also to receive 12 metre gauge heavy goods engines from England and 80 from America. It is hoped that 40 heavy goods engines for the broad gauge will be followed by 115 more goods engines, but the date when these may be expected has yet to be settled It has been requested that arrangements be made for the supply of a further 150 broad-gauge locomotives during 1944.

The house will be interested to know that plans are already actively being prepared to set up a locomotive construction shop in India during the war if physically possible, although this is unlikely owing to the difficulty of securing plant and raw material, and if not, as part of the immediate post-war reconstruction plan.

Referring to the transport of food he stated that, in order to remedy the serious mal-distribution which was the chief cause of the present grave food situation rather than any substantial shortage of food grains, special priority had been given to the movement of foodstuffs and assured the House that so long as the need arose, foodstuffs would be moved in high priority If confidence were restored and bumper rabi crops were harvested the railways would be further strained to move such crops promptly but it would be done

By the end of the current year, the railways hoped to pay off completely the debt both to general revenues and to the depreciation fund In the division of the next year's surplus 2 conflicting interests had to be considered, viz, the provision of adequate funds to cover post-war rehabilitation and to meet interest charges in periods of trade depression on the one hand, and the plight of the general taxpayer on the other According to Sir Edward, in peace-time the convention had brought the railway finances into a most parlous position from which they had been secured for the present by the abnormal conditions of a world war The convention had equally failed in war-time since it gave inadequate relief to the general tax-payer and it has been necessary to introduce a moratorium from time to time in order to secure to general revenues an increased share of the surplus The Government had, therefore, decided to abandon so much of the existing separation convention as provides for contribution and allocation of the surplus to general revenues and to distribute the surplus expected from commercial lines in 1943-44 between general revenues and railways in the proportion of 3 to 1

Till a new convention was adopted the distribution of each year's surplus would be decided "ad hoc" after duly weighing the respective needs of general revenues and railways. A resolution seeking the approval of the Assembly to this arrangement would be moved later during the session He considered that these proposals, which were an initial step towards a fresh settlement were a reasonable mean between the claims of Railways and general finance. In the opinion of the Railway Department, from a financial point of view, it would be thoroughly unsound to allocate such a large percentage of railways surplus to general revenues unless railways were relieved of the burden of a fixed annual contribution, regardless of whether a surplus is actually earned or not, and that the canons of sound railway finance dictated that apart from contribution to the depreciation fund at least 8 crores per annum should be set aside annually to railway reserve.

It was not proposed to ask the House to consider the terms of a new convention until it was possible to foresee, with greater certainty, the future trend of railway earnings. The Government's proposals provide a fixable arrangement which, while relieving the raiways of the necessity of making heavy provision out of of surpluses, prosperous times to meet future fixed contribution to general revenues would enable them to make some substantial provision to meet post-war contingencies and at the same time make large contributions when most needed to general revenues for the benefit of the tax-payer

In conclusion Sir Edward said : "In war-time it is not the profits but the service rendered which must be the measure of success in railway operations. In

thecoming year. I pray, to use Mr. Churchill's words, that railwaymen may escape blood and tears, but come what may, we will dedicate ourselves to another year of sweat and toil to the service of the nation and to the cause of victory."

Food Grains Situation

15th. FEBRUARY.—"The net gap in our total supply of food grains during 1943 after taking into account the increase in our requirement, will not exceed 2,000,000 tons, representing a deficit of not more than 4% in our total annual production of principal food grains," said Mr. *N. R. Sarker*, Food Member initiating a 2-day debate on food, fuel, drugs and standard cloth. "In some of the years immediately preceding the war we pulled through equal or bigger shortages without feeling much strain." Mr. Sarkar added. "The carry-over from previous years might no doubt have stood us in good stead, but even after allowing for this, the House will agree that the estimated deficit as such is certainly not of an order that will warrant any panic or alarm. The scarcity of which we hear so much at present is confined almost entirely to the urban centres of the country. We must realize that there is no suggestion of a famine in the country but a stringency which it is hoped will be temporary in the urban centres of the non-agricultural production. The effect of the measures taken by Government, he said, had been seen in the past faw days. Government agents operating in the Punjab had been able to purchase over 60,000 tons of wheat as against the 8,000 and odd tons which was all that they could purchase during the month previous to the lifting of the control price. These purchases had no doubt been effected at a price considerably above that fixed by the recent control measures. It was encouraging however that the price, despite the heavy purchases of the last few days, was still falling and there was good reason to hope that it would fall still further. Government, he assured the House, did not propose to relax control over the trade in grain. While their policy was to free the primary wholesale markets from price control, they contemplated that the retail prices for grains would continue to be controlled on the basis of the prices prevailing in the primary wholesale markets Summarizing the present position, Mr Sarker referred to the steps taken to improve the supply position and said that in addition to the grow-more-food and fodder campaigns, the arrangement for imports of wheat from abroad and the sealing down of exports to neighbouring countries, there would soon be a drive to cut down all internal wastage in food consumption. Referring to standard cloth, Mr Sarker said that it would reach the market by April. The debate was adjourned to February. 17.

Release of Mahatma Gandhi Urged

Pandit L. K. Maitra next moved an adjournment motion on Mr. Gandhi's fast and appealed to members of the House to set aside all political considerations and unite in demanding the 'immediate and unconditional" release of a great Indian who, he said, was revered by all classes of people

He was supported by Mr. *N M. Joshi Sardar Sant Singh*, Dr. *P. N. Banerjee*, and Mr. *T. T. Krishnamachari. Sir Henry Richardson, Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan* and Sir *Cowasji Jehangir* put forward other points of view.

Pandit Maitra said he was not concerned with vindicating Mr. Gandhi's political policy. But, he asserted, on an impartial perusal of the correspondence it would appear that Mr. Gandhi could not by any honest man be accused of personal complicity in the violence that swept over the country.

Mr. Joshi said that if Mr Gandhi was released unconditionally, he would reconsider the situation. He himself had said so in his letter. Mr. Gandhi had said he wanted to help the country out of the present situation. The question had been asked why should not Mr. Gandhi condemn violence from prison? Mr. Joshi said it was against the dignity of a human being to ask him to express opinions while in prison in order to secure release. It was wrong and unworthy of the British people and of the Government of India to impute motives to Mr. Gandhi and say that the fast was blackmail.

Sardar Sant Singh asserted that the position now was the result of frustration caused by the absence of a National Government at the Centre. He urged Mr. Gandhi's release in order to enable him to review the situation in the country and evolve a better order for the world.

Dr P. N. Banerjee said the object of the motion was not to censure the Government but to save a precious life about which people all over the world were greatly perturbed.

Mr *T. T. Krishnamachari* protested against the use of the word blackmail and said it would go down in history as having been flung against the greatest among living Indians.

Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan expressed full sympathy with the sentimental concern which the Hindu members felt over the self-inflicted ordeal which Mr. Gandhi was undergoing and he joined in the hope that he would survive the ordeal. After reiterating the Muslim League declaration that there was no freedom for this country unless every nationality in it was made to feel free, Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan said that the correspondence between the Viceroy and Mr Gandhi did not disclose any likelihood of any effort being made to secure a Hindu-Muslim settlement. He requested the mover and his supporters to convince him (the speaker) that if Mr. Gandhi was released there was a probability of a Hindu-Muslim settlement. The correspondence revealed that the Viceroy believed that the Congress was an enemy of the country and yet the Muslim League was asked to come to terms with the Congress before the British would transfer power to other Indians. The Muslim League, he said, had not the power and authority, and it could neither support the release nor the detention of Mr. Gandhi It was the Government's duty to maintain law and order and it was their responsibility to decide for themselves whether this could be done by Mr. Gandhi's detention or his release. If the Muslim League was in power and in a position to control the situation then it would have been for it to decide, but as it was the League did not propose to take responsibility when it had not the means to control the situation that might be created in the country.

Sir Henry Richardson (European Group) said that putting aside political views, his Group fully understood and appreciated the great respect and reverence which Mr. Gandhi commanded and they fully sympathized with the horror which a fatal result to his fast would evoke On the other hand, they viewed with no less horror the deaths of all those innocent victims who died violently as a result of the declaration of civil disobedience The fast was no less a threat to authority without which there would come a chaos which his Group dared not contemplate. The fast was coercion and no Government worth the name could submit to it and retain any authority. His Group, therefore, fully approved the attitude which the Government had taken.

Sir Reginald Maxwell referred to Mr Gandhi's demands, and said that the Government, without granting any of them, informed Mr. Gandhi that they would release him for the purpose and for the duration of the fast in order to make it clear that they disclaimed responsibility for its consequences. On that Mr Gandhi replied that if he were released he would at once abandon the fast and that he had conceived the fast only as a prisoner. Thus, if he were released the object for which he declared his fast although still unfulfilled would recede into background. As a free man he would neither demand these objects nor fast. Interpreted in this way, his fast would seem to amount to little more than a demand for release. The Home Member went on to quote from Mr. Gandhi's earlier writings, declaring that hungerstrike had positively become a plague and it was well that the Working Committee had condemned the practice in unequivocal terms so far at least as hungerstrike for discharge from imprisonment was concerned. Continuing, Sir Reginald said Mr. Gandhi was the acknowledged leader of an open rebellion in which he denied the authority of the existing Government and sought to overthrow it. Before that, he was entitled to be heard by the Government like any other subject and was heard. But by declaring civil war, i. e. repudiating the method of discussion, he forfeited that right so long as he remained an open rebel He could not claim to function except through the success of his method He could not take part in public life under the protection of the law he denied. He could be a citizen yet not a subject. This was the position resulting from the Congress resolution of August 8. In some of the published correspondence, Mr. Gandhi had made much of his intention of seeking an interview with the Viceroy. But the Congress resolution still stood together with Mr Gandhi's own words 'do or die. It was not the method of peaceful persuasion to come to the person whom you wished to convince, armed with a resolution declaring mass rebellion. He also quoted from Mr. Gandhi's speech at the A.I.C.C. after the resolution of August 8 was passed, when Mr Gandhi declared he was not going to strike a bargain and he was not going to be satisfied with anything else than complete freedom.

The Home Member went on to repeat that the Government did and must hold Mr. Gandhi responsible for the recent happenings that had so disturbed the peace of India, caused so much loss of life and property of innocent persons and

brought the country to the brink of a terrible danger. Mr. Gandhi and his colleagues might seek to repudiate their method now that it had proved unsuccessful but none-the-less the responsibility was theirs. Those deeds could not be undone. If Mr. Gandhi wishes to dissociate himself from them, he could have spoken for himself without consulting the Working Committee. Could he then, without cancelling the Congress movement, without even assurances for the future, claim at any moment to step back as though nothing had happened into the public life of the country and be received by the Government and society as a good citizen ? When, therefore, the Government found that the fast could only be prevented by unconditional release, they had no choice but to adhere to the policy already declared. The policy was either right or wrong in itself. If the Government conscientiously believed that it was right a fast could make no difference to it. The Government of India could not surrender their judgment under the threat of a fast.

The Home member referred, in conclusion, to the privileges given to Mr. Gandhi during the fast, and said that short of artificial feeding, to which Mr Gandhi strongly objected, he was denied no medical attention or nursing which might possibly help to save his life. He had stated that this was a fast according to capacity and he did not desire to take his own life. The Government could only hope that at this late hour he might realize the peril and the folly and the unworthiness of attempting to do what might prove beyond his powers.

Mr Jamnadas Mehta said that the speech of Sir Reginald Maxwell was itself a reason for Mr. Gandhi's release. Sir Reginald wanted Mr. Gandhi to return to citizenship. Mr Gandhi had given ample proof that he himself was hoping to return to citizenship The very fact that he had promised to examine the situation *de novo* was proof of that. The Government should not take their stand on technicalities. He assured the Indian members of the Viceroy's Executive Council that this was a most favourable opportunity to lead to conciliation.

Sir Cowasjit Jehangir said nobody wanted Mr. Gandhi imprisoned. The correspondence, however, had taken his breath away. If Mr. Gandhi was a faithful follower of non-violence, he ought to be prepared to condemn violence unequivocally from wherever that violence came. He appealed to Mr Gandhi to make an unequivocal statement that he condemned violence unconditionally. If he made such a statement he ought to be released.

As he was speaking it was 6 o'clock and the motion was talked out.

Restriction on Delhi Newspaper

16th. FEBRUARY :—The Assembly today rejected without a division *Sardar Sant Singh's* adjournment motion to discuss the restrictions placed upon the "*Hindustan Times*" with regard to publication of news of Mr. Gandhi's fast. Sardar Sant Singh said that the order amounted to this—that the Chief Commissioner wanted this newspaper to be not a newspaper for the public but an agent for the publication of news given by Government. He did not think that was the function of newspapers in any civilized country. He asked why this particular newspaper had been singled out for this treatment and how the use of the D.I. Rules for the purpose was justified

Sir Reginald Maxwell, Home Member, reminded the House of the history behind the action taken against the newspaper. He referred to the stoppage of its publication following the pre-censorship orders in September and its resumption at the beginning of the year after the withdrawal of restrictions as a sequel to the resolution passed by the All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference in Bombay in October enjoining restraint on the publication of news relating to the disturbances. When the restrictions were withdrawn, the Chief Commissioner made it clear that he would have no option but to reimpose them on any newspaper which disregarded the spirit of the Bombay resolution. On the 1st day of its republication, the "*Hindustan Times*" came out with a great deal of objectionable news relating to Prof Bhansali's fast and other matter showing it had no intention of observing the spirit of the Bombay resolution and consequently the Chief Commissioner found it necessary to reimpose pre-censorship orders on this paper. That was the position when Mr. Gandhi's fast started. When that happened, the Chief Commissioner at a conference of all editors in the province communicated the advice and the wishes of the Government. There was no attempt in the 1st instance to pass any restrictive orders, but the editors were asked to avoid unnecessary display such as would be likely to excite the public or stir up popular resentment or apprehension. At the same time, it was realized that on the 1st. day of the fast papers would give it wide publicity. The "*Hindustan Times*" came out with big banner headlines and made the most of it.

On Feb. 11, it came out with more fullpage headlines and a great deal of other news about Mr. Gandhi and also, in the correspondence between Mr. Gandhi and the Home Department, omitted the most vital sentence in Mr. Gandhi's letter to the Department and created a false impression of what he had said. The Home Member added that he had been informed it was unintentional. But such an error in publishing the correspondence indicated a certain amount of irresponsibility. When it was clear that the "*Hindustan Times*" did not intend to observe the Bombay resolution, it was necessary to pass pre-censorship orders. The action taken was taken only because the paper refused to co-operate with the Government after having been given an opportunity to do so. There was no question of taking matters out of the hands of the editor. He had been given a chance and he had to avail himself of it. He had made it clear yesterday proceeded the Home Member, that the Government regarded this fast as a form of pressure upon them and they did not regard this method of applying pressure justified, and it was similarly not justifiable if publicity was given to it in a way that tended to increase that pressure. The Government utilized the D.I. Rules to fight this open rebellion. They could not allow a situation again to arise in consequence of pressure of this kind in which fresh life was given to a movement which had caused such a large amount of disorder and disturbance in this country. The general public, he said, were sick of the mass disturbances and he was confident that the Government would have the support of all reasonable sections of the public.

Dr. *P. N. Banerjee* said that the order was vexatious and irritating. The fast had perturbed the whole of India and people were anxious to know the state of Mr. Gandhi's health. If an enterprising newspaper gave news which was not given by others should that be regarded as a crime?

Earlier, the House passed *Sir Gurunath Bewoor's Bill* further to amend the Motor Vehicles Act and his Bill further to amend the Government Savings Banks Act and the Post Office Cash Certificates Act.

FOOD GRAINS SITUATION

17th. FEBRUARY :—Discussion on India's food, fuel, drugs and cloth situation was continued in the Assembly today. Mr. *Azhar Ali* suggested the stopping of exports and the setting up of a committee of officials and non-officials to advise the Government. He also suggested that there should be no more taxation on the necessities of life.

Mr. *Hossainbhai Laljee*, after referring to acute transport problem which had made the movement of foodstuffs difficult, stated that the Central Government should have more authority than the Provincial Governments, in dealing with the situation.

Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi criticized the Government's price control policy and said that while prices of wheat and certain other commodities were fixed, the Government agents bought freely at higher prices and thus nullified their own price-control.

Sir Edward Benthall, War Transport Member, made a statement on the fuel situation in the country and gave details of the Government's coal provision scheme recently put into operation. He said that a Controller of Coal Distribution had been appointed with headquarters in Calcutta who looked to the despatch of coal to different parts of India according to a priority list regarding Government, military and public needs. He said a few months ago 13 or 14% of the available wagons at collieries in Bihar and Bengal were allotted for the public, but as a shortage of wagons had occurred, this percentage had now been reduced to 5, but he thought it was sufficient for public needs. He said the provincial coal schemes were put into operation to ensure equitable distribution, make possible a control of coal prices and maintain supply. According to these each provincial controller would directly place orders with the collieries in accordance with fixed quotas. The working of the schemes, Sir Edward considered, was dependent on adequate supply of wagons, which was one of Government's major pre-occupations, and he hoped there would be a general improvement shortly.

After giving details of the coal and soft coke situation in Delhi and Calcutta, the War Transport Member made a reference to charcoal and firewood supplies and said that the best thing would be that they should be locally organized by the provincial or local Governments, but railways would assist in the matter of transport, where it was urgently required. Sir Edward also said that the movement of people's food was a matter of the highest importance for the Government and he would gladly receive complaints or suggestions for improvements in this matter.

Sir Ziauddin Ahmed, criticizing the fuel supply scheme, said that distribution ought to have been decided not on the basis of population, but on the consideration of what particular kind of fuel each area or town used. Referring to the food situation, he said that the control of prices without first controlling the stocks was like putting the cart before the horse

Mr. *K. C. Neogy* wanted the Government to explain how the extraordinary shortage of wagons had come about and also why each province had not been able to obtain even its quota from the collieries. He said some of the provinces had defied the instructions of the Controller of Coal Supply in the matter of distribution and fixation of prices.

Mr. *J. D. Tyson*, Secretary, Education, Health and Lands Department, referring to the production aspect of food and drugs, assured the House that there had been a remarkable increase in the number of essential drugs produced in India since the war, and many of these were obtained by Government Departments entirely from Indian sources. If they were not so obtained it was because the supply from those sources was not at present sufficient, either owing to absence of basic raw materials or of plant or chemicals required for the treatment of raw materials. Speaking on prodution of food, Mr Tyson said, that as a result of the "grow more food" campaign, for the "khrif" season alone, 8,100,000 acres of land had been brought under food crops, about ½ of this area by transfer from cotton. In "kharif" season 3 000,000 more tons of food had been produced than in the previous year. Provinces had now been asked to undertake all-out production and to ensure that no desirable scheme was omitted merely for lack of funds The Central Government had offered financial assistance for approved schemes. The post of Director of Agricultural Production had been created, and he would advise the Provinces about their schemes.

Mr. *E. L. C. Gwilt* (European group) referred to profiteering in the retail of drugs in the country which he considered was of the grossest order and asked what manner of man was the trader who cornered quinine to make his fortue in a country where malaria killed hundreds of thousands of people yearly What punishment did he deserve? Mr. Gwilt dwelt on examples of drastic punishment given to profiteers in the U.K. and said that if severe action were taken tomorrow against those engaged in anti-social activities and profiteering in essential drugs, the price of a large number of the drugs upon which life depended would substantially fall the day after.

Mr. *N. M. Joshi* pleaded for the enforcement of proper price-control throughout India, together with a control of supplies, treating the country as a single unit. He held that rationing could solve part of the problem.

Mr. *Frank Anthony* (Anglo-Indian) in his speech attacked the traders and said that there was a lamentable lack of honest businessmen in the country. He was inclined to think that those handling the trade of foodstuffs, etc., were indulging in hoarding and profiteering. He suggested drastic action against profiteers

Mr. *Jamnadas Mehta* said that the Government's primary duty was to look after the equitable distribution of food to all the people of the country. Provincial autonomy should have no consideration in this matter. He wanted the Government to intensify their drive against those who were making fortunes out of the misfortunes of the people. The House at this stage adjourned.

Police and Military Excesses

18th. FEBRUARY.—Discussing non-official resolutions today, the Assembly rejected by 40 votes to 17, *Sir Zia-ud-Din Ahmed's* amendment to Mr. *K. C. Neogy's* resolution to the effect that the enquiry proposed by the resolution into the excesses" alleged against the police and the military should cover investigation of the nature of the organization leading to dislocation of communication, murder, loot and forcible extortion of money and certain allegations against factory owners. The House then rejected without a division Mr. *Neogy's* original resolution also.

The resolution urging the suspension of the Central Legislature was not moved as the mover, Mr. K C. Neogy, was one of the Nationalist Party members absent from the House for the day.

Federal Government as Solution of Deadlock

Pt. Nilkanta Das, another member of the party, moved his resolution asking for the implementing of the Federal part of the Government of India Act. Discussion on it resolved itself into a debate on Pakistan.

The mover declared that a composite Government at the Centre envisaged in the Federal part of the Act together with Coalition Governments in the provinces,

was the only solution of the present deadlock caused by one of the two principal parties adopting a policy of negation and the other taking its stand on impossible demands.

Sir Sultan Ahmed, Law Member, intervening early to indicate the Government's attitude, said the House would realize that this was primarily a matter for H.M G. to consider, but the Government of India would welcome discussion on the resolution because the suggestion made in it was one of the solutions of the deadlock. The Government would remain neutral, but he hoped that the debate would be carried on with cordiality and goodwill and contributions would be made which would be useful in solving a most difficult problem.

Sir Yamin Khan declared that Federation had been shelved for ever and could never be revived The Muslim League would never accept it, and he suggested to the movers and the supporters of the motion that the only way open to them was to come to a settlement with the League.

Sir Frederick James (European Group), speaking entirely for himself and not for the group, asked for clarification of certain points about the demand for Pakistan After referring to the different definitions of Pakistan and the guarantee of fair treatment for minorities under it Sir Frederick asked Assuming your goal is achieved, assuming the principle of home-lands for the various communities in the country is carried out as is suggested in the Pakistan resolution what then ? Once you have your sovereign units will there not come upon those units the dire necessity of coming together again into some form of union for common purposes ? Would not the compelling forces of history and geography and economic development bring together those sovereign units into some Federal system which would give them protection not only against military aggression but against economic aggression against which not even politically independent and sovereign States could always stand by themselves ? Is it not the tendency in all parts of the world for units, though politically sovereign, to come together for common purposes ?

Supporting the resolution, Mr *Jamnadas Mehta* said that under the Federal scheme which the resolution advocated, the House could have a Government of men elected by it instead of this "wretched day-to-day, hand to mouth Government." The demand for Federation was put forward only as a temporary solution and with no intention of anticipating the post-war constitutional development of the country. The Hindus would gain no undue advantage under the Federal scheme—the British Parliament had seen to that—for out of a House of 250, Muslims would have 80 seats and Hindus 112

Nawabzada Liaqat Ali Khan, explaining the Muslim League viewpoint, declared that there were other direct, more wholesome and happier ways of achieving the object of a responsible government than the method of enforcing the Federal part of the Government of India Act. The more wholesome and happier way was agreement between the parties in the country. The Muslims of India would never accept any form of Central Government which placed them at the mercy of the majority community. He requested the Governor-General to convey to H M G. that if they tried to enforce the Federal scheme in this country under some pressure or other, they would be making the greatest mistake The only solution was Pakistan.

Replying to Sir Frederick James, the speaker declared "Our differences with our Hindu friends are not greater than the differences between other nations of the world and therefore, there is no reason why these sovereign and independent States of Pakistan and Hindustan should not be friendly to each other and work as good neighbours and good friends and it ultimately they decide to have some sort of co-operative body for certain purposes who am I or anybody else to stop them from doing so ?" As regards defence he believed that humanity would in future devise some method by which the defence of any country would not assume such importance as it did today Even if the United Nations should fail in devising such a method, the interests of Pakistan and Hindustan would bring them together to defend their territory because if one was gone the other would not survive.

Pt. Nilkanta Das, replying to the debate, regretted that the Pakistan controversy had been introduced into the debate. He held that the British Government stood pledged to Federation. Moreover, the attitude of those who opposed, meant that they did not feel responsible enough for providing a popular government for the country. The resolution was rejected without a division.

PROHIBITION OF TEXTILE EXPORT

The House rejected by 37 votes to 15, Maulvi *M. A. Ghani's* resolution urging the "prohibition of export of textile goods from India till such time as the needs

of the people of the country were fully met with." The resolution was supported by Sir M Yamin Khan, Sir Ziauddin Ahmed, Mr. Jamnadas Mehta and Maulana Zafar Ali and was opposed by Mr Gwilt (European Group).

Mr. *T. S. Pillai*, Joint-Secretary, Commerce Department, replying on behalf of the Government, said that there was no case for total prohibition of exports of cloth, but the Government had been restricting exports He pointed out that India was fighting a common war and it was incumbent on her to go to the rescue of other nations just as they were helping India in several other matters. The Government did not deny that there was shortage, but it was not grave The Government were trying to increase the production of standard and other types of cloth to relieve the situation. He also maintained that in the interest of India's textile industry, contact with her foreign markets could not be entirely discontinued.

GENERAL DISCUSSION OF BUDGET

19th. FEBRUARY:—During the general debate on the Railway Budget in the Assembly today Dr. *Sir Zia-ud-Din Ahmed* suggested that the railways were at present being run neither as a purely business concern nor as a purely public utility concern but as a mixture of both and as one or the other according as Government liked He favoured their treatment as a public utility concern and not as money-making concerns He urged the amalgamation of all railways in India into a single unit administered by the railway authority responsible to the Indian Legislature.

Mr. *T Chapman Mortimer* congratulated the War Transport Member on achieving for the Indian railways a position which was a long way off from 1936, when Sir Otto Niemeyer characterized the condition as disquieting But while congratulating Sir Edward Benthall, he should not like it to be thought that his group were completely satisfied. They hoped Sir Edward would "keep it up" and continue to contribute at least Rs 8 crores to the reserve and make generous contributions to the general revenues Reserves built up now would put the railways in a state of readiness to meet replacements in the postwar years, provide a 'cushion" against post-war depression and make it possible to lower freights and fares in difficult times.

Mr *Jamnadas Mehta* said that the huge profit was a matter for congratulation, but it came largely from tax on transport, and was therefore a burden on the poor. Of the surplus shown Rs. 10 crores resulted from increases in rates and freights, and this extra revenue was unwarranted and unjustifiable considering the scale of railway finances In the present food crisis, the railway administration should have transported articles of food free

He urged the reduction of rates and freights to the level prior to 1936. Reciprocating the compliments paid to railway workers by the War Transport Member, Mr Mehta pleaded that the Government should keep them contented as regards provision of food and dearness allowances by giving adequate compensation against the rise in the cost of living.

Sir *A. H. Ghuznavi*, examining Sir Leonard Wilson's speech in the Council of State, said that Sir Leonard had made certain revelations which were not to be found in the Budget speech of the War Transport Member. He said that while charges for the transport of certain commodities belonging to the public had been increased, those levied for military goods had remained unaltered. He interpreted this as a clever attempt to conceal what India was incurring owing to the war He claimed that this would affect adversely the finances of India at the time of the allocation of expenditure He also wondered why rolling stock and railway lines to the value of Rs 16) lakhs and Rs 42 lakhs respectively had been taken out of India and fresh imports were being arranged at a cost several times higher. The cost of militarization of certain railways in E. and S. India, he said, should have been borne by the War Department alone and not shared equally by the railway administration and the War Department as at present.

Mr. *Frank Anthony* associated himself with the tributes paid to railwaymen and drew the attention of the War Transport Member to certain grievances of the railway staff in the matter of classification, system of ranking, overtime work and promotions. He pleaded that adequate dearness alowance should also be given to those receiving salaries between Rs. 100 and Rs. 500.

Khan Bahadur Shahban asked why Rs. 27 crores from expected surplus were marked for transfer to the general revenue. The amount could have been spent in improving transport facilities.

Sir Mohammed Yamin Khan held that the Government had done well in paying a large sum from the railway surplus to the general revenue in order to relieve the tax-payer to some extent. He claimed that it was unnecessary to go on accumulating the Depreciation Fund every year. Sir Mohammed urged the abolition of the policy of 25% recruitment to the superior railway services from England, and wanted complete indianization. In the matter of experts, he said, they could be recruited from abroad; but the Government should not undertake to offer them extra salaries by way of overseas pay etc. Further, he said, the present prosperity of the railways made it imperative that larger relief allowances should be paid to the staff, especially those whose salaries ranged between Rs. 100 and 250

The Railway Member, *Sir Edward Benthall*, replying to the debate, repudiated the suggestion that in the railways they extracted the maximum amount of work for the minimum amount of pay. The Government, he said, had already looked into the complaint regarding long hours of work on the railways but their inquiries did not substantiate the allegation. They had, however, issued instructions that hours of work on the railways should be reasonable and additional staff should be employed to cope with additional work They had also asked the railway administrations to provide temporary quarters for such additional staff The question of giving extensions to men on the verge of retirement was considered very carefully, each case on its merit. The House he asked, should not forget that in times like the present they did require experienced hands, particularly to fill the places of those who had joined the defence services Referring to Indianization, Sir Edward said that between 1934 and 1941, the Indian element in the superior services had risen from 43.40% to 61.10%. This would indicate that as men at the top retired, their places were being taken by Indians He also disclosed that recruitment from the UK had been in abeyance for the last two years Dealing with rates and fares, Sir Edward explained that the total average increase since the war began had been 6½% the increase compared very favourably, he claimed, with the increases made in other industries during the same period Sir Edward Benthall reminded the House that during this period they had not enhanced the rates for full wagon loads of foodgrains. They were carrying food at pre-war prices and were giving priority to it and moveing it as fast as it could be carried He claimed that the benefit of carrying food free of charge would not go to the consumer. He shared in the hope that the railways had reached the peak of wartime rates and fares but said that the whole question would only be examined after the war. Referring to Sir A H Ghuznavi's complaint that charges for military traffic had remained unaltered, the Railway Member reminded the House what Sir Andrew Clow had declared two years ago, that military traffic would not be subject to enhanced rates He wondered why Sir Abdul had chosen to accuse the Government now. As for the sale of rolling-stock and track to the war Department, the recoveries were made on the basis of prices prevailing immediately before the war, subject to such depreciation as was regarded suitable. Sir Edward claimed that charging railways with 50% of the militarization cost in the defence of India zone, was beneficial to the railways. Referring to the question of dearness allowance, Sir Edward Benthall said that the policy of the railways was not only to compensate railwaymen but to provide them food at cheaper rates He said that the dearness allowance scheme had cost the Railway Administration Rs 5 crores since August last and this year they hoped to spend Rs. 3 crores on the food provision scheme. He said they were doing everything possible to stabilize the cost of living of the workers. The question of raising the limit of application of dearness allowance to those receiving salaries higher than Rs. 120 was a complicated one, in view of the Government of India's recent announcement in this matter, because railways were a Government Department and what they decided was apt to affect other departments also He, hoped, however that the cheap food they proposed to provide would relieve some of the hardships of the staff. This concluded the debate and the House adjourned till the 22nd.

DEBATE ON FOOD SITUATION

22nd FEBRUARY :—The Assembly today concluded discussion on the motion moved last week by Mr *N R Sarker*, the then Commerce Member, that the situation in this country as regards food, fuel, drugs and the production and distribution of standard cloth be taken into consideration.

Mr. *I. S. Pillay* placed before the House the Commerce Department's viewpoint regarding kerosene and standard cloth. India, he said, had never been self-sufficient in the matter of kerosene and imported the bulk of her requirements from Burma. The Government had to introduce the system of rationing by gradual cutting down

of its supplies to the market. Kerosene prices were fixed by periodical agreement with oil interests in a manner which eliminated speculation.

As for standard cloth, Mr. Pillay explained that till recently 70% of the provinces were indifferent to the scheme from its very inception. He denied the allegation that the Central Government were lukewarm because it might have affected their receipts from the taxes on profits. After describing the stages of the negotiations with the textile industry, Mr. Pillay said that notwithstanding the attitude of the Provincial Govenments, the Central Government in November 1942 booked orders for the supply of a certain quantity of cloth, and reached a settlement with the millowners last month under which the latter had agreed to place 50% of the manufacturing capacity for the production of standard cloth. Prices for standard cloth would be fixed by the Government and not by the industry. The Government would allocate quotas and supply standard cloth to the provinces participating in the scheme. A Standard Cloth Commissioner with H Q in Bombay had already been appointed. It was anticipated that 50,000,000 yds of cloth would be made available during the next 3 months.

Mr. *C. P Lawson* felt that agricultural statistics were mere conjectures and required better organization. He emphasized the imperative need of Government cutting out dealers where there was shortage on account of manipulation of dealers. He also stressed the need of publicity to eliminate uneconomic crops and methods of production. Lastly, he urged co-ordination of Central and Provincial activities in connexion with the food drive in all its aspects.

Mr. *H. M. Abdulla* was opposed to reimposition of control of wheat, which, he said, would again result in hoardings of wheat and black markets.

Mr. *Lalchand Navalrai* complained that the Sind Government had introduced rationing of foodstuffs without ensuring its supplies.

Mr *A N. Chattopadhyaya* felt that the "grow more food" campaign would not succeed because the peasantry had not taken to it. Unless the Legislature gave the peasantry the proprietory right to land, they would not work heart and soul. As for hoarding, the speaker wanted the Government to take over the distribution of foodgrains if they were anxious to put the hoarder out of court.

Moulvi Abdul Ghani claimed that defective control, misuse of powers by provincial officers and discrimination in allocation of transport were the main factors responsible for the present food situation in India He strongly objected to export of rice to Ceylon which caused great hardship in the rice consuming areas.

Mr. *M. A. Kazmi* spoke on "the gross mismanagement of the Food Department" and complained of the way in which permits were issued He maintained that the Food Department was meddling with the economic problems of the country

Dr. *P. N. Banerjee* suggested the removal of all impediments to the movement of crops from one part, Province or district of the country to another, the abolition of price-control, the cessation of exports, the bringing in of imports, prevention of hoarding, stoppage of profiteering and the affording of greater facilities for the transport of foodgrains by the railways

Replying on behalf of the Government, *Maj-Gen. E. Wood*, gave in detail the Government's scheme to resolve the food problem as it related to the procurement and distribution of food in the different parts of India He said, "In the matter of procuring normal surpluses, the Government considers that there should be a minimum of impediment and obstacle to the market where he can hope to get a reasonable price. It is at this point where the Central Government propose to acquire the surpluses and intend that there should be both a control over the price and control over both the movement and distribution." Referring to the exports of foodgrains he said that they were substantially lower than they were in past years and they were being further cut down, but to those who suggested total cessation of exports, he would say: "If we deny essential help to others what help will we in our turn receive in our difficulties." He repudiated the charge that the military were hoarding and said the stocks held by the Defence authorities could be counted in terms of weeks. The total annual defence requirements today 'plus' the annual exports of today were comparable in terms with the average of exports for the 3 years before the war Coming to the question of punishment for hoarders he expressed the hope that the new penalty of confiscation in conjunction with the existing penalties and of imprisonment and fine would be used in a salutary and effective manner. As regards the consumer-hoarder, whose panic buying results in the disappearance

of working margins and working balances from the retail shops and whose nervousness gives opportunity to unscrupulous traders, he said that every one of them should be brought to realize that it was he who was grinding the faces of the poor. Maj-Gen. Wood reminded the House of the results achieved by the abolition of price control on wheat, and said that not only the black market prices of wheat broke but the prices of bajra' and 'jowar' subsided and conditions in retail markets became easier. He claimed that certain stocks were progressively coming into circulation and that prices of different foodgrains were being brought into line with the normal relationships. Referring to comments made on the apparent lack of co-operation between the Provinces and the Centre, he assured the House that there was a very marked anxiety of allowing Provincial Governments to play their part in solving this all-India problem He said he was hopeful of bringing the divergencies of method into line and very shortly replace extemporized arrangements with permanent machinery that would fulfil the purposes the Central Government had in view. For this purpose he declared, a conference was being held with the Provinces during the week. Concluding he said: "We require and seek all the help that the public can give. When we have secured that help then this Government's firm determination to see to it that the peoples of India do not starve will not remain an expression of their resolution, but will become an established and assured fact."

Voting on Railway Budget Demands

23rd. FEBRUARY :—The possibility of railways running air services in India after the war was indicated by Sir *Edward Benthall*, War Transport Member, Government of India, in the course of the debate on problems of post-war reconstruction on a cut motion moved by *Sir Frederick James* on the Railway Budget in the Assembly today Sir Edward said. "It is true that the railways will experience competition from the air after the war, but I do not rule out the possibility of railways running their own air services."

Sir Frederick James, presenting what he termed a 4-point programme of post-war reconstruction for the railways, suggested rationalization of transport, the reconstruction and betterment of railways, a comprehensive housing programme for labour and future control and management of railways. He said it was difficult to anticipate post-war conditions, but there would be an enormous number of transport vehicles and trained drivers and mechanics available after the war. He, therefore, urged that provinces, in co-operation with the Centre, should now be asked to prepare extensive road construction and betterment schemes. Both roads and railways were national assets and they should grow together The first task, he concluded, was admittedly to win the war, but the responsibility of those now in power was not to neglect the future 'If plans and preparations are not ready, when peace comes, as it will with the collapse and utter defeat of the enemy, the result will be a 'flat spin.' Energies will be wasted, not used and chances of reconstruction lost."

Sir Edward Benthall, replying explained that it was not possible to tackle the whole problem of post-war reconstruction as it related to the railways at this time, without serious impediment to the war effort The war, he said, must be our first care, and we should not divert our energies. He admitted that the subject was one of vital practical importance to the railways, but made an emphatic assertion that the Government were not entirely asleep in this matter. The problem of reconstruction was a world problem and the Government of India could not settle it alone. However they had set up a Reconstruction Committee before which railway planning would also come up for consideration. Referring to rationalization of transport, he said that the Government would consider these and all other problems at the proper time For the present, he could say that there was a probability of maintaining priority control before the rail-road question became normal. Referring to the question of road development and the employment of demobilized technicians, he said that it was a subject of primary responsibility of the provinces. The Government, he concluded, were anxious to deal with post-war reconstruction problems and he would seek to obtain experts to advise them and to find funds for the purpose, as soon as it was expedient and possible.

The mover thereupon withdrew the cut motion

Wagon Allotment

Mr *K. C. Neogy* earlier moved a cut motion to discuss the wagon allotment and problems of distribution.

Mr. *N. M. Joshi*, supporting the cut motion, caused amusement when he declared that "the bangle industry in Ferozabad is not a war industry." He added that large numbers of workers depended on this ancient industry for their livelihood and arrangements should, therefore, be made for the provision of wagons to carry raw materials such as coal to Ferozabad in order to keep the industry alive. He also referred to unemployment among textile workers in some parts of Bombay presidency owing to shortage of wagons to carry coal.

Sir Edward Benthall, replying, remarked that in the bangle industry, Mr. Joshi had chosen a classic example of the transport problems which the railways faced. Though the bangle industry did not help the war his department recognized that failure to supply it with raw materials was bound to cause unemployment and distress. In the UK where total industrial effort was directed to winning the war and where the whole system was more highly organized, such industries would be wiped out and workers transferred to war production. That was not possible in India. But though the bangle industry must have a low priority, that did not mean the department had no sympathy with the men engaged in it, and he assured Mr. Joshi that industries like this were constantly before the department. Replying to Mr Neogy's demand for the establishment of an advisory committee of consumers to help the department in the allocation of wagons, Sir Edward thought that such a committee was unnecessary because the present system was working satisfactorily on the whole and was being constantly revised in the light of experience. When the motion was put to the vote, official benches, apparently absorbed in other matters, failed to say "No," and the Chair announced "Yes have it". The Opposition madly cheered the unexpected adoption of the motion. Government members were staried but looked on helplessly as the House passed on to the next motion.

Rates And Fares

Mr. *Lalchand Navalrai* then moved a cut motion to protest against the enhancement of rates and fares in the last few years. He argued that the increases were decided upon owing to deficits, and later on account of the war. But now that there was a large surplus it was reasonable to demand a reduction in them, particularly in 3rd and Inter class fares He questioned why a part of the surplus was being diverted to general revenues.

Sir Hugh Raper, replying on behalf of the Railway Department, asserted that the Government were conscious of overcrowding in the train The fact was that in spite of "Less Travel" campaigns there were more passengers wanting to travel than the railways could accommodate. Over-crowding would rather increase than diminish by a reduction in rates and fares Moreover, railways would have to cope with more goods In the case of 3rd class traffic the fares had increased by only 05 pies per mile from the pre-war level and certain concessions which were introduced in order to compete with road traffic were withdrawn when there was no justification left for keeping them in force. Deterioration in accommodation was inescapable but the Government were doing all to prevent it He held the view that by keeping the rates and fares up at least to some extent, more travellers and more goods would be avoided.

The motion when pressed to a division was lost by 38 votes to 20.

Grievances of Railway Servicemen

Mr. *Joshi*, by the last cut motion moved during the day, dwelt on the grievances of railwaymen regarding conditions of service. He objected to the scheme of dearness allowance under which railwaymen were classified according to localities and scale of pay. He wanted the abolition of these categories and urged a uniform flat rate of dearness allowance to be paid to workers with pay up to Rs. 200. He further complained that there was no relation between the rate of dearness allowance and cost of living and suggested that the creation of a machinery, such as was suggested by the Rau Committee, by which dearness allowance could be incresed automatically with an increase in the cost of living. As for the proposal to pay dearness allowance in kind and not in cash in order to prevent inflation of currency, Mr Joshi said that inflation was due to a wrong currency policy and not because dearness allowance was paid in cash. Industrial workers were small in number as compared to the total population of India and their payments would not affect the currency position appreciably, he claimed.

The debate was continued on the nextday, the 24th February, when *Sir Edward Benthall* announced that certain modifications in the scale of dearness allowance were under consideration, but he was not in a position to announce them today. Government's proposals would shortly be discussed with the representatives

of railwaymen and a decision would be announced. His department, he emphasized, was always anxious to meet the legitimate demands of workers and he had taken note of the views expressed in the House. At this assurance, Mr. *Joshi* withdrew his motion.

APPEALS OF RAILWAY EMPLOYERS

Complaints against the manner in which appeals of railway employees in the matter of service, emoluments, etc., were dealt with, were made by Mr. *Frank Anthony* on a cut motion which was supported by Sardar Sant Singh, Mr. Lalchand Navalrai and Mr. Joshi. Mr. Anthony expressed disappointment with the existing conditions and urged the establishment of a tribunal consisting of men with judicial experience to deal with appeals from railway employees.

Sir Edward Benthall, characterizing the motion as an attack on the impartiality of the senior railway staff, said that he came into the department as a sort of new broom looking for cobwebs to sweep away, but, as he had already publicly declared, he had found in the senior administrative staff not only justice but also humanity. From his examination of the situation, he was convinced that the existing system was sound and he did not believe that the provision of officers with judicial experience was desirable in the railway administration. The proper way was to make adequate regulations and trust the officers to carry them out. It was, of course the business of the department that officers had right ideas in the matter. He had heard complaints in the House, but, he should like to hear reference made to cases where men had been unjustly dismissed or superseded.

Mr. *Anthony* withdrew his motion.

RECOGNITION OF MUSLIM WORKERS' UNIONS

The House rejected by 42 votes to 12, Mr. *Md. Nauman's* cut motion urging the recognition of railway Muslim employees' unions and associations. He pointed out that in the peculiar conditions obtaining in India the establishment and development of communal unions were not only desirable but necessary in the interests of labour and the administration. The argument that membership of labour unions should not be based on religion was not sound because in Europe all labour organizations consisted of Christians. He complained that existing non-Muslim unions were influenced by the Congress and manned by Hindus.

Sir *Hugh Raper*, Transportation Member, Railway Board explaining Government's attitude said that under the rules Government servants' unions should first consist of a distinct class of Government employees and secondly, all Government employees of the same class must be eligible for membership. The question of recognition of associations of Government servants formed on a communal basis came under consideration many times but the 2nd rule referred to above definitely ruled out a communal union. Government felt that there was an excellent case for unions being organized of a particular class of workers such as railwaymen or Posts and Telegraphs' employees and so on.

Mr. *Joshi*, opposing the motion, challenged the statement that the existing trade unions were dominated by the Congress. There were no Hindu or Christian interests to be served in the trade union movement, he said. Muslim workers themselves had not shown a desire to have a separate organization. If members of the Muslim League Party took more interest in the Muslim workers, they would find that the economic interests of Muslim and Hindu workers were identical.

Mr. *Govind Deshmukh*, opposing the motion, referred to the fact that the dearness allowance which the existing trade unions fought for and secured was not meant for one community only but accrued to workmen of all communities.

Sir *Ziauddin Ahmed* referred to the growth of trade unions in other countries such as Holland, and explained that separate unions for Roman Catholics and other denominational groups were features of the intermediate stages of development and these different bodies ultimately merged into one national organization.

Sir Edward Benthall, replying, said that he recognized that the demand made in the cut motion was a natural consequence of the present policy of the League and he realized that they felt very strongly in this matter. The question of communal unions had been considered only in 1941 and Government had decided not to change the policy of non-recognition of communal unions. He declared that he was not convinced by the speeches from the Muslim League benches that the interests of Muslim employees has suffered. Figures of recruitment for instance showed that the Muslim percentage in the subordinate service was steadily increasing and nearing the proportion prescribed for them. As regards promotion, Mr. de Souza

had investigated complaints of Muslims having been wrongly passed over and had given his findings. He reiterated Government's opposition to communal unions whether they be Hindus, Muslims or Europeans, and at the same time he assured the House, that so long as he was Member-in-charge he would do his utmost to see that the settled policy of Government to secure a fair deal to Muslims was rigidly and faithfully carried out.

In the division, Government, Nationalist, European and some unattached members combined to throw out the motion.

Extension to Railway Employees

Seth Yusuf Abdulla Haroon moved a cut motion to discuss the extensions given to the employees in the railway services and said they adversely affected the promotion of junior officers, especially Muslims.

Sir Hugh Raper said that the number of those officers granted extensions was very small and the number of additional officers required was larger and therefore the extensions did not really affect promotions. The House was under the erroneous impression that junior grade officers had actually suffered or their claims to promotion had been ignored He further repudiated the charge that any discrimination was made against the Muslims.

The motion was lost without a division.

Quota for for Muslim Employees

Sir Ziauddin Ahmed, by another cut motion, wanted to discuss the need for fixing a quota for Muslims and other minorities in the selection grades in the railway services.

Sir Edward Benthall said that the cut motion raised a major question of policy. The policy of the Government was to avoid communal consideration at promotions from grade to grade, and selection was based on merit combined with seniority and this was strictly adhered to. He said the House would agree that the railways should be run as a commercial concern and the best men should come on top. The motion was rejected without a division.

The guillotine was applied at 5 o'clock and the demands were voted. The House adjourned.

Railway Supplementary Grants

25th. FEBRUARY :—The House disposed of demands for supplementary grants in respect of railways for 1942-43 including a block of demands totalling some Rs. 10¾ crores, out of which Mr. *T. S. Sankara Ayyar*, Financial Commissioner, explained that some Rs 3 crores would be covered by saving in non-voted portions of the grants The net amount would, therefore, be about Rs. 7½ crores attributable mainly to increased dearness allowance, to supply of foodgrains to employees at less than cost price, A. R. P. additional police for patrolling railway tracks and repairs to damage caused by floods, cyclones and sabotage.

Indian Railways Act

The Assembly passed *Sir Edward Benthall's* Bill to amend the Indian Railways Act as reported on by a select committee. The Bill deals with compensation to passengers involved in accidents, whether or not the accidents were the result of any wrongful act, neglect or default on the part of the railway administration such as would under the present law entitle a passenger to damages. The select committee raised the limit of a railway administration's liability in respect of any one person from Rs. 7,000 to Rs 10,000 and also omitted the provision which specifically debarred a passenger travelling without having with him a proper pass or ticket from having any right to compensation if involved in an accident.

Aligarh University Amend. Bill

The Assembly passed Mr. *J. D. Tyson's* (Secretary, Education, Health and Lands) Bill to amend the Aligarh Muslim University Act and *Sir Sultan Ahmed's* Bill to amend the Civil Procedure Code. Mr Tyson's Bill, inter alia sought to enable the university to modify its ordinances expeditiously and provide special courses of study for students who wish to join the fighting forces. The House then adjourned till 5 p.m. on February 27, when the annual budget was presented by the *Finance* Member.

FINANCIAL STATEMENT FOR 1943-44

27th FEBRUARY—Introducing the India Budget for 1943-44 in the Central Assembly yesterday, *Sir Jeremy Raisman*, Finance Member, disclosed a revenue deficit of Rs. 94.66 crores for the current year and a prospective deficit of Rs 60.28 crores next year on the basis of existing taxation.

The revised estimate of Defence expenditure in the current year on revenue account is placed at Rs. 189.75 crores and in 1943-44 at Rs. 182.81 crores.

Defence Capital Expenditure in the current year is Rs 49.14 crores and next year Rs. 16.85 crores. Capital expenditure is on account of aerodromes, industrial expansion, reciprocal aid, new construction for the RIN etc. HM's Government do not intend to pursue the proposal to modify the character of the present Financial Settlement on which the apportionment of India's defence expenditure between British and Indian revenues is based.

New taxation proposals include a central surcharge on taxes on income above Rs. 5,000 a year, increase in supertax on slabs between Rs. 25,000 and Rs. 3½ lakhs by a uniform half-anna in the rupee, in corporation tax to 2 annas in the rupee, further increases in postal and telephone rates and an excise duty on tobacco. The EPT is also to continue for another year.

The Finance Member urged the need for economy in personal expenditure. He said that during the war there was an obvious alternative to private spending which most powerfully assisted the war effort—investment in loans of the Government of India on the largest possible scale.

Announcing the proposals of the Government for dealing with the revenue deficit of Rs. 60.29 crores which, on the estimates presented is anticipated in the forthcoming financial year, the Finance Member said We have, in this context, to bear in mind that the current year will, it is estimated, close with a revenue deficit of Rs. 94.66 crores. By far the larger part of these sums has, of course, to be met by borrowing, but it is proposed to raise Rs 20 crores or approximately ⅓ of the prospective deficit, by new taxation

Last year we introduced into our system of direct taxation certain features which combined the methods of borrowing and taxation. Whilst such experience as we have had justifies the retention of these features, it is not proposed to endeavour to extend their scope further this year. The reasons are not far to seek. The incomes which come within the orbit of our income-tax system are those of a comparatively small fraction of the population, a section in which, moreover, the habit of investment in public loans is generally speaking already well established.

It is impossible to deal adequately with the problem of surplus purchasing power by methods which do not touch agricultural income at all and which are inapplicable to that vast body of industrial employees whose incomes fall below any taxable minimum which it is practicable to adopt. It is, therefore, clear that the National Savings Movement must cast its net far more widely and must secure the co-operation of large elements in the country who are not affected by direct taxation. Whilst action on these lines thus calls for unremitting attention and a constantly renewed endeavour, it will not affect our immediate proposals

To deal first with income-tax, there will be no change in regard to incomes up to Rs. 5,000. On the next slab of incomes from Rs. 5,000 to Rs. 10,000 the Central surcharge will be increased from 9 pies to 10 pies in the rupee, and on the slab from Rs. 10,000 to Rs. 15,000, it will be raised from 1! to 1t pies in the rupee : on the balance above Rs. 15,000, the surcharge will be increased from 15 to 20 pies in the rupee.

The effect of these changes will be to impose a surcharge amounting uniformly to 66% over the basic rates of income-tax. At the same time, there will be an increase in the super-tax on the slabs of income between Rs. 25,000 and Rs. 3½ lakhs . here the surcharge will be raised uniformly by half-an-anna in the rupee.

The resultant aggregate rates of super-tax including surcharge, will thus run from 2 annas in the rupee on the lowest slab to 10⅝ annas on the top slab.

Corporation tax will also be raised by half-an-anna. to a rate of 2 annas in the rupee.

The Excess Profits Tax will be extended to cover the profits of a further period of one year, but the rate of 66⅔% will remain unchanged. The additional revenue from these changes in direct taxation is estimated at Rs 7 crores in the coming year.

TAX ON TOBACCO

Turning now to indirect taxes. I would observe in the first place that it is proposed to continue for a further period of one year the levy of the emergency

surcharge of 1/5 over the schedule of Customs import duties which was imposed in the last Finance Act. We are still fully conscious of the disadvantages which would attach to a measure of this kind in normal times, but our import trade must remain subject for the time being to highly abnormal restrictions and emergency control, and in these circumstances, we cannot afford to forego such gain as accrues to our revenues from the additional duties. For the rest, we propose to introduce 2 new taxes, an excise duty on tobacco and an excise duty on a vegetable product.

The quantity of tobacco consumed in India is extremely large but, while imports have long been subject to Customs duties at luxury rates, the problem of the internal taxation has hitherto defied solution, thus, leaving notable gap in India's fiscal system

Tobacco's unique eligibility for taxation is universally acknowledged: it is not a necessity of life, its use is widespread and its consumption can be varied greatly, according to the means of the consumer. By various methods, ranging from a State monopoly to the licensing of vend, it is taxed in almost every other civilized country in the world, and experience in these countries shows its immense revenue possibilities.

The feasibility of systematic taxation on all-India basis was repeatedly examined by the Government of India, and in 1925 the Indian Taxation Inquiry Committee observed that "the considerations which led in other countries to the selection of tobacco as 2 of the principal subjects for consumption taxation apply with equal force to India"

The problem was last investigated in 1930-31 but no solution was found and Provinces were accordingly encouraged to derive what revenue they could from the control or taxation of retail vend and generally to develop this field of taxation in the hope that experience of the various schemes suggested might lead to the evolution of a practicable general excise system. Apart from the obvious administrative difficulties the two chief obstacles at that time were that the tax on tobacco was not then a Central prerogative and that even if the Provinces introduced identical legislation, there then existed no organization capable of operating the excise on an all-India basis. These obstacles no longer exist, as under the present Constitution Act the power to levy a tobacco excise has been clearly allocated to the Centre, and with the development of Central excises which has taken place in recent years we have organized the administrative machinery on lines which now enable us to tackle the operation of a new all-India excise In view, therefore, of the compelling need for additional revenue we have decided to introduce a Bill for the levy of excise duties on tobacco produced or manufactured in India, with the exception of the tobacco grown for the personal consumption of the grower or the members of his household.

Administrative difficulties undoubtedly remain but we have for some time now been engaged on a detailed survey of the field and we are convinced that with care and close attention they can be satisfactorily overcome. The system will be more fully described when consideration of the Bill is moved all I need say now is that it embraces all forms of tobacco, that the duty will become chargeable only after the tobacco has been cured and will in some cases be charged on the manufactured product, that the rules allow payment to be postponed till the tobacco is about to pass into manufacture or consumption, that the scale of duties has been so devised as to cause only a modest increase in retail prices: that full drawback will be granted on exports and that the cost of administration will form but a small percentage of the yield. On the limited data now available the yield of the tax cannot be precisely calculated but we estimate a gross return of Rs. 10 crores during the first year.

I may observe here that, in the course of our inquiries we have been impressed by the considerable scope which exists for the development of this important cash crop, both in extending the cultivation of and the internal and external trade in high quality leaf, and in generally improving production and marketing; and we propose to make an annual grant of Rs. 10 lakhs for the purpose of financing measures designed to bring about such improvement.

The proposed excise on a vegetable product, sometimes known as 'Vanaspati,' raises no administrative difficulties There has for a long time been public agitation against the frequent use of this product for adulterating natural ghee, but that is an aspect which is not directly relevant to our present purpose, which is to raise new revenue. The rate proposed for the new tax is Rs 7 per cwt, and the estimated yield is Rs. 140 lakhs.

We propose finally to make certain increases in our postal and telephone rates, which are estimated to yield approximately Rs. 120 lakhs. The changes are an increase in the inland letter rate for each tola after the 1st from half-an anna to 1 anna: an increase in the inland parcel rate for the 1st 40 tolas from 4 annas to 6 annas and an increase in the existing surcharge on telephone rentals from 1/6th to 1/3rd.

The total estimated yield from new taxation thus amounts to Rs 20.1 crores leaving a revenue deficit of Rs. 40.19 crores to be covered by our borrowing programme. When it is remembered that this is the estimated position for a period which will carry us to the end of 4½ years of war, it can, I submit, only be viewed with extreme satisfaction.

The Hon. Members will find, in the explanatory memorandum, a statement summarizing the position in regard to our public debt as it stood before the war and will stand on the basis of our present estimates at the end of Mar. 1944. These figures are explained in the memorandum which shows that, as compared with the last pre-war figure of Rs [illegible]85 crores, the total interest-bearing obligations of the Government of India will have increased by Rs. 86 crores by the end of the current year and by Rs. 146 crores by the end of next year. Practically the whole of this is in the form of internal rupee debt and the increase covers the estimated revenue deficit and capital expenditure on defence.

It will be seen that excluding the capital of Railways and of Posts and Telegraphs certain loans and advances, investments and cash, the so-called deadweight debt at the end of 1943-44, is estimated at no more than Rs 317 crores. Even against this we shall hold, in addition to a vast amount of Central property, a quantity of partially remunerative assets. As against the modest net annual liabilities which the service of this debt will impose, we have in recent years called into being important new sources of revenue, which cannot fail, even after purely war-time features have been discarded, to contribute powerfully to the strength of the budgetary position.

In the consciousness of this intrinsic strength, India can face the future with confidence and can play her part among the United Nations. Immediately ahead lies the stage of final effort which alone can lead to the consummation of victory, a stage which can be shortened not by eager hopes but by unremitting endeavour. Beyond this lies the stage of international co-operation in the great tasks of reconstruction and in laying the foundations of a peace that can be maintained, and here too India will have a part no less significant than in the winning of victory.

BUDGET SPEECH

The following is a summary of the Finance Member's Budget speech :—

Against an expected deficit of Rs 17.27 lakhs the actual deficit turned out to be only Rs. 12.69 lakhs chiefly due to improved revenue.

REVISED ESTIMATES 1942-43—REVENUE

Revenue is estimated to show an improvement of Rs. 26.73 lakhs, while expenditure is expected to increase by Rs. 86.37 lakhs chiefly on account of Defence expenditure. Deficit in the current year is expected to increase from Rs 35.97 lakhs to Rs. 94.96 lakhs. Mainly due to the war in the Pacific a shrinkage of Rs. 4.35 lakhs in customs revenue is expected which is more than offset by Rs 14 crores improvement under Taxes on Income and Rs 1½ crores under Salt. Provincial share of divisible pool of incometax will be approximately Rs. 10.55 crores excluding arrears.

Surplus profits of the Reserve Bank paid over to Government have amounted to Rs 3.24 lakhs as compared with Rs 2.62 lakhs originally estimated. Posts and Telegraphs Department is expected to add Rs. 1.35 lakhs more in current year, while Railway contribution to General Revenues remains unaltered at Rs. 20.13 lakhs.

EXPENDITURE—DEFENCE SERVICES

Details of revised estimate of Defence expenditure for 1942-43 amounting to Rs. 189,75 lakhs are as follows :—

REVENUE PORTION

		Lakhs of Rs.
(1)	Basic normal budget	36.77
(2)	Effect of rise in prices on (1)	8.61
(3)	India's war measures	135.96
(4)	Non-effective charges	8.41
		189.75

Capital portion

		Lakhs of Rs.
(1)	Air Forces, Aerodromes	18.37
(2)	Capital outlay on industrial expansion	... 12.00
(3)	Reciprocal aid—Aerodromes	12.75
(4)	New construction for the RIN	. 4.72
(5)	Capital outlay on Telecom-Munications Scheme	1.30
		49.14

It became clear in the current year that substantial increases in the 3 arms of the Defence Services beyond those envisaged in the last Budget Speech were called for to protect India against fresh dangers to which the course of war had exposed her. By the middle of the year recruits at the rate of about 70,000 per month were enlisted. For equipping additional troops India is obtaining her full share of the greatly increased production of the United Nations. Land Forces in India during 1943-44 are expected to reach a stage of reasonable adequacy to meet all likely demands for the defence of India.

Existing financial settlement which has worked very well in an atmosphere of mutual cordiality and trust was concluded at a time when no major expansions in land, sea and air forces or our supply activities were in sight. Measures of expansion were then inaugurated and it soon became obvious that all expansions in the land forces in India must be considered as one joint war measure and that the cost thereof should be divided as follows :—

(a) India should pay for the raising, training and equipping "from Indian resources" of all land forces raised in India for their maintenance as long as they stayed in the country and were available for the local defence of India. When they left for overseas the cost of India of raising and training them and also of equipping them would be recovered from HMs. Government who would assume all further liability for them.

(b) All imported equipment and stores for such expansion measures of the land forces from whatever source (with a few exceptions) would be provided free by HMs Government.

The allocation of the cost of expansion of the RIN raised no special problem. As regards the Air Forces in India the cost of major expansion, like that of the land forces, was a joint war measure. The incidence of expenditure on 2 kinds of activities called for special attention in this connexion, viz, expansion of the Supply Department's activities and reciprocal Lease-Lend aid to American Forces in India. Capital expenditure was being incurred by HMs Government under the former, while a good deal of the industrial development taking place under the expansion schemes would be to the permanent advantage of India It was to the mutual interest of both parties that the allocation of capital expenditure on supply measures should be reviewed.

The Finance Member proceeded to England to discuss these and other major aspects of the Financial Settlement. While HMs Government pressed for a revision the Government of India's contention was that the present Settlement should not be abandoned. Sir Jeremy Raisman announced that "the Government of India have been informed that HMs Government do not intend to pursue the proposal to modify the character of the present Financial Settlement. The Settlement therefore stands."

As regards allocation of cost of Air Force expansion India's liability will relate only to the amount of expenditure actually brought to account by India, viz, the capital outlay incurred in India on the provision of airfields and other ground and operational facilities and the recurring costs of the squadrons and connected services while employed in India. As regards Supply measures it is proposed that India should provide ½ of the capital required and own all the assets already created or to be created.

In the matter of Reciprocal Lease-Lend aid to America the possibility of entering into a direct Mutual Aid Agreement with the USA is at present being considered. In the meantime Reciprocal Lease-Lend has been shown in the Defence Estimates as a charge to Indian revenues. At the same time credit has been taken in the same estimates for all receipts from the sale of Lease-Lend supplies to the public Provincial Governments, Railways and Government Departments run on commercial or quasi-commercial lines. Accurate assessment of the cost of Reci-

procal Aid to the U S Forces in India is not possible , the total expenditure under this head has been shown as Rs. 16.70 crores in 1942-43 and Rs 8.04 crores in 1943-44.

CIVIL EXPENDITURE

Neglecting certain accounting adjustments on account of premia on War Risks Insurance Funds, civil expenditure in the current year has increased by Rs. 14½ crores. This is attributable in the main to causes connected with the war. An important aspect of this is the grant of increased dearness allowances to Central Government employees ; this is estimated to amount to Rs. 170 lakhs in a full year (excluding Posts and Telegraphs, Railways and Defence Services). Measures connected with helping evacuees are expected to cost Rs. 100 lakhs. The abnormal conditions created in the civil life of the country since August last have rendered it necessary to help the Provinces to strengthen their police forces at an estimated cost of Rs. 100 lakhs. The Supply Department has continued to expand. The value of contracts placed by its Purchase Branch from the outbreak of the war up to Dec 31, 1942 amounted to Rs. 461.5 crores.

FINANCIAL YEAR 1943-44 : REVENUE

Total revenue estimates for 1943-44 amount to Rs. 199.30 crores as compared with Rs. 178.76 crores in the revised estimates for the current year —Customs are expected to yield Rs 30 crores as against Rs. 31 crores in the current year. An increase of Rs. 84 lakhs is expected under Central Excise Duties chiefly on account of sugar. The yield under Corporation Tax and other taxes on income, including EPT is expected to better by Rs. 17 crores, taking into account the trend of recent collections. EPT alone is expected to yield Rs. 40 crores. Rs. 27.10 crores are allowed as contribution from the Railway to the General revenues. Provincial share of divisible pool of income-tax is estimated to touch the record figure of Rs. 12.1[illegible] crores.

REDUCTION IN DEFENCE EXPENDITURE

The budget estimates of Defence Expenditure for 1943-44 amount to Rs 182.81 crores under revenue and Rs. 16.45 crores under capital, details being as under :—

REVENUE PORTION

		Crores of Rs.
(1)	Basic normal budget ...	36 77
(2)	Effect of rise in prices	10 62
(3)	India's war measures	127 01
(4)	Non-effective charges	8.41
		182 81

CAPITAL PORTION

(1)	Air Norce—Aerodrome .. .	2 52
(2)	Capital outlay on industrial expansion . ..	4 00
(3)	Reciprocal Aid—aerodromes .	2 85
(4)	New construction for R I N. ..	3 28
(5)	Capital outlay of Telecommunications sche	4.20
		16 85

For the first time since the war began, the estimates envisage a decrease in the Defence budget, as compared with the revised, so far as expenditure charged to revenue is concerned. Referring to this phenomenon, the Finance Member stated : "Although it would be unsafe to conclude from this that India has now reached the peak of her own war expenditure, it is legitimate to hope that the stage of heavy additions is past."

REDUCTION IN CIVIL EXPENDITURE

Civil expenditure estimates also show a reduction of Rs 7 crores as compared with the revised estimates for the current year. Of this about Rs. 4½ crores are accounted for by smaller receipts from the Factories War Risks Insurance Scheme which figure as expenditure on transfer to the relevant fund. A reduction of Rs. 2½ crores is anticipated in Civil Defence expenditure. There is a slight increase under interest which is explained by increased interest charges payable on loans raised in 1942-43 and proposed to be raised in 1943-44.

FINANCIAL MEASURES FOR TACKLING FOOD PROBLEM

It is conjectured that the scale of purchases of foodgrains by the Food Department in 1943-44 will be Rs. 75 crores. This will be financed by the Central Government in the first instance and later recovered from Provincial Governments on whose behalf purchases are made.

The Government of India are determined to spare no effort to increase the production of essential food commodities and are anxious that at this stage no scheme which affords promise of making an early and substantial contribution to this end should be excluded from consideration on purely financial grounds," stated the Finance Member. "Pending a decision on the specific measures to be taken, we have provided in the budget a round sum of Rs. 50 lakhs, but we would limit our expenditure to that figure if further outlay were to offer a greatly enhanced prospect of achieving our object."

THE FINANCIAL POSITION

The Financial position for the coming year can be summarized as follows:—

	In crores of Rs.
Civil estimates	76.78
Defence services	182.81
Total expenditure estimate	259.59
Total revenue at the existing level of sanction	199.30
Prospecting deficit	60.29

WAYS AND MEANS

Dealing with the ways and means position, the Finance Member stated that total borrowings in the 7 months July 1942- January 1943, averaged Rs 19 crores a month. Subscriptions to the Defence Loans from February 1 1942 to January 31, 1943 amounted to Rs. 34½ crores, raising the total proceeds to Rs 145 crores since the Defence Loans were first issued in June 1940 In addition, there was a steady investment of new money in the rupee counterparts of the repatriated Sterling loans. Total investments of Defence Loans counterparts and certain provincial loans (raised to repay a part of the debt due to the Centre) aggregated to Rs. 93 crores over the 12 months and to Rs 267½ crores since the beginning of the war. "Apart from the greatly increased war expenditure in India", said the Finance Member, "the general economic situation resulting from the war conditions makes it imperative for every citizen to defer private expenditure to the utmost of his capacity in the common interest and to transfer the investible surplus to Government in the form of loans".

STERLING DEBT REPATRIATION

The necessary sterling required to repatriate the 2½% and 3% undated sterling loans was provided with ease by the Reserve Bank No counterparts were created this time and the entire rupee finance was raised in the first instance by means of 'ad hoc' treasury bills issued in favour of the Reserve Bank. Subsequently stray lots of the vested stocks as well as the market purchases of the 3½% stock were financed from the balances. For the last and final stage of redeeming £55½ million of the 3½% stock the rupee finance was again in the form of 'ad hoc' treasury bills. "That some £300 million of sterling debt should have been repatriated since the outbreak of the war with so little disturbance to the money market," observed the Finance Member, "is a consummation for which the country may well feel gratified" The balance of sterling stock, not yet redeemed as falling beyond the scope of the vesting orders, amounted to £13 million.

After referring to the funding of the Railway Annuities by the payment of a lump sum of £30 million to H M.'s Government, the vesting of Railway Debenture Stocks of the face value of £29 million and the giving of one year's notice for the redemption of three other such stocks, the Finance Member observed: "And thus India has completed the transition from a debtor to a creditor country and extinguished within the brief space of about three years accumulations over decades of its public indebtedness to the United Kingdom."

Of the Rs 400 crores raised so far for financing the various repatriation and funding operations only Rs. 100 crores may be regarded as being still in the form of Central Bank finance.

UTILIZATION OF STERLING BALANCES

The future utilization of sterling balances has engaged the continuous attention of the Government of India. With the virtual cessation of payments on interest account to external bond holders, which has resulted from the operation of the sterling debt repatriation schemes, the only substantial liability still remaining on account of which sterling remittances would normally be necessary will be payments on account of sterling pensions, family pensions and provident funds. It is estimated that these charges in the period that lies ahead will be from £5 to £6 million a year. The Government of India have accordingly under consideration a scheme for making advance provision for the requisite sterling remittance wherewith to meet future payments in respect of these liabilities on the lines of the arrangements recently made for Sterling Railway Annuities. It is not contemplated that the rights of any class of Government servants would be affected or that the liability to pensioners should be transferred from the Government of India. The Government of India are also considering a proposal that something in the nature of a Reconstruction Fund should be constituted to provide for the financing of a programme of post-war reconstruction including the rehabilitation and re-equipment of industry. In the post-war period India will have heavy demands for imported machinery and plant to equip her greatly expanded industrial system and it will be necessary to proceed on some orderly programme to purchases from overseas. The existence of a Reconstruction Fund with a concerted programme of requirements would enable India to go ahead with post-war reconstruction with minimum delay.

The Finance Member dealt in detail with the problem of inflation and referred to certain postulates which should be borne in mind in considering this problem. These are :

(1) India's war effort has not yet reached the ceiling of the maximum utilization of available man-power and resources ; and public expenditure still continues to promote this end.

(2) In a common war effort the usual methods of settling international indebtedness in goods and services are not available. It is not also possible to employ the usual checks to adjust international trade relations.

(3) Since disbursements should be made in Indian currency, the question of how war expenditure is allotted is irrelevant so far as the inflation aspect of the problem is concerned.

(4) Both the UK and the Government of India will be in a position to pursue sound financial policies and therefore there is no the remotest risk of inflation of the nature and on the scale which occurred in some of the countries which suffered utter defeat in the last war.

On the value of sterling balances he said : "Apart from their being available as a reserve wherewith to pay for the capital goods which the UK will be in a position to supply for India's industrial expansion and the replacement of machinery after the strain which will have been put on it during the period of the war, India's balances should enable her to trade as one of the principal commercial countries of the world and play a helpful part in building up a system of international trade such as would ensure a fair market for goods of export."

SOME MISCONCEPTIONS CLEARED

The Finance Member then cleared certain prevalent misconceptions on the subject of inflation namely,

1. Failure to distinguish between pure credit inflation and the temporary situation in which an increase in the volume of purchasing power impinges for a time on a stationary or diminishing volume of consumable goods. "Here in India," he said, "the Government has at no time resorted to credit inflation. The easy expedient of borrowing from the Reserve Bank has not been adopted for making up the revenue deficits of government budgets or for augmenting governmental balances for the purpose of meeting disbursements."

2. The misconception that a general rise in prices must mean inflation and that it is caused by avoidable expansion of currency. "This notion," according to the Finance Member, "is the result of confusing cause and effect and misinterpreting the elementary fact that all the expansion and intensification of Government's war activities involves cash payments to an ever-widening circle of recipients in return for labour and raw material or services."

The Finance Member explained thar "not all the Government disbursement on wars purposes necessarily or proportionately contribute to a rise in prices." He further stated

that "in assessing the significance of a rise in prices it is also necessary to remind ourselves that we did not start from an optimum price level and that the prices of many essential articles, particularly agricultural commodities, had been by general consent unduly depressed for years prior to the outbreak of hostilities and the problem had been not how to keep them from rising but how to stimulate them." Continuing he said that there was urgent need for economy in personal expenditure to check the upward trend of prices to conserve the supply of scarce materials for war purposes and to save and spend in the post-war period when increased spending would be a valuable safeguard against falling prices. During war itself, there was an alternative to private spending, viz, investment in Government loans, which would greatly reduce the risks attaching to the increase in the volume of purchasing power. A free flow of savings into Government loans will not only greatly ease the strain on Government finances, but it reduces competition for the greatly shrunken volume of consumers' goods which is all that is now available. "Our sheet-anchor in the present emergency, the Finance Member emphasized, must be more and more borrowing."

Changes in Railway Convention

2nd. MARCH :—The Assembly to-day agreed to *Sir Edward Benthall's* resolution recommending certain interim changes (as war-time arrangement), in the Convention of 1924, separating Railway Finance from General Finance.

The changes proposed are :—(1) for the year 1942-43 a sum of Rs. 2,35,00,000 shall be paid to General Revenues over and above the current and arrear contribution due under the Convention. (2) from April, 1943, so much of the Convention as provides for the contribution and allocation of surpluses to General Revenues shall cease to be in force; (3) for the year 1943-44 the surplus on commercial lines shall be utilized to repay any outstanding loan from the Depreciation Fund and hereafter be divided 25% to the Railway Reserve and 75% to General Revenues, the loss if any on strategic lines being recovered from General Revenues, and (4) for subsequent years, and until a new Convention is adopted by the Assembly, the allocation of the surplus on commercial lines between the Railway Reserve and General Revenues shall be decided each year on consideration of the needs of the Railways and General Revenues, the loss if any, on strategic lines being recovered from General Revenues.

Sir Ziauddin Ahmed and Mr *Govind Deshmukh* moved amendments urging the appointment of a committee of the House to examine the whole question, Mr *Deshmukh* suggesting that the committee should be directed to report on or before Aug. 31. The amendments were supported by Mr Md. *Nauman*, Mr. *Lalchand Navalrai*, Mr. *T. T. Krishnamachari*, *Pandit Maitra*, Mr. *Jamnadas Mehta*, Mr. *Kunzru* and Mr. *A. N. Chattopadhyaya*, all of whom commented on the unfairness of asking the House to agree, without proper examination of the subject previously, to the changes proposed in the Convention. *Sir Henry Richardson*, Leader of the European Group said that his group were not against a committee of the House but against having it at this juncture. He asked for an expert examination of the whole subject first.

Sir Edward Benthall, replying, declared that after a careful examination of the subject by technical experts it was the conclusion arrived at by the Department that neither the rates of contribution to the Depreciation Fund nor the balance in it were excessive. He said that he proposed to circulate to members a paper dealing with the subject. He suggested that the resolution should be passed in order to enable the Railway and the General Budget to be got through. He thought the difference disclosed in the course of the debate was not one of what should be done but whether it should be done by an ad hoc committee of the House of the Standing Finance Committee for Railways. Provided the resolution carried the support of the movers of the amendments, Sir Edward said he would agree to a committee of the House on the lines proposed in the amendments being set up to discuss the question. He would give early consideration to the procedure of setting up that committee and to the scope of its functions.

The amendments were withdrawn and the original resolution was adopted.

Penal Cod Amend. Bill

The House passed *Sir Jeremy Raisman's* Bill to amend the Indian Penal Code and the Currency Ordinance so as to prohibit photo-prints or other re-productions of currency notes and bank notes even though these be done for innocent purposes by advertisers and the like.

COFFEE MARKET AMEND. BILL

Mr. *T. S. Pillai's* Bill to amend the Coffee Market Expansion Act so as to give effect to certain recommendations of the 3rd. Coffee Control Conference was passed.

INDIAN ARMY AMEND. BILL

Mr. *C. M. Trivedi*, Secretary of the War Department moved a Bill to amend the Indian Army Act to provide for the establishment of military prisons. Discussion had not concluded when the House rose till the next day.

RECIPROCITY BILL

3rd. MARCH :—The Assembly today passed Mr *Govind Deshmukh's* Reciprocity Bill providing that persons domiciled in any British possession shall be entitled only to such rights and privileges as regards entry, travel, residence, acquisition, holding and disposal of property, educational facilities, franchise, the holding of public office, or the carrying on of any occupation, business, trade or profession in British India as are accorded by the law or administration of such possession to persons of Indian origin.

GENERAL DISCUSSION OF BUDGET

5th. MARCH :—Strong support for the Budget proposals was expressed by Sir *Henry Richardson*, leader of the European group, opening the general debate on the Budget today. "We of this group", he said, "support the proposals and if we have any general criticism of them at all, it is that the country might reasonably have been called on to make even greater sacrifices Come what may we are determined to do everything in our power to bring about victory at the earliest possible date and whatever sacrifice that determination may involve, we are prepared to make it." He said that whilst it might be claimed that this budget did meet India's war requirements it could not be said to be in any sense comparable to war-time budgets which had to be shouldered by the people of other belligerent countries It might be urged that this was as much as India could afford but he should hesitate to agree with such an opinion. He did not deny that conditions differed in this country from those which obtained in other countries and this might be advanced as an argument against a more ruthless type of war budget In this connexion Sir Henry directed the attention of the House to the enormous profits to some which war production had brought. If this point was examined he ventured to assert that there was ample justification for a larger measure of sacrifice by all those to whom the war had brought almost unparalleled benefits. Referring to indirect taxation, the speaker considered the Finance Member's choice of tobacco and vegetable product as satisfactory. On the subject of dearness allowance Sir Henry said: "As a business man, I know what the cost of these dearness allowances must mean especially when we add the cost of providing foodstuffs to labour below the purchase price. Also owing to inefficient provincial control such supplies have more often than not, to be purchased in a more or less black market The amounts involved are growing greater and greater and the total of all this expenditure amongst commerce and industry in the country as a whole must by now be enormous. The Finance Member knows very well, that this expenditure is a revenue charge in company balance sheets and consequently in the cases of all those companies which are liable to pay EPT the actual result is that Government itself is paying the greater portion of these dearness allowances and cost of foodstuffs and the revenue of the country is suffering to the same extent. From all points of view, therefore, we hope that this problem of food supply is being tackled with all the firmness and energy which the situation calls for"

Referring to the problem of agricultural indebtedness, the speaker asked what was being done for the permanent benefit of the Indian cultivators who formed by far the largest portion of the population of this sub-continent and on whose efforts at this time the success or failure of the grow more food campaign so much depended It seemed to his group that within all the various measures for the control, supply and distribution of foodstuffs there lay the opportunity not only to diminish this burden of agricultural indebtedness, but to do much else besides His party believed that the Government had now the chance to sow the seeds of future benefit by framing a comprehensive policy of co-ordination in matters such as crop planning, crop prices, co-operative societies and the many other inter-connected agricultural problems On the subject of the financial settlement between Britain and India, the speaker said that "the Finance Member's

visit to England last summer has been amply justified and none of the gloomy forebodings of which we heard at that time have come to pass. Rather, should we express to him our grateful thanks for the exceedingly able manner in which he must have handled India's case in his negotiations to have succeeded in obtaining from HMG a continuance of the very favourable terms on which military expenditure is apportioned between the 2 countries.'

Dr. *P. N. Bannerjee*, Leader of the Nationalist Party, criticized the new taxes on tobacco and vegetable ghee. It must be remembered, he said, that the poor artisan, cultivator and industrial workers looked on smoking as something to soothe and stimulate him after his hard work. "For people engaged in intellectual work," said Dr Bannerji, "smoking is a poison. (laughter and cries of no, no). Poison of the worse sort. but for these hard-working people it is something like medicine, and I therefore object to this item of taxation." He also objected to the tax on vegetable ghee because it taxed the poorer sections of the people. Criticising the new phrase "joint war measures", Dr. Banerji said the House did not know how much expenditure was covered by the phrase and was placed on India's shoulders. India was the base for the United Nations' war effort in the East and the Financial Settlement should not therefore be interpreted as though whatever was spent in India must be borne by India. As regards the Reconstruction Fund, he asked what would be the types of equipment to be rehabilitated and what type of equipment would be purchased, whether it would be purchased in the cheapest market or would India be compelled to buy it in England where the money lay.

Sir Ziauddin Ahmed urged the advisability of enquiries into a direct mutual-aid agreement with U.S.A. in order to get the requirement of India's industry from that country. He said the time had come to link up the currencies of the United Nations in order to ensure stability, and asked the Government of India to give a lead by taking up these matters with other members of the United Nations. As regards the disposal of India's accumulated balances he said, the proposal for a reserve for annuities, persions and liabilities etc. was exceedingly unpopular. He inferred that the present Government were thinking of quitting India leaving the country to an administration on which they would not place any reliance regarding these matters. He asked why present day India should suffer for future liabilities or future generations. The best method of dealing with these balances was to treat them as a floating reserve."

Mr *Jamnadas Mehta* declared that the Budget taxed every article that the poor man needed—salt, matches, sugar, the postcard and now tobacco and vegetable ghee. The industrial worker whom the Finance Member praised but left to starve had been given a 10% dearness allowance against an actual dearness which was reflected in the 150% rise in prices. As regards the sterling balances, Mr. Mehta asked: "Have you heard of another instance in which you get the goods and you keep with you the money which you are supposed to pay for those goods?" Mr Mehta uttered a strong note of warning against hasty or ill considered reconstruction plans and against dissipation of sterling balances. He referred in particular to what happened after the last war when the Government of Bombay for instance indulged in development programmes for which the people were still paying Rs 37 lakhs as interest charges.

Mr *Mohd Nauman*, referring to the Financial Settlement between England and India, said that in any country but India a settlement of such vast dimension could not have been negotiated and arrived at behind the back of the Legislature. Hardly less 'sordid," in his opinion, was the story of the sterling balances. While the Dominion Governments has refused to trade *except* for payment in gold, the Government of India had accepted without a prick of conscience payments in sterling. He suspected that India was being placed in a position in which she could buy from England only and lose her sterling balance and become England's dumping ground. In this respect the Government ought to have acted with more responsibility. Mr Nauman endorsed the new taxation proposals and said the choice was quite satisfactory.

Haji Ismail doubted if the people could bear any further taxation while Khan Bahadur Shahban drew the attention of the Government to the dangers of inflation. He advocated the revaluation of the Reserve Bank gold in India.

Mr *Lalchand Navalrai* condemned the new taxation and said that if Rs. 40 crores could be borrowed, why not Rs. 20 crores more?

Mr *Krishnamachari* urged that direct negotiations with America for a Lease-Lend arrangement should be taken in hand immediately. The Government seemed to be passively if not actively engaged in credit inflation policy.

Mr. *Hossainbhai Laljee* could not see any justification for the presumption that there would be less defence expenditure this year. He characterized the new taxes as a heavy burden on the already heavily taxed people of India, and he could see no justification at all for taxing tobacco 'which provided solace to many a poorman.

Sir Jeremy Raisman, replying on the debate, dealt first with the question put to him as to whether the Government of India in agreeing to the financial settlement with HMG. had kept in mind India's financial capacity His answer was emphatically in the affirmative By no other criterion could this settlement be justified There was no argument which would allot to India so small a share of the cost of defending the country against genuine and imminent danger There was no logical criterion that would lead to that result except the estimated inability of India to make a larger contribution The Government of India had been fully and constantly conscious of that factor in dealing with the matter and he could conscientiously say that no point that could possibly have been made or gained on behalf of India had been overlooked. He asked the House to take it from him that if there was any disadvantage arising from India's political status in relation to HMG, it had led to the paradoxical position that India had done better than she would otherwise have done. In the desire to avoid exploiting the political position, India had actually derived an advantage

In reply to Mr Jamnadas Mehta's interruption expressing doubt about this, the Finance Member said that he could only give the House his sincere opinion and judgment on the matter It was open to any member to question that. These matters had been dealt with not merely by himself but by the whole Government of India—a Government which contained a number of Indians who were just as anxious to see justice done to India as anybody outside.

Mr. *K C. Neogy* - "Were they unanimous?

The *Finance Member* replied that the questioner was too experienced to expect an answer to that question

Mr. *Neogy* suggested that if it was in order to refer to particular members of the Government of India, it might also be in order to make clear whether they were unanimous.

Sir Jeremy proceeded to reiterate that the Government of India were fully satisfied in regard to the arrangements which he had placed before the House. Referring to the criticisms of the taxation proposals he said that he was surprised to find how many members there still were who thought that revenue could be raised, or financial deficits dealt with by measures which would affect nobody, neither the poor nor the middle class nor trade or industry—measures, which would not only avoid hitting the necessities of life but also conventional necessities or even luxuries (laughter) He claimed that consistently with the responsibilities which lay on him, he had pursued a policy which was as favourable to the poor man as could possibly be expected in these abnormal times. Dealing with sterling balance, Sir Jeremy pointed out that the treatment of these balances, except to the extent to which they could be dealt with by repatriation, was essentially a post-war problem and it was not possible for him to foresee the exact circumstances in which we would have to deal with this matter after the war. He would, however, remind the House that the sterling balances arose not only from goods exported out of the country or services rendered in the theatres of war, but that, in so far as under the financial settlement with HMG the whole cost of the defence of India was not borne by India, the remainder of the cost of defending India and the measures taken in India became part of sterling balances.

Mr. *Md Nauman* · "What about other Dominions ?"

The *Finance Member* explained that all expenditure incurred by the Dominions in their own territory was borne by the Dominions and also the cost of troops sent overseas. In the case of Canada, the arrangements were now practically Lease-Lend in character. So that, if the hon member was trying to get examples from the Dominions in support of the case that the financial settlement was not in India's favour, he would get a dusty answer Regarding criticism of the Pensions Scheme he pointed out that it was purely a financial proposal and it meant that sterling which could not be utilized now was invested so that it would yield a return when it could be utilized. The scheme did not arise from any fear of repudiation, or from any desire at this moment to provide any additional safeguard for any class of officials Actually the proceeds of the settlement would again be at the disposal of the Government of India and no other authority. The position in that respect would remain unchanged, the liability would remain with the

Government of India ; and the amounts would come into the hands of the Government of India Speaking of the Reconstruction Fund he said that it was premature to disparage a scheme of that kind which was capable of being of the utmost value to India. The statement that the scheme was not for the reconstruction of India but for the reconstruction of British industry was a sample of suspicion and prejudice imported into the discussion of these matters. He could not foresee the exact international and currency arrangements as they would be after the war ; but to the extent that goods required for India's reconstruction and re-equipment were available in Britain, he saw no reason why the fact that they would be obtained from Britain should be regarded as a disadvantage. It was obvious that there would be a situation of great difficulty for some time after the war ; goods would be scarce and it would be difficult to obtain them

Sir Cowasji Jehangir interrupting pointed out that criticism was that India would be limited to buying only from England. What was the Finance Member's reply to that?

Sir Jeremy said he could not give a categorical answer because for a time after the war there would obviously be conditions of control and restrictions such as there were during the war.

Sir Cowasji.— "If the conditions are favourable, is there anything contemplated in the Fund whereby India will be prevented from buying say from America?"

Sir Jeremy :—"Certainly not, as far as I am aware. I cannot foresee the precise conditions in which these funds will be employed, but I can state categorically that it is not intended as far as we are concerned to limit the object of the Fund in any way. The fact however remains that they do consist of sterling balances and at present the sterling area is one and the dollar area is another and the relation between the two is a matter which will be settled as a postwar problem Concluding, the Finance Member expressed his belief that it would be entirely to India's advantage to look at the problem from the point of view of international co-operation. We had to remember that India was only a part of the world—a world which was getting more and more intimately linked, each part finding it more and more impossible to pursue an insolated policy. If there was one thing which the war was teaching them, it was the impossibility of any country living alone in its own world India would be dependent on the resources of great countries after the war in order to build up her productive resources. She would not be able to improve her standard without the closest co-operation and assistance from more powerful and better developed countries, and therefore, these problems must be looked at entirely from the point of view of co-operation in international matters. The Assembly at this stage adjourned till the 8th March

VOTING ON BUDGET DEMAND

8th. MARCH.—Discussing cut motions on the Budget, the Assembly today rejected without a division *Sardar Sant Singh's* motion to discuss "the repressive policy of the Government." Denouncing the Government for the measures adopted for putting down the so called rebellion in the country the mover said that the liberty of the people was being suppressed ruthlessly. Mr *Lalchand Navalrai* asked how long the "tug of war" would go on between those bent upon creating internal trouble and the Government determined to suppress their activities. Dr. *P. N. Banerjee* referred to the treatment meted out to 2 members of the Central Assembly, namely, Mr. Kailash Behari and Mr John The former, who had ceased to belong to the Congress Party, had been detained in order "to prevent him from relating the happenings in Bihar in the September session of the Assembly" and the latter "was let off from detention in such a condition that 4 days later he expired" If such a policy continued, Dr. Banerjee pointed out, the Government would have no friend left. Mr. *A. N. Dam* appealed to the Government, by a friendly approach, to usher in a new era of peace and goodwill in the country. Mr *Jamnadas Mehta* emphasized that in wartime certain restrictions on the activities of the public were inevitable and these must be voluntarily and willingly suffered. If that was called repression he did not agree with that description. Anything done to prevent gossip mongering and spreading of false rumours or prevent impairment of public morale could not be called repression nor could he concede that any Indian should be allowed to do anything to make the path of the aggressor easier. Action taken against misguided youths and others engaged in activities of this kind must be considered legitimate Referring to the political deadlock, the speaker said that it could not be made an excuse for anti-war activities. He deprecated loose talk in the same breath of Nazi and British

methods as if both were comparable Mr Mehta however, gave instances in which he alleged the innocent had suffered and in which Sir Sultan Ahmed's (Law Member) promise given to the House in this respect had not been honoured The Government, he complained, had refused even to make inquiries into allegations of this kind.

Sir Reginald Maxwell, Home member, replying to Dr. Banerjee's references to individual instances, reminded the House that most of the action taken in regard to the disturbances had been taken, and must necessarily have been taken, by provincial Governments on their own authority and the details of such action, apart from policy, were not a matter with which the Home Department of the Government of India could fairly be charged. That was also his answer to Mr. Jamnadas Mehta's observation on the Nandurbar case about which, however, information at the Government's disposal considerably differed from that relied on by Mr. Mehta. Continuing, Sir Reginald observed that he had never said that no innocent person ever suffered in the course of action taken by the Government He admitted, with regret, that innocent persons very often suffered. That was one of the responsibilities which lay on the head of people who promoted these disorders. He had also given to the House instances in which action taken by persons engaged in the disturbances had caused loss of life or injury to innocent people engaged in lawful occupations. While he admitted that innocent persons must occasionally suffer in the course of action taken by Government to put down disturbances, the Government could not be censured for such incidents, unless it was also shown that those things were part of the Government's policy. The mere fact that certain individuals had suffered by the Government's action did not mean, and could not be interpreted to mean that such things were part and parcel of the Government's policy. He declared that no opprobrium attached to the word repression Whether it was right or wrong would depend entirely on the things repressed.

He referred to Mr Gandhi's attitude to non-violence and quoted from the latter's own description of a mouse which should be considered to be non-violent if it defended itself with its teeth against a cat What was happening, Sir Reginald said, was that a small force of half-a-dozen policemen were confronted by a violent mob of hundreds Which of these, he asked, was comparable to the cat and which to the mouse? If the small force of policemen was the mouse, that was the non-violent party. The Home Member did not disclaim that the Government must and did use repression at certain times to meet situations that occasionally arose. He had never denied that force must be met by force and crimes must be repressed, but the Government could not be condemned for any measures taken to repress crime. He went on to give figures of convictions of Congressmen after trials, numbering nearly 30,000 up to the middle of January compared to about 70,000 in the movement in 1932-34, and claimed that no one could say that action taken had been excessively repressive. Reiterating the Government's policy, the Home Member declared that with its responsibility not only to India but to the Allied cause, the Government could not and would not permit activities designed to interfere with the successful prosecution of the war and resistance to H.M's enemies. Nor could political or any other motives be regarded as extenuation of offences deliberately calculated to impair the war resistance of the country or undermine order. The Government's policy had also been to take only such action as was necessary to safeguard vital obligations The removal of the ban on the Communist Party and on the Khaksars showed that the Government were ready enough to withdraw repressive measures as soon as they thought there was a reasonable prospect of withdrawing them with safety There had been, he asserted, no repression of any ordinary social or political activities or expression of opinion and the Government sincerely hoped that improvement in the situation would be such that further repressive action might not be necessary again while the war lasted.

The motion, as stated, was rejected without a division.

Utilisation of Sterling Balances

The House also rejected without a division Mr A. C. Neogy's cut motion to discuss the utilization of sterling balances Mr. Neogy, referring to the Finance Member's remarks about the importation of suspicion into the discussion of the subject, pointed out that in the evidence given before the Joint Parliamentary Committee retired British officials had voiced suspicion about the safety of their pensions and provident fund, and had suggested the funding of these liabilities. The Secretary of State himself talked about the funding of these obligations. The speaker suggested that the demand voiced on that occasion was prabably repealed on the occasion of the Finance Member's visit to England.

Sir Jeremy Raisman, intervening, declared this was quite inaccurate.

Mr *Neogy* said Indian opinion demanded that British and other foreign investments in India must be acquired with the help of the sterling balances. He also wanted to know whether any action was proposed on behalf of the Indian Government as regards the maintenance of the value of sterling, whether any guarantees were to be obtained from HMG in this matter and whether the convertibility of sterling into foreign currencies would also be ensured. Also whether steps had been taken to see that in the event of a depreciation in the value of sterling this country would not stand to lose.

Sir Jeremy Raisman confessed to a certain amount of embarrassment in attempting to discuss matters of this kind on the floor of the House. The financial relations, not merely of ourselves and Britain, but of Britain with other countries were also involved, and he could not repeat too often that this matter could not be viewed or dealt with on the simple lines which some members seemed to take. It would hardly be possible for a matter of this kind to be discussed with complete freedom in any legislature and there were many aspects of such a question with which Governments could only deal in consultation with each other and it was quite impossible that at every stage the relations of countries in matters of this kind should be fully explored and explained in public discussion. It was therefore from no desire to do anything behind the back of this House that he would have to refrain from going into this subject in the detail which some members seemed to expect.

India, Sir Jeremy went on, had a stake in victory. All the United Nations stood or fell by victory in this war. It was impossible to conceive what the consequences would be to the major portion of humanity if victory were not achieved.

How did the sterling balances arise? India was providing certain goods and services for the war effort and she had a very favourable balance of trade with Britain and the United Nations. Was it because the United Nations were not providing in return the goods which India needed? No. The point was that at the present time the goods which India needed were goods necessary to ensure her safety. The whole productive capacity of Britain was concentrated in the production of weapons for victory. It was because Britain was producing them not only for herself but also for India and others that she was not left with any margin of productive capacity with which to balance the goods and services she was receiving from India. Did Mr. Jamnadas Mehta in the present circumstances expect that Britain in addition to sending the only goods she produced, should send other goods in order to extinguish the sterling balances?

Replying to Mr. Neogy's remarks about the evidence before the Joint Parliamentary Committee, Sir Jeremy said there was all the difference in the world between the proposal regarding pensions then suggested and the proposal now made. There was no question now of safeguarding. It was not as if you were handing over money to anybody else. The result of the investment would come back into your hands and you had the same discretion as ever in the application of these funds. It was still in the stage of a proposal and was still under the consideration of the Government of India and not actually formally put before H M G. Dealing with Mr Neogy's criticism of the Reconstruction Fund, Sir Jeremy explained: "If a man owes you a debt he can pay by goods or services. It is a commonplace in the international field that you must ultimately be paid in goods or services. Yet you start off by saying that any scheme which keeps him employed in services to you or making goods for you must be barred." It must be remembered, said Sir Jeremy, that after this war the position would be different from what it was a few years ago. It would not be a case of a world producing vast quantities of goods and looking eagerly for customers. The position for a long time would be exactly the reverse. There were the devastated countries of Europe, China and Russia and there was the enormous material damage which Britain had herself suffered. In the circumstances, was it absurd to foresee difficulties in getting goods from any part of the world? Our proposition, therefore was that we should set to work to examine our own circumstances and see to what extent we could prepare now and put ourselves in a position to take advantage of the circumstances as they would exist after the war. If any one saw a sinister motive in that he (the Finance Member) could not understand it.

PRESS CENSORSHIP

Mr. *T. T. Krishnamachari*, by his cut motion, raised a debate on the attitude of the Government towards the Press in India and the working of Press censorship. After tracing the history of the relationship between the Government and the Press

since Delhi agreement of November, 1940, he said that there was a general unwillingness to work the agreement on the part of the Provincial Governments. He reminded the House that there were no popular Governments in many Provinces and public meetings had been banned almost throughout the country. It was through the medium of the Press alone that the public could bring their grievances to the notice of the authorities. He asserted that through the system of Press Advising, Government were able effectively to prevent publication of a certain category of news through the news agencies. Although the system was purely voluntary, papers which did not accept the advice were penalized. Instructions were often given by the Press Advisers on the telephone. Further restrictions have been placed on the Press in May last. The speaker urged in conclusion, that the Press control should be centralized and be handled by the Government of India.

The *Home Member* complimented Mr. Krishnamachari on his reasonableness and said that there was nothing he said to which Government objected. "If there is one thing I have worked hard for ever since 1940, it is to improve the relations between the Government and the Press. I believe that I have been successful. I can honestly say that I have given the best consideration to the newspapers' point of view to the Provincial Governments and have often succeeded." He reminded the House that there were strong influences at work to persuade the newspapers to their viewpoint. He also reminded the House that the whole administration of the Press rested with the Provincial Governments. It was therefore very difficult to take the whole matter out of the Provincial Governments' hands. Conditions varied from province to province and particularly in the provinces where Ministries were functioning. It was difficult to impose conditions on them. The policy the Government of India had adopted was this. In matters of all-India importance, they endeavoured to place certain objectives before the Provincial Governments and leave it to the provinces to work out and achieve those objectives. The Government had stressed that those objectives were to be reached by voluntary agreement with the Press. Sir Reginald Maxwell said that editorial comments had not been subject to any restrictions. But if any newspapers published anything which was regarded as objectionable from the all-India point of view, action was taken against such a paper. The Home Member promised to inquire whether any restrictions had been placed on publishing by the vernacular Press of items which had appeared in the English Press. He, however, did not think that any instructions were given to newspapers on the telephone. As for the present position, the Home Member said that the Government had approved the Bombay resolution of the Newspaper Editors' Conference of Oct. 2 and had responded to it at once. As a result, almost all the provinces accepted the resolution in the spirit in which it was offered. This did not indicate any breach and so long as co-operation was offered the Government would welcome it and meet it. The motion was rejected without a division.

DEARNESS ALLOWANCE

Mr. *Mehta's* cut motion to discuss the question of dearness allowance was rejected by the House without a division. Sir *Jeremy Raisman* declared that the Government were fully and deeply conscious of the difficulties and hardships not only of their servants but of the general public. Speaking of Government servants, he said that in addition to their wages Government provided them with a good deal of shelter and clothing. After rejecting the resolution the House adjourned till the next day.

DEMAND FOR MORE SESSIONS

9th MARCH—The prospect of 2 more sessions of the Central Legislature instead of the usual autumn session in September, was indicated by *Sir Sultan Ahmed*, Leader of the House, speaking on Mr. *Ahmed Jaffer's* cut motion to discuss "the necessity of holding more sessions of the Legislature in view of the war and the future position of the country in the great events that are taking place in the world at large." "I am desired to say," said Sir Sultan Ahmed, speaking immediately after the mover, "that if the debate on this motion reveals a general desire for more frequent sessions, the Governor-General will be prepared to agree to holding a short session during the latter part of July or the beginning of August and another short session in the latter part of October or the beginning of November. An arrangement of this nature would materially reduce the length of time between sessions and is as far as we can reasonably be expected to go." Earlier in his speech, Sir Sultan Ahmed expressed happiness that though only a few days ago a motion was tabled that the Central Legislature should be suspended, the utility of the House had now been realized and the

demand was made for holding more sessions. "The Government," said the Leader of the House, "have always taken the view that our legislative chambers are useful bodies and the Government always welcome their views and reactions to Government decisions and actions. The feeling that in time of emergency the Central Legislature should have more frequent opportunities for contact with the executive and for making its views on important questions of policy known and felt is one with which the Government have every sympathy."

Sir Sultan referred to certain difficulties of holding more frequent sessions, namely, the pressure on railways and other forms of transport, shortage of accommodation in Delhi and the interference with the day to day working of the administrative machine. On the last point he said that one member during the present session put 18 questions on 1 day, which engaged a senior officer for 2 full days before the replies were prepared. In spite of these difficulties, however, the Governor-General would be prepared to agree to the holding of more frequent sessions if there was a general desire in favour of it, and if the House would co-operate with the Government in securing maximum results in the shortest possible time.

Sardar Sant Singh (Nationalist Party) Sir Ziauddin (Muslim League), and Mr *P. J. Griffiths* (European Group) generally welcomed the proposal. Sir *A. H. Ghuznavi* supported the cut motion, which was eventually withdrawn.

NATIONAL WAR FRONT

The House rejected without a division Mr *Hossainbhai Laljee's* cut motion to discuss means whereby people might have a better opportunity to place their views before the Government regarding war activities and the future position and prosperity of the country. Mr Laljee, in his speech, complained that the bulk of the people in the country had not been taken into confidence by the Government in the matter of war effort nor was there an opportunity for the people to make their views known to the Government on matters like India's status, the nature of the Government in the Provinces and other vital subjects.

Sir Sultan Ahmed pointed out that as far as the Centre was concerned it was doing all that was possible, particularly by the establishment of the National Defence Council and through the National War Front, to keep the people informed of relevant topics connected with war activities. Provincial War Committees were also at work, but if the mover wanted further efforts made, it was open to him to make representations to the Governor of his own Province of Bombay and suggest to him ways and means, which, Sir Sultan had no doubt, would be considered.

Mr. *Griffiths* explained the ways in which the Front was working and invited helpful suggestions for improvement. He made an offer to any member of the House to undertake to address 13 war meetings in the course of 2 months. He undertook to meet the expenses and arrange the meetings. Mr. *Ghiasuddin* declared that the Government had failed to make full use of people who were prepared to help them, while *Sardar Sant Singh* asserted that the War Front would not be national until a national Government was formed at the Centre. Mr *Jamnadas Mehta* claimed that it was the labour organizations, particularly those with which he was concerned, that propagated the idea among the workers that this war was for the security of the country and for international goodwill. *Sir Cowasji Jehangir* said that the idea of the National War Front originated with Indians who felt the need to make the people realize what were the issues involved in the war and make them realize also that assistance given to the war effort was assistance given to India herself to gain independence. *Pandit Nilkanta Das* urged that representative non-officials should be associated with the National War Front and for this purpose it might be necessary to release men from the jails. Mr *T T Krishnamachari* said the present war effort was only intended to create a party to support the Government. The motion was lost without a division.

On an assurance given by Mr. *T. S Pillai*, Joint Secretary, Commerce Department, that the Government would see that in the case of trade with E. Africa normal trade channels were not unduly disturbed, Mr. *Hossainbhai Laljee* withdrew his cut motion "to discuss the exports from India and the trade relationship with other countries." Mr. Pillai said that Government policy with regard to exports had been to allow only those commodities which could be spared consistent with the war effort and to maintain contact with various markets outside India as far as possible. The E. African Government was probably attempting

to establish price-control and were thinking of an agency to handle imports. There was no attempt on the part of the E. African Government to monopolize imports from this country.

Indian Seamen

Mr. *Laljee's* cut-motion "to discuss the position of labour, including Indian seamen who were still under the Commerce Department and whose grievances had not been heeded," was rejected without a division. Mr *Pillai*, replying on behalf of the Commerce Department, said the conditions of these seamen were not as they had been described. No case of delayed payments of wages had come to his notice, but the Government were prepared to make a full inquiry if any such case was brought to their notice. He also referred to the various comforts provided for Indian seamen at different parts in this country.

Urdu Language in Broadcasting

By 31 to 14 votes, the Assembly rejected the Muslim League Party's cut motion to "discuss the grievances of Muslims with regard to the service, language and programmes of the Broadcasting Department."

The mover, *Nawab Siddique Ali Khan* criticized what he described as AIR's 'language policy of encouraging high-flown Sanskrit and Hindi words and of coining ridiculous phrases" instead of using the Urdu language, which, according to him, was the language spoken and understood all over India. He also said that items of Muslim interest did not find their due place in the programmes and there was also favouritism shown in the choice of artistes. He complained about the paucity of Muslims in the Broad-casting service and said that their percentage was only 9 6.

Sir Feroz Khan Noon, Defence Member, said he intervened in the debate because he took a great deal of interest in the possibility of a common language for India. Not one of the members opposite, he said, had objected to the use of simple words from any language and they all realized that Urdu was the language originally intended so that people from all parts of the country and from across its border might converse with each other, and that Urdu or Hindustani if they preferred to call it, contained words from all languages such as English, French, Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian, and it was a growing language. He had recently visited S. India and there he found that recruits from Madras learnt in 30 days to communicate ordinary ideas in simple Hindustani and were becoming literate in that language in about 10 weeks. He appealed for tolerance and a spirit of compromise and patience with the effort to evolve a "lingua franca" for the country.

Sir Reginald Maxwell, Home Member, explained that it had been recognized that the salaries paid in this department were inadequate: their readjustment had been under active consideration and it was hoped that results would be reached fairly soon. Referring to communal composition of the staff, he pointed out that after careful examination of the nature of the qualifications necessary and other factors, certain posts in the department had been exempted from the Government order regarding the percentage of communal representation, but the bulk of the posts came under the communal order. Among all the non-gazetted posts, Muslims had their 25% representation. The paucity of Muslims in the ranks of assistant engineers and technical assistants was explained by the difficulty in obtaining Muslims with the requisite technical qualifications, but special efforts were being made to find ways in which better facilities might be afforded to Muslims to enter the technical grade. As regards programmes AIR's policy must be to make programmes acceptable to the general listener and to reduce the number of items of quasi-religious or mainly communal items without reducing purely religious items. The motion was pressed to a division and was lost by 14 votes to 31. The House then adjourned.

Martial Law in Sind

10th. MARCH:—The Assembly today rejected by 39 votes to 34 the cut motion moved by Mr. *Yusuf Haroon*, Muslim League member from Sind to discuss the administration of martial law in Sind. Mr Haroon condemned the introduction of martial law in parts of Sind where the Hur trouble did not exist and alleged that during the 9 months since the introduction of martial law Sind had passed through "a reign of terror" He referred to a number of incidents in which he asserted that innocent persons had died or suffered in concentration camps. The Hurs themselves, however, were at large in great numbers, and cultivators in the

area affected had left their villages with the result that land was lying uncultivated. He asked that martial law should be removed from areas where there was no Hur trouble and that an inquiry should be made into the charges made against its administration. The Governor of Sind in December had announced that at least in the West part of Sind martial law would be abrogated, but so far that had not been done.

Mr. *C. M. Trivedi*, Defence Secretary, denied that there had been "a reign of terror" in the martial law area If the incidents alleged by the mover had happened, how was it that no member had mentioned them earlier in the House or brought them to Government's notice? This was the first time that they had been mentioned and as far as information available to him went, the allegations were incorrect. The military and the police had worked under conditions of great difficulty; the area was enormous and the country difficult owing to lack of communication while the civil disobedience movement and the floods added to the difficulties. But the situation had now improved considerably and a sense of security and order had largely been restored. The task, however, was not complete; all the Hur leaders had not been disposed of; and it was clear that though the state of affairs had changed for the better, the stage had not been reached when withdrawal of martial law would be justified No one was more anxious than Government that martial law should not be retained a day longer than was absolutely necessary.

Muslims in Supply Department

The House rejected without division Mr. *G. B. Nairang's* cut motion to discuss the grievances of Muslims in regard to their 'meagre share in the services of the Supply Department and in the contracts given by the Department." Mr Nairang referred to correspondence which he had with Sir Homi Mody on the subject and said that Sir Homi gave him a detailed reply but since he resigned the position of Muslims had deteriorated. Mr. Nairang explained that between Aug 1941 and Oct. 1942 there had been a fall in the percentage of Muslims. For instance, in the grade routine staff the percentage had fallen from 25 to 20. The argument that Muslims with technical qualifications were not available had no substance because there were hundreds of posts which required no technical qualifications

Mr. *J. A. Mackeown*, Joint Secretary, Supply Department, said that he must oppose the motion not because the department contended that the position of Muslim representation was in all respects satisfactory, but because he contended that considering the difficulties they had to face and the effort they were making, they deserved no censure but credit for the degree of success achieved. It was correct that between August, 1941, and October, 1942, there had been a fall in the percentage of Muslims employed compared to the total number of staff, but the actual number of Muslims had in most cases increased Even as regards percentage, it was in excess in certain cases. For instance, in the grade of officers of the Chief Controller of Purchase and Supply the proportion of Muslims was 40%. Mr. Mackeown referred to the difficulties of getting suitable Muslims and said the department would welcome help from members of the House in the matter. If members of the Muslim League Party would give them the names of suitably qualified Muslim officers, the department would give them the fullest chance.

Agriculture in India

The House gave over two hours to the European Group's cut motion to discuss means whereby the present prosperous agricultural conditions might be used for the permanent rehabilitation of agriculture. Mr. *C. P. Lawson*, moving the motion wished that something more than a fraction of the hundreds of crores which might be spent to defend the country against Nazi domination could be spent on defending it against bad agriculture and against a standard of life among agriculturists which was lower than that of any other section of the people. He suggested, among other things, the fixation of minimum prices for crops and the making of central arrangements for dealing with surpluses or deficits. He also suggested a crop planning developement of Hydro-electric schemes for the supply of power for a number of minor industries and for tube-wells and a review of minor crops which could be grown in India and which could be used not only for internal consumption but also for export. Mr *B. L. Gray* supported the motion and said that minimum prices could not

be maintained unless some purchasing organization on the lines of farmers' co-operative societies existed. *Sir Frederick James* suggested that one of the most valuable uses to which the sterling balances could be put was for reconstruction of agriculture, by providing pumps for water supply, tractors, thrashing machines and ploughs. Sir Frederick emphasized the need for the provision of cheap and effective transport for the agriculturist so that he could market his goods. *Sir Jogendra Singh*, Member for Agriculture, gave the assurance that all the suggestions made in the course of the debate would be examined. Mr. *Lawson* withdrew his motion. The guillotine was then applied and all the demands were passed. The House then adjourned.

DEBATE ON THE FINANCE BILL

11th. MARCH :—The Assembly began the debate on the 1st reading of the Finance Bill to-day. *Sir Cowasji Jehangir* suggested the establishment of an ad hoc committee consisting of members of both Houses and men representing finance and business and those whose opinions on finance were worth while to advise the Government on questions such as joint war measures arising from the financial settlement of 1939 between HMG and India. He expressed doubts about the necessity of creating the pension fund now and said such a procedure might result in ultimate loss because the Finance Member would pay a much higher rate of interest on the treasury bills which he would have to issue in India than the rate he would get from HMG on the fund. Referring to the reconstruction fund he said unless the intention was to sterilize a portion of the sterling balances he could not understand why large amounts should be earmarked for an object which could not be fulfilled now. He thought it possible for the Government to make a statement that they did not intend that sterling balance should be earmarked for goods purchased only from UK. The question whether it would be possible to get goods from the UK or not was a domestic one, but the fact that India should be free to buy in the cheapest market could not be contested. He also thought that it was possible to come to some arrangement whereby the value of sterling vis-a-vis the rupee would be stabilized.

Sir Frederick James said that little reference had been made during discussion on the Defence Service. They owed a duty to these men, who had joined from all parts of India. He paid a special tribute to the work of the Indian Navy and said he understood that Adm. Fitzherbert was shortly leaving India. The Admiral had done a great deal to bring the RIN to its present strength and would leave behind in India a great many who would remember his great work (cheers). About the Indian Air Force, Sir Frederick asked whether the latest machines and equipment to which the Finance Member referred had arrived. He dealt with a number of of difficulties felt by officers, such as the difference in pay and allowance between emergency commissioned and regular officers passage facilities, accommodation and differences in allowances made to dependants of European and Indian prisoners of war.

Mr. *Govind V. Deshmukh* joined in paying a tribute to the services to this country of Adm. Fitzherbert. He stressed the need of having a well planned post-war reconstruction programme and urged that steps be taken to prevent a slump in trade and agriculture. The purchase of tractors and high-power machinery for use in India would be sheer waste of money unless it was preceded by the introduction of a system of collective farming. With the present small holdings and lack of settled labour, it was no use buying heavy agricultural goods. Propaganda by the National War Front was also criticized by Mr Deshmukh who felt it was not good to be told that if we did not do a certain thing we stood to lose. The line should be that if we did a certain thing we stood to gain. The proposal of a direct reciprocal aid agreement with the US would not only be of financial advantage but would also help India to improve her political status especially if other similar agreements with other United Nations could follow.

Sir Ziauddin Ahmed spoke next for 75 minutes and had not finished when the House rose. He explained why sterling credits arose and accumulated and suggested that they should be kept as a floating account and not be invested in long term contracts for it was uncertain when money would be required. These assets should be spent in purchasing heavy industrial machinery which India would require immediately after the war and the purchases should be made from any country and in the cheapest market. He emphasized the importance of entering into a direct Lease-Lend arrangement with the US and said it should not be limited to our defence requirements but should also cover trade needs and scientific

apparatus. The time had also come for economic link-up among the United Nations. If this was done it would give great currency stability both in war time and after the war. If this was not done now there was a danger of a defence in world economy after the war. The Finance Member should put this proposal on behalf of India to the other members of the United Nations. He deprecated talk of inflation and traced it to enemy-engineered plans to upset trade, dislocate currency and disturb the food markets. If business increased, currency would increase and expand. The tendency of hoarding encouraged by enemies of the country must also be taken into account. The theory of a metalling backing of currency was out of date. Gold and silver were no longer currencies or commodities because no value could be attached to locked up treasures. Currency had to expand with the needs of the country. Sir Ziauddin strongly criticized the reduction in the percentage of Muslims in the Supply Department. He had not finished when the President adjourned the House.

12th. MARCH:—*Sir Zia-ud-din Ahmed* commented on the preference shown to the textile industry by the Supply Department at the expense of other industries particularly leather. After urging strict adherence to the communal riots resolution of 1934 in all Departments of the Government he criticized the food policy and concluded by emphasising that the three essentials to be safeguarded for the welfare of the country were food, currency and transport.

Dr. Sir Ratanji Dalal dwelt on the advantages to India of the Indo-British connexion. He was convinced that India would become a self-governing unit of the British Commonwealth of Nations. India required large naval, land and air forces for her defence, particularly when she became free. The present expansion of the Defence forces was a step in the right direction. Defence expenditure was not in any way greater than India's needs.

"In the battle of bread, bania has beaten the British hollow," said Mr. *Jamnadas Mehta*, attacking the Government of India's food policy. On the last 3½ years of war, India has reached the peak of her sacrifice and a vast majority of the people were underfed and underclothed. Disputing the statement that the purchasing power of the people had increased, he said that withdrawals to the extent of Rs. 51 crores had taken place in the present war period from the post office savings banks and cash certificates. Food and clothing were the two most vital problems of the country today The Government had failed to achieve any success in relieving the situation He criticized the Government's withdrawal of control of wheat prices and remarked that, whereas in England prices of essential commodities had only increased by 21% above the pre-war level in India the price was between 100% and 200%. Mr Mehta complained that the Commerce Department had not explained what exactly was the position of the U K C.C. Reports had reached him regarding the increasing influence of the Corporation in India's export trade Referring to sugar he said that the Government, by permitting an increase in price of Rs. 2-5 per maund, had made a free gift of Rs 3½ crores to the manufacturers at the cost of the consumer. Some of the biggest manufacturers in Bombay and the U P. had told him that they never wanted the increase. He argued that inflation existed in the country to the extent of Rs. 200 crores of currency, making allowance for increase in population, expansion of trade and industry, and hoarding etc, It was wrong, therefore, to say that there was no inflation at all in India. Dwelling on the political deadlock, Mr. Jamnadas declared that the solution of the deadlock which began on August 8 last year was incredibly simple; but fasting was not the method and the conference-holders in Bombay were not the people to bring it about. Who were these busy bodies to presume to stand as hostages for Mr Gandhi? Mr. Gandhi himself had declared that he was prepared to reconsider the position. Mr Gandhi should, therefore, be allowed to be among the members of the Working Committee even under detention, and, if they came to the conclusion that the "sabotage resolution" of Congress of August 8, should be withdrawn, the Government should also withdraw the order of detention of all Congressmen. In order that prestige on both sides might be saved, both decisions might be announced simultaneously. As regards the solution of the larger deadlock between Britain and India, he asked that H.M.G. should declare their loyalty to the Atlantic Charter in respect of India. India's freedom would then be assured.

Mr. *Lalchand Navalrai* complained that the House and even the Finance Committee were not informed when a decision was reached in respect of joint war liabilities. He joined in the demand for an ad hoc committee to consider the question at this stage. Coming to taxation, he considered that it was quite unnecessary as the whole deficit could have been met by borrowing. He said that the middle classes and the small industrialists were already overburdened. The tax on vanaspati was also unjust. He criticized the Government on the working of the policy of Indianization in the Army and said that there were not enough Indians in officers' ranks. He also said that the majority of the clerical staff at HQ were Europeans. Mr. Navalrai had not finished when the House adjourned till the 15th.

15th. MARCH :—Mr. *Lalchand Navalrai*, concluding his unfinished speech of Friday last, urged the Government to start negotiations with the Congress for the removal of the political deadlock and to release Congress leaders, or at last allow the members of the Congress Working Committee to be with Mr. Gandhi in order to give them the opportunity to revise their attitude and thus throw the burden on them. Outlining the Muslim League attitude towards the Finance Bill, Sir *Mohammed Yamin Khan* said that, in view of the Government's attitude, the Muslim League Party had no choice but to vote against the Finance Bill. If prices had been effectively controlled, the food and cloth situation in the country would not have deteriorated. He thought that the whole deficit could have been met by a stricter control of Government expenditure. Regarding the political problem, he wanted the British Government to trust the country if the Congress could not be trusted. There should be a clear declaration of India's freedom so that she could fight the war as one of the United Nations.

Mr. *K. G. Ambedgaonkar*, Deputy Secretary, Food Department, replying to Mr Jamnadas Mehta, said that, if in the battle for bread the bania had triumphed, it was not only against the Government but against the consuming public. It was not a matter for gloating over but for strong public condemnation. It was not only Government action that could remedy this, but strong public opinion, and he hoped the House would give its co-operation in order to create it. Referring to sugar prices, Mr. Ambedgaonkar said that, so far as manufacturers in Bombay were concerned, the statement that the increase of Rs 2-5 per md. was a gift to them was correct, but on other points Mr Mehta's informant was wrong. It was only after examining the question in great detail that the increase of Rs. 2-5 was decided upon. Many factories would otherwise have closed down. It was true that even the increased price had not solved the problem in Bengal. The price was not fixed in relation to the cost of production in Bengal but on the average cost in the whole of India. On any other basis it was not possible to have a control price. The fact remained that sugar was still the cheapest commodity in the country.

Mr. *E. L. C. Gwilt* (European Group) urged the collaboration of the Central Government with the provinces in an attempt to reach uniformity in the payment of dearness living allowance by the various industries and the immediate introduction of price control measures. He considered there was little reason shown in the adoption of the payment of dearness allowance on a scale dependent upon the incidence of the cost of living if there was no parallel price control of the product of the industry concerned, and, if this procedure was permitted to continue without the fixation of ceiling prices of commodities, it would inevitably lead to economic disaster, for who but the State and the individuals comprising it paid these allowances? Turning to the subject of import licences, he pointed out the delays that occurred in granting them and said a huge waste of time occurred not in the actual examination of the files, but in transit from one Department to another and suggested that, if the Government could employ commercial experts to assist them in production, they could also import similar service to overhaul their filing system. Mr Gwilt also referred to the constant changes, resulting from the rapid expansion of so many Departments in Delhi, not only in their personnel, but in the location of the Department itself and asked the Government to set up a Central Inquiry Bureau for the convenience of visitors. Mr. Gwilt drew the Government's attention to the need to control prices, especially of foods and drugs, imported not only at the peril of the ships that brought them to India and the lives of those who manned these ships, but at great sacrifice of the people from whose countries they were shipped. He asked what the attitude of HMG would be if they were made aware of the fact that the people of Britain were being asked to make sacrifices in order to provide a black market for the middlemen in this country. He asked the Government to put a stop to this profiteering immediately.

Mr *C. M. Trivedi*, Defence Secretary, endorsed wholeheartedly the appreciative references made in the House to the brilliant achievements of the troops, the Navy and the Air Forces in India and their many deeds of conspicuous gallantry and valour in several theatres of war.

About Sir Frederick James's observations on war correspondents, Mr Trivedi said that the majority of war correspondents had taken a consistently balanced view of our operations in Burma and so had the Indian Press on the whole, though it was true that in certain sections of the Press particularly overseas the modest announcement made in the communique of December 19 was hailed as the beginning of the reconquest of Burma. On occasions it was advisable for those responsible for publicity to pass over in silence speculations or even exaggerations in the Press in order that the enemy might not obtain information of some value. Subject to his consideration, he assured Sir Frederick that it had been and would continue to be the constant endeavour of the Directorate of Public Relations through contacts with the Press or war correspondents or by other means to ensure that publicity was conducted in a manner which would avoid either excessive optimism or undue pessimism. Mr. Trivedi declared that in no single comparable case was the pay of an officer of the Indian Army while a prisoner of war less than the pay drawn by a British Service officer in captivity: in fact, the pay of an officer of the Indian Army while a prisoner of war was always greater than that of a British Service officer. He added that it had now been decided that the marriage allowance and lodging allowance of officers of the Indian Army would not be cut by 25% while they were prisoners of war. In addition, separation allowance which was not granted previously would be given in full.

Mr. Trivedi said that the completion of the 10-squadron plan for the Indian Air Force announced in the Assembly in Nov. 1941 was now in sight. A certain number of modern aircraft had already reached India and more were due to arrive. The limiting factor now was not the lack of modern types of aircraft but an insufficiency of trained technical Indian personnel for ground duties. It was hoped however to form 7 squadrons by the end of June, 1943, and to complete the full 10-squadron programme by the end of this year. This would give India an air force exactly 10 times its size at the outbreak of the war and for the 1st time in its history India would have a modern air force equipped with modern aircraft and able to take an active part in the defence of her frontiers. In addition to this scheme, it had been decided to undertake 2 further important Indian Air Force expansion measures: (1) The introduction of a scheme for the appointment of a number of Indian Air Force personnel to RAF staffs and units in India to gain experience in established units working under war conditions and (2) Indianization of the balloon squadrons.

Mr. Trivedi announced that arrangements had been made for a squadron of the IAF to be at the Delhi airport on March 21, to give members of the Central Legislature an opportunity of seeing for themselves a modern squadron of the IAF. He hoped members would give Government their advice and assistance in obtaining the airmen-technicians necessary for the expansion of the IAF.

Giving figures of the proportion of British and Indian officers in the army, he said at the outbreak of war it was 5.5 British to 1 Indian officer. On September 3, 1942, it was 4.5 to 1. Permanent commissions, however, were not given at present either to Indian or British officers, and officers for the expanding forces were obtained by the grant of emergency commissions. On September 3, 1940, the proportion of emergency commissioned British officers to Indian officers was 2.75 to 1. On September 3, 1942 the corresponding proportion was 1.5 to 1. While the number of British emergency commissioned officers had increased since September 3, 1940, by about 550%, the number of Indian emergency commissioned officers had increased by over 600%.

A voice "That is not the way to look at it."

Mr. Trivedi said that there was practically unlimited further scope for the appointment of Indians as emergency commissioned officers. The difficulty was a shortage of suitable candidates coming forward. The suggestion made by Mr. Navalrai that permanent commissions should be given could not possibly be accepted. It would be out of the question both on financial and other grounds to build up the army required for war on the basis of permanent employment. The Indian Air Force was purely an Indian service but because fully trained Indian officers were not available, it had been necessary to employ a small number of RAF officers as a temporary measure. Their percentage was only 2½.

Sir *A. H. Ghaznavi*, speaking amid many interruptions, particularly from the

Finance Member, dealt with the sterling balances and said that the U.S., Canada and S. Africa had all obtained from Britain payments more by dis-investments of British assets in those countries than by opening sterling credits in London.

Finance Member : What is Canada doing now ?

Sir Abdul Halim said that on the Argentine's insistence, Britain had agreed to give them a gold guarantee clause.

Finance Member :—That was before the war.

Sir Abdul Halim :—Whether before or after the war does not matter. Give us the same guarantee.

He went on to endorse the suggestions made by the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry to utilize the sterling balances for the liquidation of British investments in India, payment for purchases in durable assets like capital goods and payment in part in gold and dollars He entered a protest against "the frittering away" of the sterling balances in funding pensions and creating a Reconstruction Fund. Criticizing the income-tax administration, he took strong exception to the insistence on Indian assessees, and not European assessees, submitting on oath a statement of total wealth. The law did not require this, and he indicated that a test case might have to be fought in order to establish the law on the subject He dwelt on what he described as the British business man's cry for more agriculturization of the country and on Mr R. R. Haddow's "closed fist" shown at Indian industrialists and declared that India would resist any attempt to deprive her of her right to shape her economic and industrial structure in her best interests.

Speaking on the general situation, Sir Abdul Halim complained that Government by their action in connexion with Mr. Gandhi's fast had not only missed a great opportunity of bringing about an atmosphere in which reconciliation both between the communities and between them and Government would have been possible, but they had in the process lost the services of 3 Members of the Viceroy's Council who had the largest support of the people. Mr. Gandhi's release might well have enlisted the energies of the remaining years of his life to the healing of differences between the communities and between them and Government. Sir Abdul Halim, however affirmed his faith in the good sense of the British people, if not in the present ruling class, and he hoped that co-operation between Britain and India would soon be established

16th MARCH :—Dr. *B R. Ambedkar*, Labour Member, replying to charges of Government 'extravagance" in the use of paper, pointed out that, while shortage of paper did exist, there was no acute suffering He gave figures of publications in England and India and said that, while in England in 1940, 11,000 publications were issued the figure for India was 15,000 Sir Frederick James had referred to the waste involved in republication in provincial "Gazettes" of notifications in the "Gazette of India." Dr. Ambedkar said this was necessary because the 'Gazette" provided the primary proof in law and the 'Gazette,' therefore, was the last thing to which economy should be ruthlessly applied The Government nevertheless had applied as much economy as was possible Matter which once occupied 1½ pages was now compressed into ½ a column. Margins had been cut out and the Government had circularised Provincial Governments to ascertain whether republication of certain matter in provincial "Gazettes" was absolutely essential The Government of India had also abolished about 140 forms and suspended others "Indian Information" was to be reduced to ½ its present size and the Controller of Printing and Stationery had been given power to examine the essentiality of any publication. Dr. Ambedkar said he was not ready at this stage without further information to accept the suggestion to form a committee of the kind which was said to be at work in the UK. but the Government of India had obtained financial sanction for the appointment of a commercial Master Printer who would be able to do what the Committee in England was said to have done

As regards Mr. Jamnadas Mehta's complaint that no Indian labour representative had been invited to the Dominion Labour Conference, Dr. Ambedkar said that his Department was not consulted by the conveners of the Conference and it could not therefore do anything in the matter.

Syed Ghulam Bhik Nairang (Muslim League) raised the question of representation of Muslims in the Central Government Services and objected to the Government's answers to questions on the subject He also referred to the difficulties of Oriental language newspapers in the matter of newsprint and asked the Government to increase their quotas.

Mr. *Frank Anthony* referred to the salaries and allowances of British and

Indian commissioned officers. He alleged that 99-9/10% of the British emergency commissioned officers at present were really Anglo-Indians, but, because of the higher scale of pay given to European commissioned officers, they made the statement that they were Europeans. It was also the case, he declared, that the better educated class of Anglo-Indians refused to deny their Indian parentage and drew the lower scale of pay. He was not asking the Government to lower the salary of British officers but to increase the level of income and allowance of Indian commissioned officers. Mr. Anthony complained that Anglo-Indians were not permitted to offer themselves for service in the IAF., so they went to England and were admitted to the RAF and were doing well Dyson, who held the record with 6 Italian planes brought down in 15 minutes, was an Anglo-Indian.

Sir Vithal Narayan Chandavarkar, attempting to clear up misunderstandings about the part played by the cotton textile industry, said that, if there was any industry which had foreseen the wisdom of control of production for war purposes and for civil supply, it was the textile industry It had done its best to maintain production at its highest level and had done everything above board One reason for the rise in prices was the failure of export control. Men came from the Middle East and in a short time were able to export large quantities of cloth. Sir Vithal Narayan agreed with the criticism that Rs. 40 crores as the yield from EPT was an under-estimate and said that a substantial amount of this would be contributed by the Bombay mills alone, including those controlled by him He charged Government with laxity in the collection of EPT and said that some of the concerns controlled by him had not yet been assessed for Oct. 1941. He also suggested the issue of taxation reserve certificates through which Government could get advance payments of taxes in cash on payment of a small interest as in England.

Criticizing the payment of cash bonus to employees, he said it was the Bombay Government which was substantially responsible for the introduction of this system in Bombay, and he knew of cases in which even 6 months' wages had been paid as bonus. Government themselves were encouraging this because the Income-tax Department had exempted these amounts from September Having once introduced the system of cash bonus, it would not be possible to alter it but he suggested that a ceiling limit should be placed on cash bonus and investment of the balance in other ways should be encouraged He objected to the fixing of Rs. 5000 as the limit for the income-tax surcharge and said it should not be less than Rs 15,000 The lower limit was hard on fixed wage earners, who were mostly middle class people and the backbone of the country About inflation, he declared that it was time for Government to have an Economic Advisory Council which the Treasury should consult He also asked that no decision ought to be taken regarding the disposal of sterling balance now. He urged political parties in the country to form at least a united national opposition if a National Government was impossible.

Khan Bahadur *G. K. M Shahban*, surveying the different aspects of the Finance Member's Budget speech, expressed satisfaction with the allocation between borrowing and taxation and asked if it was not proper to make borrowing more attractive in view of the fact that public response in the past had not been what it should be. He maintained that national leaders whose co-operation the Government had spurned for various reasons, could raise in the matter of a few months loans far exceeding those which the Government got in the last 3½ years war.

He described the funding of reconstruction plans with the country's sterling assets in England, as an unfair financial deal, and said it had evoked the deepest suspicion in the country. He asked the Government to respect national opinion. The speaker also referred to the growing resentment in India's commercial circles against the activities of the United Kingdom Commercial Corporation. The establishment of a National Government at the Centre immediately to end the present impasse and to stir up India's war effort was demanded by Sardar Sant Singh, who narrated "the repeated failures of the British Government to meet the political aspiration of India. He suggested that the Viceroy should invite the different parties and interests in the country and ask them to select a leader, who should be entrusted with the task of forming a National Government. If the Congress and Muslim League stood out, let them do so but power should be transferred to other elements in the country He urged the Government not to intensify feelings of frustration in the country any more but to try to end the political deadlock with the least possible

delay. Criticising the recent Government booklet regarding Congress responsibility for the disturbances, he asked what was wrong in the motives of Mr. Gandhi and the Congress if they desired the freedom of the country and wanted to prevent Indian soil from becoming a war theatre. He gave the analogy of England and asked if similar motives did not prevail among the entire people there. He objected to the presence of a large number of foreign troops in India and asked why the manpower of India was not fully tapped. He demanded more representation of Sikhs in the higher Government services, and supported the demand for the increase of newsprint quota for vernacular newspapers

Mr *M. Nauman* commented on the paucity of Muslims in the Services and the small share they had in promotions and extensions of service He said that the Government which had called Congressmen rebels were treating them differently from Hurs who were also called rebels What was the explanation for this discriminatory treatment ? Was it because one was Hindu and the other Muslim ? He asked Government to do something for the vernacular Press in the country in the matter of newsprint. The Assembly at this stage adjourned

17th MARCH —By 18 votes to 2, the Assembly this afternoon passed the 1st reading of the Finance Bill The motion that the Bill be taken into consideration was passed When the House resumed discussion of the Bill today *Dr P N Banerjea*, Leader, Nationalist Party, said that the Bill was the 7th or 8th. measure of taxation of the country in recent years He complained that the Finance Member's reply on the question of sterling balances was unsatisfactory and asked that a committee of the House be appointed to place itself in touch with the currents of thought abroad and safeguard the interests of this country

Mr *Hooseinbhoy Lalljee*, Leader, Independent Party after observing that India's contribution to the war effort had been great and that many Indians had gone abroad to defend the Empire, asked if it did not entitle India to be treated on a par with other members of the United Nations He said that no regular post-war reconstruction plans were being thought out by the Indian Government, whereas the U.S.A. Britain and other countries were actively planning for their peace-time future He pleaded that war industries should be made permanent In overseas trade the Government should see to it that the commerce and industry of this country did not occupy a subordinate position, but a position of equality with other countries

An emphatic demand for the immediate transfer of power to Indian hands was made by *Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan* Deputy Leader of the Muslim League Party, who asserted that the present Government of India was completely divorced from public opinion and did not enjoy the confidence of the people.

He said : "It is most unfortunate that although every other country which is involved in this war is making an all-out effort in India alone the Government and the people are total strangers It is, therefore, natural that the Indian Government, not enjoying the confidence of the people, should have its actions looked upon with suspicion " The Nawabzada observed that "Indianization without popularization" was like changing a gramophone without changing the records Criticism of the present Government would continue, he said, until real power was transferred to the representatives of the people "If you want the people to be with you, you must take into your confidence at least those parties which are willing to co-operate with you " He claimed that the assertion that Britain's readiness to transfer power had started trouble in the country did not hold water On the other hand, it was an excuse for not transferring power. He referred to the Home Member's speech in which the latter had declared the Congress a party of rebels who had forfeited the rights of citizenship The Government's demand for unity amounted to the Muslim League going and negotiating with the Congress which, according to Government had forfeited the right to citizenship This alone would show, he said, that there was no willingness on the part of the Government to part with power.

Explaining the Muslim League's view-point, the Nawabzada said that the Muslim League had left the decision about Pakistan to the Muslim masses who had been characterized by Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru as "not reactionary and are with the Congress." If that was so, there could have been no apprehension among the Hindus that the League might influence the decision of the Muslim masses. The apprehension, however, was based on the fact that the Muslim masses were the Muslim League and the Muslim League was the Muslim masses. He asserted that the demand for Pakistan was not undemocratic and said: "Democracy does not mean tyranny of the numerical majority over the minority but a system of

ascertaining the will of the people as to how they desire to be governed" About Sir Frederick James' ideal of a United States of India, the speaker said that there must be independent States before there could be a United States of India He appealed to the Hindus to realize that it was impossible to ignore 100,000,000 Muslims and their separate existence. Appealing to the United Nations, he concluded: "If you want to save humanity and shorten this war, you must fully mobilize the resources of this country. Today only 10% of these resources have been utilized The response to war loans is a case in point. India has immense resources and manpower, and even now the fullest support and co-operation of the parties willing to co-operate are available to the United Nations. Take the hand of friendship now offered once again, for nothing will satisfy the people of India unless real power is transferred to their representatives. It is for you to make the choice."

Sir Jeremy Raisman, Finance Member, winding up the debate, concluded with a stern warning to the Bombay Cotton Market "He had," he declared, "rarely seen a more disgusting or disgraceful spectacle than that provided by that market during the last few days There was no justification to have run the level of the price of cotton as had been done If they indulge in this type of action, Government will mobilize the whole of its resources in order to defeat and crush them (Loud cheers). They have not only made it difficult to provide cheap cloth for the poor man; they have introduced a serious obstacle in our programme of crop planning in order to secure the food production which we need to solve the food problem; they have acted in the most anti-social way they possibly could It is nothing less than economic sabotage. I assure the House that Government is certainly not going to take that kind of thing lying down and are going to take the most drastic steps to prevent it. I have learned a lesson from the behaviour of the market, and if the speculators think I have said my last word on February 27 they may find they are very badly mistaken" (Renewed cheers). About post-war reconstruction, Sir Jeremy, earlier in his speech, said that Government were acutely conscious that reconstruction had become an urgent matter and it had to be dealt with now and they had decided to take up the matter at the highest level They had decided that reconstruction should be dealt with by a committee of the Executive Council in the same way as the gearing-up of the war effort was dealt with by the War Resources Committee of the Council The Viceroy would naturally be President of the committee as he was President of the War Resources Committee. The deputy president would be Sir J. P. Srivastava who had been asked to undertake the responsibility of presiding at all ordinary meetings. There would be various sub-committees of that committee and these would be presided over by members in charge of the subjects most directly affected, and in these sub-committees the association of non-official representatives would naturally arise One of these committees would be the committee dealing with internal and international trade The Finance Member emphasized that reconstruction was essentially the work of the whole Government and it could not be a question to be left to a single department to be set up. About the Reconstruction Fund itself, the Finance Member made it clear that he would not hesitate to abandon the idea of segregating funds if the House did not like it It was not necessary for the idea of the Reconstruction Fund that a part of the sterling balances should be removed from the Issue Department of the Reserve Bank. It might be found equally effective to determine what was the amount of these assets which should be earmarked for post-war reconstruction.

On the question of defence expenditure, Sir Jeremy observed that he was not so innocent or foolish as to hope that in the task which he had had to undertake of arguing with HMG the case on behalf of the Government of India and on behalf of the country of India he would receive any single word of approbation whatever might be the outcome of his efforts; and he had not been disappointed in that expectation (Laughter). He accepted the observation of one of the speakers that the test of Government's efforts in this respect should be the results. Then could it be argued, he asked, that the charge which India had been asked to bear was unreasonable in relation to the magnitude of the cost of defending this country in the circumstances which arose during the last 12 months If members looked at a country like New Zealand with a population of approximately 3,000,000 people, they would be surprised to find that the defence expenditure borne by a country of that size was not entirely incomparable with the Defence Budget that India has hitherto had to shoulder There were certain people who would argue that this was not India's war in the sense in which it was a war that concerned other

embers of the Commonwealth or the United Nations. He knew that very few embers of the House would support that argument, but there was a considerable dy of Indian opinion which put forward that view. Nevertheless, he was rprised to find that same body of opinion considered that India should make a ofit out of the war and they did not think there was anything tainted in the ofits which accrued to them from activities no part of which, they say, should charged to the cost of India.

Dealing with critics who argued that the Financial Settlement regarding war penditure laid upon India a burden which was beyond her capacity, the Finance ember pointed out that these critics were in a dilemma. On the one hand they mplained of the amount of the total cost charged against India, and on the her expressed considerable uneasiness about the size of the sterling balances ounting in India's credit. Surely they must realize that in so far as the cost of erations was not borne by India, to that extent the payments she received from MG must increase and the sterling balances must also increase with them. The st of war fell either on the one or the other side, and you could not legitimately mplain at the same time that India' defence expenditure was too high and the rling balances which accrued to India were too high. Moreover, was there any e who, when his house was on fire and he and his family were in danger, would y it was too expensive to save himself and his family and property? Sir remy then spoke on the difficulty of obtaining exact information about Lease-nd supplies, particularly the difficulties of determining on whose account various tegories of goods were received whether they were on account of HMG or of dia herself, and also the complications introduced by the non-arrival or delayed rival of documents giving the value or quantity of goods, and so on. It was cause of these difficulties and not because of any secretiveness that fuller formation could not be given at this stage. Accounts could only be made up at e end of the year when it was known for what particular purposes the articles d been utilized, and this was being done in respect of 1942 in which year ase Lend supplies first began to arrive in India in substantial quantities. About r C. Jehangir's estimate of the proceeds of EPT still outstanding, the Finance ember expressed disagreement with his figure and said that Government had ne into the matter with some care, but he was aware of the difficulties and was aking every effort to ensure that the lag between the time when the tax became ailable and was collected was shortened as far as possible. The whole of the islem League Party and some members of the Nationalist Party voted against e Government, while other Nationalist members and all members of the lependent Party voted with the Government.

18th. MARCH :—The Assembly today passed the Finance Bill without division, er agreeing to 2 official amendments of a minor character. The amendments re moved by Sir *John Sheehy* and were for the omission of the provisons to b-clauses 5 and 7 of clause 5 of the Bill. Sir John explained that these visions had been included in the Bill by inadvertence.

During discussion of the clauses, *Pandit Nilkantha Das's* amendment for the ission of the salt tax was lost without division. So were Mr. *A. N. attopadhya's* amendment seeking to reduce from 1 anna to ½ anna the postage for every tola or fraction thereof exceeding a tola and Mr. *Lalchand Navalrai's* endment to reduce from 6 to 4 annas the parcel rate over 40 tolas.

TOBACCO EXCISE BILL

The House also passed today the 1st reading of the Tobacco Excise Bill and discussing the clauses when it rose for the day. Mr *Jamnadas Mehta* declared t the tax would press more heavily on the lower grades of tobacco than on the her and would therefore, hit the poor man more than the rich. Mr. *T. T. ishnamachari* regarded the Bill as an invasion of the provincial sphere of ation and said that in making the agriculturists responsible for filling complicated ns and returns, the Government showed total ignorance of the Indian culturists' condition. Mr. *Hossainbhai Lalljee* considered that this obligation osed on the agriculturist would lead to harassment and be an additional tax him because he would have to employ someone else to fill in forms. Messrs N. *Chattopadhyaya*, *Azhar Ali* and *A. N Das* opposed the Bill. Pt. *Nilkanta* , describing tobacco as "an index of the conquest of the civilized East by the ivilized West" (laughter), declared himself in favour of the tax, but asked ernment not to "molest" the cultivator in levying it. Dr. *Bannerjee* opposed the on country tobacco. *Maulana Zafarali*, after remarking that he could not

compose verses without a "hookah" in front of him (laughter), asked that the rules under the Bill should be examined by a committee of the House before enforcement. Mr. *Govind Deshmukh* suggested that the filling in of forms should be Government's responsibility and not the cultivator's. Sir *Jeremy Raisman* explained that though the idea of introducing the tax occurred to him at the time of last budget, it was realized that the matter required a great deal of careful work and accordingly an officer was placed on special duty to study the matter in all its details That officer made a report from which the Finance Member concluded that the tax was feasible and that there were no serious difficulties provided certain important principles were kept in mind. One of these was that the tax should be levied at a point most removed from the cultivator. Government had in fact taken the greatest care to refrain as far as possible from an undue interference with the grower. The Finance Member claimed that so far from being any disadvantage, the tax would be a great advantage to the grower In the course of the Government's investigation, numerous ways of improving the position of the grower had been found, and those concerned with the improvement of the grower's condition, the quality of the leaf and the conditions of marketing regarded the Rs. 10 lakhs allotted for the grower's benefit as a very useful sum indeed and considered that a great deal could be done with it. The House passed the motion for consideration, and during discussion of the clauses rejected without a division Mr. Chattopaddhya's amendment proposing omission of the tax on country tobacco The House then adjourned till Saturday, the 20th March, when the Bill was passed by 42 votest to 23 The Muslim League and the Nationalist Party voted against the Bill All amendments moved by the Nationalist Party were lost. The only amendment accepted was the one moved by Sir *George Spence*, Secretary Legislative Department, to define 'factory" as any premises in which tobacco was manufactured

During the debate on the Bill *Sir Jeremy Raisman*, the Finance Member assured the House that it would be the primary care and object of Government to see that the tax was collected with the minimum inconvenience to the grower and in a manner which would not constitute a tax on agriculture. Moving consideration of the Vanaspati Excise Bill, the Finance Member said that the import of vegetable oil which was as high as 458, 000 cwts. in 1929 fell away until it was practically negligible The total production at present in India was estimated at about 100,000 tons p.a. There was further potential capacity for expansion, but the difficulty of getting plant and metal containers and of transportation were some of the factors which restricted expansion He refuted the idea that he had a prejudice against this commodity He recognized that this was a useful food product and an element in the diet of the people. As for the objection to a 'kitchen tax," he said he was satisfied that it would not be possible to found a system of taxation in India on a basis which entirely excluded taxation of articles of food Judging from figures in his possession, it was curious that the price level which had been put up following the announcement of the duty was at the present moment only a little higher than in December In fact, prices had reached a point at which it was impossible for the trade at the present moment to pass the duty on to the consumer. A greater part of the tax would come out of the profits of the trade and not from consumer. Moving that the Bill be circulated, *Sardar Sant Singh* asserted that, notwithstanding public prejudice in the past, Vanaspati ghee had come to be used as an independent medium of cooking and occupied its own place beside ghee. He pleaded that the public be given a chance to discuss the evils and benefits arising out of this taxation. *Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan*, declared that members of the Muslim League Party had decided to oppose every taxation measure of Government, irrespective of its merits, because when people had no confidence in the Government they did not like to place more and more money into its hands. Government was only interested in the Assembly passing bills to raise taxes and was absolutely unresponsive to public demands and wishes. He claimed also that Government had different standards for different communities. *Sir Frederick James* wanted to know the reason why Government selected Vanaspati for taxation. Was it due to the fact that there were no administrative difficulties in respect of this trade, he asked. He, however, did not oppose the tax as it did not amount to much and was only a war measure. Mr. *Jamnadas Mehta* said that even if Vanaspati

was left uncovered by a tax, Government would be able to balance its budget by other ways and means. He, therefore, appealed to Government to strike a compromise with the Opposition and respect their wishes. His main complaint was that the poor were taxed by Government and at the same time fleeced by the market and the cumulative effect of it all was that their vitality was being sapped. *Sir Cowasji Jehangir* said that the vegetable product industry was fully organized and the manufacturer would be able to see that tax was paid by the consumer. Mr. *Ramratan Gupta* took the view that it was not fair to tax a vital part of the poor man's food. *Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi* and *Bhai Parmanand* also opposed taxation of the poor. *Sir Jeremy Raisman*, replying to the debate, opposed circulation of the Bill because it was a simple measure. He explained that he had never said that such and such a tax was merely a war time or emergency tax. He knew that a certain amount of taxation which had been necessitated by the war would, in due course come under review and he trusted that a time might come when it would not be necessary to pitch the demands of the State so high. He, however would not give any kind of guarantee on that subject. Replying to other points of objection, Sir Jeremy reiterated what he had emphasized on several occasions before that nobody would be happier than he if not a single rupee of the E.P.T. accrued to Government from the operation of the textile industry. If those who carried on the industry were content to trade upon a basis which left them nothing more than their standard profits, he would be quite happy. He would repeat that if that industry or any other industry would so organize itself as to sell its products to the poor at a price which would not yield profits higher than what they made in their standard periods, he was prepared to base his budget on that basis (Cheers). He referred to the numerous amendments tabled for the reduction of the duty and in order to cut the proceedings short, announced that if the Chair would admit an amendment reducing the tax from Rs. 7 to Rs. [illegible] per cwt. he would be prepared to accept it. *Sardar Sant Singh* moved an amendment to this effect and it was passed. The House then adjourned till March, 23

Railway Convention Resolution

23rd MARCH—The Assembly to-day carried without a division the motion of the War Transport Member, *Sir Edward Benthall*, for the election of a committee of 9 to serve with the War Transport and Finance Members, and the Financial Commissioner, Railways to consider matters arising out of clause IV of the Railway Convention resolution adopted by the House earlier in the session. A number of speakers, including Sir *Ziauddin Ahmed*, *Syed Murtaza Saheb Bahadur*, Mr. *Jamnadas Mehta* and Mr. *Lalchand Navalrai* stressed the importance of enlarging the committee and its scope. *Sir Edward Benthall*, replying, said that the resolution gave the committee a wide enough scope to discuss all the convention, and that after discussion with party leaders he had decided on the size of the committee. It was desirable that it should be a small and efficient working body not exceeding 12.

Tea Control Amend. Bill

After disposing of all demands for supplementary grants, the House took up Mr. *T. S. Pillay's* Bill to amend the Indian Tea Control Act, seeking to extend the measure for the period of the war and 2 years thereafter. Mr. Pillay, moving consideration of the Bill, explained that the interests concerned had unanimously agreed to extension and said that control would be so worked as to leave ample tea for consumption in India.

Maulvi *Abdul Ghani* moved circulation of the Bill and was supported by Dr. *Zia-ud-Din Ahmed* who opposed control of production declaring that it was against the consumer's interests. The consumer, he pointed out, had now to pay for his tea 3 times the price he once paid for it. Mr. *N. M. Joshi* dwelt on the conditions of labour in plantations and said that their wages were the lowest paid to industrial labour in this country amounting to Rs. 7 or 8 a month to a man, Rs. 5 or 6 to a woman and Rs 4 or 5 to a child. It was true they got certain concessions, such as 1/5 of an acre of land each for tilling, huts for living in and fuel; but the labourers suffered from restriction on freedom of movement; and labour legislation, such as the Payment of Wages Act or the Maternity Benefit Act, did not apply to them.

Mr. *P. J. Griffiths*, giving figures, said the total quantity exported was

421,000,000 lbs. leaving a balance in India of 147,000,000 lbs against an estimate of internal consumption placed at its highest at less than 130,000,000 lbs. Any rise in price, therefore, did not arise from shortage of supplies Speaking for the planters, he said that they welcomed every fall in prices and the various planters' associations had agreed that at no time should exports be allowed to go so high as to lead to a shortage in India. Control of the production under the Act had, he said, rescued the industry from a precarious condition.

Dr *B. R. Ambedkar*, Labour member, claimed that much serious blame could not be laid at Government's doors, for of the 5 main recommendations of the Labour Commission 4 were fundamentally of provincial concern and 1, namely, the establishment of a Wage Fixing Board, had been given effect to by the Centre and an Act was already on the Statute Book. About the other 4 recommendations neither the Assam Government nor Mr. Joshi himself moved in the matter until at the Central Government's instance the Congress Ministry in Assam appointed a committee of inquiry, but that committee languished following a conflict within itself soon after that war broke out. The protection of labour interests the Government regarded as of paramount importance, said Dr. Ambedkar. No exact information was available about wages in tea plantations, but it was noticeable that conditions in the plantations were unregulated and they varied enormously from garden to garden. That was a state of affairs which the Government of India would not tolerate It was also clear that the Government could not enter upon any legislation unless they had sufficient material brought before them as a result of an impartial inquiry. An inquiry of this nature was one of the riders put forward by the Labour Commission itself. The question, however, was whether an inquiry could be instituted at present. It would not be right to start any inquiry in Assam or Bengal where the bulk of the plantations existed, namely some 607,000 acres, because it would have a disturbing effect in areas which were greatly exposed to enemy action Could the Government begin an inquiry into the plantations in S. India ? They could, but the acreage there was only 163,000 representing a very small proportion of the total tea area in the country and it seemed to the Government of India that no good could accrue to labour as a result of an inquiry into such a small part of the area. Closure was moved and accepted at this stage and Mr. *Pillay*, replying, said nothing of value could be gained by circulation and pointed out that extension of control was necessary in the consumers' interests. The circulation was lost, and the House agreed to the motion for consideration. Further debate on the Bill was adjourned till the next day, the **24th. March**, when the House passed the 3rd reading of the Bill by 41 votes to 31. Mr. *M Acumen*, Mr. *Jamnadas Mehta Sir Zia-ud Din Ahmed* and Mr. *Govind Deshmukh* opposed the Bill which, in their view, took no note of the consumers' interests Mr *Griffiths* and Mr. *Hussainbhai Laljı* argued that the Bill was necessary in order to protect the interests of the industry Dr. *Bannerji*, while not opposing the principle, asked that its application should be properly made. Mr *T. S. Pillay* said that the consumers' interest was constantly present before Government and that the Bill was in the consumers' interest and was necessary if the industry was to be placed on a reasonable maintenance basis.

HINDU INTESTATE SUCCESSION BILL

The House next took up *Sir Sultan Ahmed's* motion for reference to a joint committee of both Houses of the Bill to amend and codify the Hindu law relating to intestate succession.

Pt Nilkanta Das moved circulation of the Bill for eliciting opinion thereon by Dec. 31, 1945, while Mr. *Baijnath Bajoria* moved postponement of consideration till after the cessation of hostilities Mr Bajoria made it clear that he did not mean cessation of hostilities between man and woman (Laughter) The *Chair* ruled Mr Bajoria's motion out of order under the rules.

Sir Sultan, commending his motion, expressed the hope that the Bill would be one of a series of measures which would form the constituents of a comprehensive code of Hindu law and simplify the rules laid down under that system by different commentators on the original codes and give them a statutory basis. After referring to the series of private Bills which sought to remedy defects, Sir Sultan discussed the main structure of the Bill.

From every point of view, political or otherwise, the assimilation of the 2 schools in matters of succession was to be welcomed, and indeed so far as the Mitakshara jurisdictions were concerned, the Legislature had already by the Act

of 1929 given a higher place to the son's daughter, the daughter's daughter, the sister and the sister's son, and in the circumstances, it would not be fair to suggest that any violent change had been made which would shock the conscience of even the orthodox Sanatanist. "Our aim and endeavour should be to apply the true Hindu spiritual outlook to the task of helping Hindu society to move on with the march of time. It is not foreign to that culture if we attempt to blend stability with movement, eternal truth with external evolution" The Bill, he said, had to come into force on Jan. 1, 1946 The main reason for this was to give Governors' provinces sufficient time to pass complementary legislation in respect of agricultural land which was a provincial subject. Any enactment relating to it had been held by the Federal Court to be outside the competence of the Centre

Bhai Parmanand, opposing the Bill and supporting postponement, asked where was the urgency of a Bill of such a revolutionary character? For those modern Westernized Hindus who were fond of changes in Hindu Law, there was the Civil Marriage Act of which they could take advantage What right had these people to enforce this Bill on all Hindus and attempt to change the whole law? The Bill, in his view, would destroy the family which was the unit of Hindu society, and lead to fragmentation and disintegration of property Bhai Parmanand asked that the bill should either be postponed or made an issue in the next election, and then proceeded with if the electorate supported it

Mrs. *Renuka Ray*, the woman representative specially nominated for the debate on the Bill, did not think that the Bill could have come as a surprise to anyone. The vast majority of opinion on the Bill was in favour of it. She referred to the countrywide agitation that was carried on 10 years ago in favour of women's rights and she maintained that it was not necessary to wait for the new elections to discover how far the country was in favour of the Bill If a referendum were taken today, the result would show that Hindus were not only willing to support the principles of the Bill but would go much further Mrs Ray hoped that the Bill would mark the beginning of a new era of social reform in India.

Pt. *Nilkanta Das* disputed the claim that the Congress Party if it were present would have supported the Bill Mr Deshmukh's Bill, he said, originally proposed "absolute estate" for widows, and that provision was opposed both by the Government and the Congress Party, Pt. Nilkanta Das asked if it was the intention to amend the Code of Manu.

Sir Sultan Ahmed. Certainly not.

Pt Das had not concluded when the House adjourned

DETENUS & POLITICAL PRISONERS

25th. MARCH —Mr. *T T Krishnamachari* moved to-day his resolution recommending drastic revision of the Government's policy on the treatment of political prisoners and detenus and asking that members of the Central Legislature should be allowed to visit prisoners and interview political prisoners so that they could draw attention to the inconveniences and restrictions imposed on these prisoners with a view to eliminating them

Four amendments were moved. Mr. *N M Joshi* wanted prisoners to be provided with better living conditions in jails and adequate provision made for the maintenance of their families and for an interim review of their cases. Pt. *Nilkanta Das* wanted the revision to be such as to facilitate the release of those who were in favour of co-operation in the war effort The amendments moved by Mr *Neogy* asked that at least 2 interviews with relatives and friends be allowed to prisoners who should be permitted to receive and despatch at least 2 letters every month

Mr. Krishnamachari made it clear that the resolution did not ask for the release of such prisoners or seek to discuss Government's policy He also argued that the question of treatment of these prisoners was within the purview of of the Central Government.

Sir Reginald Maxwell, Home Member, speaking in response to a request to explain the Government's attitude at an early stage of the debate, said that the number of persons detained in connexion with the Congress movement was 8,120 on Feb. 1, 1943 and he claimed that the House would agree that, considering the extent of the movement the number was small and that there was no policy of indiscriminate arrest, for otherwise the number would have been very much larger. The Home Member referred to Mr. Joshi's recommendations following his visit to the Deoli detention camp and said that the Government of India had addressed

the provincial Governments on a number of matters to which Mr. Joshi had drawn attention including classification, diet allowance, receipt of funds from outside, family and personal allowances, censorship of correspondence, release on parole, etc The provinces had generally accepted the Government of India's views in the matter; but the Home Member explained that it was not possible for the Central Government to take all these matters out of the provincial Governments, hands nor could the Central Government be responsible for the administration of these matters, particularly where they had Ministries responsible to popular legislatures which were the proper place in which questions should be addressed with regard to treatment of these prisoners.

Sardar Sant Singh : What happens when they refuse to answer questions in provincial legislatures ?

Sir Reginald remarked that the Ministries were put in power by the people.

A voice : When about provinces where legislatures are not functioning ?

The *Home Member* replied it was not his fault that the legislatures were not functioning in certain provinces. Those legislatures were withdrawn by the very people who were security prisoners now. (Laughter) Sir Reginald proceeded to point out that the Central Government were thus concerned with the Chief Commissioner's provinces and there they had put into practice Mr Joshi's recommendations which had been accepted On the whole, the treatment of prisoners there was humane and reasonably liberal in the matter of privileges, but of course the latitude allowed and the privileges given must be consistent with the reasons and objects of detention and consistent with the practical possibilities of jails administration Of these practical possibilities the Governments themselves must be the judges Security prisoners detained in connection with the present movement, said the Home Member, were governed by the same rules that applied to all security prisoners in general, but there were certain modifications based on the reasons and objects of their detention Those modifications were precautionary and not penal. The movement, such as it was, continued "and we must remember that as active organizers most of the persons detained were probably even more dangerous than many of those who were convicted, who were merely tools of these other people."

The Government, he said, took a very serious view of the dangers to which India was exposed by the movement and they could not take any risk in dealing with them The policy from the first had been to segregate these people and prevent them from establishing any contact with the outside world, barring letters on purely personal and domestic matters. No relaxation of these restrictions could at present be contemplated because the war was not yet won, the danger was still there, and the Congress movement was not yet dead. The underground organization of the Congress still existed and was bent upon carrying on the movement. The more Government relaxed these restrictions the more cases occurred of escapes from jail and mutiny in jail.

"We must have something tangible to convince us that India's obligations for her own defence and for the defence of the United Nations stand in no further danger from these people" So long as the Congress resolution stood, so long as the underground organization existed, the Government could take no more risks. Sir Reginald went on to remind the House once more that the restrictions placed on these prisoners were governed by the nature and continued existence of the situation with which the Government had to deal, but at the same time the position of these people had in the past received careful consideration. These persons would not be detained indefinitely, Government were anxious to relieve pressure which existed in the jails. The House must not suppose that the present state of things was at all welcome to the Government, and with due caution they would do the best they could to let these people go, but in the meanwhile there was no room for special investigation into the condition on their detention.

Further debate on the resolution was postponed till the next session, today being the last day for non-official resolutions this session The House then adjourned

Hindu Inter-Caste Marriage Bill

26th MARCH .—A Bill to validate marriages between Hindus belonging to the same "gotra" or "pravar" and between Hindus belonging to different subdivisions of the same caste, was discussed in the Assembly today on a motion by the mover, Mr. *Gopal Deshmukh*, who asked for its reference to a select committee Mr. Deshmukh said that the Bill was an enabling measure and as such should not be objected to from the orthodox view point. The question might be asked why people who wanted a reform of this kind should not take advantage of the Civil

Marriage Act. The reply was that a Hindu marrying under that Act suffered "civil death" and was immediately separated from the joint family. Mr. Deshmukh made it clear, however, that if the Hindu Marriage Bill drafted by the Rau Committee which had already been introduced in the Assembly had a reasonable prospect of being proceeded with soon, he would withdraw his Bill

Mrs. *Renuka Roy* hoped that the Rau Committee's Bill would be taken up in the next session and that members would give the Law Member an assurance that it would receive their support, so that it could be carried through even without it being referred to a select committee. Women in India, she added, were against piecemeal or patchwork amendment of the type attempted by Mr. Deshmukh and she hoped that the Rau Committee's Bill was only the first chapter in a comprehensive revision of the Hindu Marriage Code

Sir *Sultan Ahmed* expressed sympathy with the mover and Mrs. Roy, but said that the orthodox point of view had also to be taken into account. He himself was prepared to proceed with the Rau Committee's Bill today, but that was not possible and he could only say that it would be proceeded with when the time was propitious. At present he was opposed to Mr. Deshmukh's Bill

Mr. Deshmukh withdrew his motion.

The Assembly, however, agreed to the continuance of Mr. *G V Deshmukh's* two Bills, one further to amend the Special Marriage Act and the other to give Hindu married women a right to separate residence and maintenance in certain circumstances. Mr Deshmukh (Congress) attended the House today in order to make his motion for their continuance.

The amendments made by the Council of State in Mr *Abdul Ghani's* Muslim Wakfs Bill were accepted by the House which adjourned till the 29th

HINDU INTESTATE SUCCESSION BILL

29th. MARCH :—The Assembly today resumed the debate on *Sir Sultan Ahmed's* motion for reference to a joint committee of the Hindu Intestate Succession Bill. *Pandit Nilakanta Das* urged postponement of the consideration of the Bill till after the war. He said there was no evidence that women in India wanted the Bill, that the procedure adopted in ascertaining public opinion on it was defective; that there were many public men who opposed it Mr. V D Savarkar, President of the Hindu Mahasabha, for instance, wanted postponement in view of the strong opinion expressed against it.

Mr. *Ramratan Gupta* supported the principle of giving daughters a proper share in property but objected to extending this principle to a daughter's son or daughter and so on. He also objected to retrospective effect being given to the Bill. He felt that the publicity given to it was not sufficient.

Mr. *Govind Deshmukh* said the question of a daughter's right to property had been agitating the public mind ever since the Deshmukh Act and it could not therefore be said that the problem had not received sufficient public attention. Even if more opinion remained to be elicited there was time to do so before the Select Committee met Those who took their stand on Manu should in his opinion remember that the structure of Hindu society had changed greatly since those days as it must if it was a living organism.

Opponents of the Bill said the measure would lead to fragmentation of holdings, but this could be remedied by legislation providing for consolidation of holdings and by giving the right of pre-emption to a co-tenant when one of them wished to dispose of his holding.

Mr. *Baijnath Bajoria* moved an amendment for circulation of the Bill till Dec 31. 1943. He strongly objected to the Bill being brought at the fag end of the session. The Government of Bengal had expressed the opinion that the consideration of this Bill should be postponed till after the war Coming from Bengal, he knew that the people there with bombs overhead and mines like this Bill under their feet (laughter) were not in a fit state of mind to give proper consideration to a measure of far-reaching social reform.

Mr *Jamnadas Mehta* strongly supported the demand for more time to consider the Bill He said he had received a representation from the Gujerat Bhatia Stree Mandal saying that they had not had sufficient time to study it. He pointed out that social custom at present gave, ensured and perpetuated what the law might not at present provide as a matter of legal right for women. He knew wealthy Hindu families who had given dowries and presents to daughters far in excess of anything that sons could expect as legal shares in the property. He supported the demand that until autonomy was restored in the Provinces,

measures necessary to complete the legislation on the subject should not be undertaken. The Assembly then adjourned till the next day, the **30th. March**, when it agreed without a division to refer the Bill to a joint select committee of both Houses consisting of 18 members. The House earlier rejected two motions for circulation, one by Pt. *Nilakanta Das* till Dec. 31. 1945, and the other by Mr. *B. Bajoria* till Dec 31. 1943. Mr. Bajoria's amendment was lost by 35 votes to 7. M. *K. C. Neogy*, continuing the debate on the select committee motion on this Bill, expressed sympathy with the complaint that sufficient time had not been given for public opinion to express itself fully on a measure which, it must be remembered, was likely to give a rude shock to age-long traditions. He quoted a number of authorities to support his point of view that Hindu law and custom had undergone changes and these changes had been approved and sanctioned by authoritative exponents and commentators It was this elastic and growing character of Hindu law that great Hindu judges of Bengal and Madras had stressed. Mr. Neogy suggested that when the Bill was passed it should be placed on the Statute Book as a permissive measure in order to give the provinces sufficient time to pass complementary legislation in respect of agricultural property. This Bill would, in that case, be brought into force in the provinces as and when complementary legislation was passed. Otherwise, there would be two different rules of succession and that would lead to complication. Mr. *A. M. Dam*, supporting the amendment for circulation till Dec. 31. 1945, said it was not a dilatory motion because even the Rau Committee did not expect the Bill to become an Act till 1946. Mr. *Ghulam B Nairang*, explaining the Muslim League's attitude, said that Islam gave the lead to the world in recognizing women as equal partners in life, and also the lead in raising the status of women in society to one of independence Muslims would therefore emphatically endorse any measure undertaken to give women's rights practical shape and force. The Bill however concerned the personal law of the Hindu nation. The attitude of the Muslim League Party would therefore be one of benevolent neutrality. They would help and co-operate in passing any part of the Bill which was non-contentious and would remain neutral on any part of it which was hotly contested. That attitude would be maintained by them, even though he regretted to find that Hindu members of the House obstructed and criticized measures which related solely to Muslim personal law.

Sir Sultan Ahmed, replying on the debate, said that if necessary he was prepared to examine before the select committee two or three experts particularly from Bengal who might be of help to the committee. He was also prepared to give time for expression of public opinion on the Bill if it emerged from the select committee in a form that made this necessary. He gave the assurance that the select committee would not be packed with supporters of the Bill but would have on it men who held very strong views against the Bill He agreed to invite the opinion of one or two women's associations in Bombay or Poona who had not expressed their views Beyond that he would not go. He was not prepared to accept the motion for circulation The Law Member explained why circulation was unnecessary and pointed out that since April 1941, when the Rau Committee made its preliminary report based on a questionnaire previously issued, the subject had been constantly before the public and the opinions received on the Bill in its present form covered 107 closely printed pages.

Leaders Refused to Interview Gandhi

2nd. APRIL—Mr. *T. T. Krishnamachari* attempted to move an adjournment to-day to discuss the Government's refusal to permit leaders to interview Mr. Gandhi. The Home Member, *Sir Reginald Maxwell* objecting said that the application for an interview was presumably made to the Viceroy as head of the Government of India and his reply was based on the policy already laid down by the Government in regard to the conditions of detention, a policy to which Government had consistently adhered. There had been no change in that policy, which had been in existence for a considerable time and had often been before the House already.

Mr. *N. M. Joshi* said that there had been a great change in the situation. In reply to the *President's* question it was stated that the interview sought was for political purposes. The *Chair* observed that if the purpose was purely political and aimed at resolving the deadlock, it was not a new matter. The motion was, therefore, out of order. The House at this stage adjourned "*sine die.*"

The Bengal Legislative Assembly

LIST OF MEMBERS

Speaker.

1. THE HON'BLE SYED NAUSHER ALI

Deputy Speaker.

2. SYED JALALUDDIN HASHEMY

For the Council of Ministers and Parliamentary Secretaries See page 2.

1. General Constituencies

14. MR. JATINDRA NATH BASU.
15. MR. SANTOSH KUMAR BASU.
16. MR. ISWAR DAS JALAN.
17. DR. J. M. DAS GUPTA.
18. MR. JOGESH CHANDRA GUPTA
19. MR. SARAT CHANDRA BOSE
20. MR BARADA PROSANNA PAIN.
21. MR. TULSI CHANDRA GOSWAMI
22. RAI HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI.
23. DR. NALINAKSHA SANYAL.
24. VACANT,
25. MR. PRAFUL CHANDRA GANGULY.
26. MAHARAJKUMAR UDAY CHAND MAHTAB.
27. MR. PRAMATHA NATH BANERJEE
28. DR SHARAT CHANDRA MUKHERJEE.
29. SRIJUT MANINDRA BHUSHAN SINHA
30. MR. KAMALKRISHNA RAY
31. MR. DEBENDRA LAL KHAN.
32. MR. KISHORI PATI ROY.
33. DR. GOBINDA CHANDRA BHAWMIK
34. MR. ISWAR CHANDRA MAL
35. MR. NIKUNJA BEHARI MAITI
36. MR. DHIRENDRA NARAYAN MUKERJI.
37. MR. SUKUMAR DUTTA.
38. MR. MANMATHA NATH ROY.
39. RAI JOGESH CHANDRA SEN BAHADUR.
40. MR P. BANNERJI
41. MR. HARIPADA CHATTOPADHYAY.
42. MR. SASANKA SEKHAR SANYAL
43. MR ATUL KRISHNA GHOSE.
44. BABU NAGENDRA NATH SEN
45. MR. SATYA PRIYA BANERJEE
46. MR. ATUL CHANDRA KUMAR.
47. MR. NISHITHA NATH KUNDU.
48. BABU KHAGENDRA NATH DAS GUPTA.
49. MR. JOTINDRA NATH CHAKRABARTY.
50. BABU NARENDRA NARAYAN CHAKRABARTY.
51. MR. ATUL CHANDRA SEN.
52. MR. KIRAN SANKAR ROY
53. MR. CHARU CHANDRA ROY.
54. BABU JANENDRA CHANDRA MAJUMDAR.
55. MR. SURENDRA NATH BISWAS
56. SRIJUT NARENDRA NATH DAS GUPTA
57. MR. JOGENDRA NATH MANDAL
58. MR DHIRENDRA NATH DUTTA
59. MR. HARENDRA KUMAR SUR
60. MRS NELLIE SEN GUPTA
61. MR. DAMBAR SINGH GURUNG
62. MR. ADWAITA KUMAR MAJI
63. MR. BANKU BEHARI MANDAL
64. BABU DEBENDRA NATH DASS
65. SRIJUT ASHUTOSH MULLICK
66. MR. KRISHNA PRASAD MANDAL
67. MR. HARENDRA NATH DOLUI
68. BABU RADHANATH DAS
69. MR PULIN BEHARI MULLICK
70. MR. HEM CHANDRA NASKAR
71. MR. ANUKUL CHANDRA DAS
72. BABU LAKSHMI NARAYAN BISWAS
73. RAI SAHIB KIRIT BHUSAN DAS
74. MR RASIK LAL BISWAS
75. MR PATIRAM RAY
76. MR TARINICHARAN PRAMANIK
77. BABU PREMHARI BARMA
78. BABU SHYAMA PROSAD BARMAN
79. BABU UPENDRANATH BARMAN
80. MR. PUSPAJIT BARMA
81. BABU KSHETRA NATH SINGHA
82. BABU MADHUSUDAN SARKAR
83. MR. DHANANJOY ROY
84. MR. AMRITA LAL MANDAL
85. MR MONOMOHAN DAS
86. MR. BIRAT CHANDRA MANDAL
87. MR PROMATHA RANJAN THAKUR
88. MR. UPENDRANATH EDBAR
89. JAGAT CHANDRA MANDAL

2. Muhammadan Constituencies

90. MR M. A. H. ISPAHANI
91. MR. K. NOORUDDIN
92. KHAN BAHADUR MAULVI MD. SOLAIMAN
93. MAULVI ABDUL HASHIM
94. MAULVI MD. ABDUR RASHEED
95. KHAN BAHADUR DR. SYED MUHAMMAD SIDDIQUE
96. KHAN BAHADUR MAULVI AIFAZUDDIN AHMED
97. MAULVI ABDUL QUASEM
98. KHAN BAHADUR MAULVI S. ABDUR RAUF
99. KHAN SHAIB JASIMUDDIN AHMED
100. YOUSUF MIRZA
101. KHAN BAHADUR A. F M. ABDUR RAHMAN
102. MR. M. SHAMSUDDIN AHMED
103. MR. MOHAMMAD MOHSIN ALI
104. DR ABDUL MUTALEB MALIK
105. MR SYED BADRUDDOJA
106. SAHIBZADA KAWAN JAH SYED KAZEM ALI MEERZA

107. Mr. M. Farhad Raja Chowdhury
108. Mr. Syed Nausher Ali
109. Maulvi Waliur Rahman
110. Mr. Serajal Islam
111. Khan Bahadur Maulana, Ahmed Ali Enyatpuri
112. Mr. Abdul Hakeem
113. Mr. Syed Jalaluddin Hashemy
114. Mr. Syed Mustagawsal Haque
115. Maulvi Maniruddin Akhand
116. Maulvi Mohammad Amir Ali Mia
117. Maulvi M. Moslem Ali Molla
118. Maulvi Mafizuddin Choudhury
119. Maulvi Hafizuddin Choudhury
120. Maulvi Abdul Jabbar
121. Vacant
122. Khan Bahadur A M. L. Rahman
123. Haji Safiruddin Ahmed
124. Khan Bahadur Shah Abdur Rauf
125. Kazi Emdadul Haque
126. Mr Mia Abdul Hafiz
127. Maulvi Abu Hossain Sarkar
128, Mr. Ahmed Hossain
129 Maulvi Rajibuddin Tarafdar
130. Maulvi Mohammad Ishaque
131. Dr. Mafizuddin Ahmed
132. Khan Bahadur Mohammed Ali
133. Maulvi Azhar Ali
134. Mr A. M Abdul Hamid
135. Mr. Abdur Raschid Mahmood
136. Mr. Abdulla-Al-Mahmood
137. Mr Mohammad Barat Ali
138. Maulvi Zahur Ahmed Chowdhury
139. Maulvi Idris Ahmed Mia
140. Maulana Mohammad Abdul Aziz
141. Mr. S. A Salim
142. Maulvi Mohammed Abdul Hakim Vikrampuri
143 Mr. Razaur Rahman Khan
144 Khan Bahadur Aulad Hossain Khan
145 Maulvi Abdul Latif Biswas
146. Maulvi Mohammad Abdus Shaheed
147. Mr Syed Sahab Alum
148. Mr. Fazlur Rahman
149. Mr. Mahammad Abdul Jabbar
150. Mr Giasuddin Ahmed
151. Mr Abdul Karim
152. Maulvi Abdul Majid
153. Maulvi Abdul Waheed
154. Maulana Shamsul Huda
155. Maulvi Abdul Hakim
156. Al-Hadj Maulvi Masud Ali Khan
157. Mr. Mirza Abdul Hafiz
158. Mr. Syed Hasan Ali Chowdhury
159. Khan Bahadur Maulvi Kabiruddin Khan
160 Mr. Abul Hossain Ahmed
161 Maulvi Mohammad Israil
162. Maulvi Abdul Hamid Shah
163. Khan Sahib Hamiduddin Ahmed
164. Mr. Shamsuddin Ahmed Khandakar
165. Maulvi Ahmed Ali Mridha
166. Mr. Yusuf Ali Chowdhury
167. Mr. Mahammad Abul Fazl
168. Al-Hadj Gyasuddin Ahmed Choudhury
169. Mr. Abdul Kader
170. Khan Sahib Maulvi Hatemally Jamadar
171. Khan Bahadur Maulvi Syed Muhammad Afzal
172. Khan Bahadur Maulvi Hashem Ali Khan
173 Mr. Sadaruddin Ahmed
174. Mr. Abdul Wahab Khan
175. Maulvi Mohammad Mozammel Huq
176. Haji Maulvi Tofel Ahmed Chowdhury
177. Maulvi Mustufa Ali Dewan
178. Mr. Maqbul Hosain
179. Maulvi Mafizuddin Ahmed
180. Mr. Ramizuddin Ahmed
181 Mr. Asimuddin Ahmed
182. Maulvi Mahammad Hasanuzzaman
183. Maulvi Jonab Ali Majumdar
184. Khan Bahadur Maulvi Abidur Reza Chowdhury
185. Mr. Shahedali
186. Maulvi Mohammad Ibrahim
187. Khan Sahib Maulvi Aminullah
188 Mr. Shah Syed Golam Sarwar Hosaini
189. Mr. Syed Ahmed Khan
190. Mr. Syed Abdul Majid
191. Maulvi Abdur Razzak
192. Khan Bahadur Maulvi Jalaluddin Ahmed
193. Khan Bahadur Mohammad Anwarul Azim
194. Maulana Mahammad Maniruzzaman Islamabadi
195. Dr. Sanaullah
196. Khan Bahadur Maulvi Fazlul Qadir

3. Women's Constituencies

197. Miss Mira Dutta Gupta
198. Mrs. Hemaprova Majumdar
199. Mrs Hasina Murshed
200. Begum Farhat Bano Khanam
201. Miss P. B. Bell-Hart

4 Anglo Indian Constituencies

202. Mr. J W Chippendale
203. Mr. L. T. Maguire
204. Mr. C. Griffiths

5. European Constituencies

205. Mr. I. A. Clark
206. Sir Henry Birkmyre, Bart
207. Mr. R. J. Hawkings
208. Mr. A. K. Stark
209. Mr. J. H. Speller
210. Mr. R. R. Haddow

211. Mr. G. Morgan
212. Mr. H. Brabant Smith
213. Mr. W. O. Patton
214. Mr. J. W. R. Steven
215. Mr. J. F. Sinclair

6. Indian Christian Constituencies

216. Dr. H. C. Mukherji
217. Mr S. A. Gomes

7. Commerce & Industry Constituencies

218. Mr. J. R. Walkar
219. Mr. Rogers Haywood
220. Mr. M. A F. Hirtzel
221. Mr. D. Gladding
222. Mr. R. M. Sassoon
223. Mr. David Hendry
224. Mr. W. C. Wordsworth
225. Mr. K. A. Hamilton
226 Mr. H. R. Norton
227. W. A. M. Walker
228. Mr. I. G. Kennedy
229. Mr. C. W. Miles
230. Mr. G. G. MacGregor
231. Mr. R. B. Whitehead
232. Mr. Nalini Ranjan Sarker
233. Sir Hari Sankar Paul
234. Mr. Debi Prasad Khaitan
235. Rai Moongtu Lall Tapuriah Bahadur
236. Mr. Abdur Rahman Siddiqi

8. Landholders' Constituencies

237. Kumar Shib Shekhareswar Ray
238. Maharaja Sasikanta Acharjya Choudhury
239. Rai Kshirod Chandra Roy Bahadur
240. Mr. Tarak Nath Mukherjea.

9. Labour Constituencies

(i) Trade Union Labour

241. Mr. J. N. Gupta
242. Mr. Aftab Ali
243. Dr. Suresh Chandra Banerjee

(ii) Factory and Colliery Labour

244. Mr. Niharendu Dutta Mazumdar
245 Mr. Sibnath Banerjee
246. Mr. A M. A. Zaman
247. Mr. B Mukherjee

(iii) Tea Garden Labour

248. Babu Litta Munda Sirdar

10. University Constituencies

249 Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee
250. Mr Fazlur Rahman

Advocate-General

Sir Asoka Kumar Roy

Proceedings of the Assembly

Budget Session—Calcutta—12th. February to 29th. March 1943

Mahatma Gandhi's 21-day fast and Dr. *Syamaprosad Mookerjee's* statement on his resignation from the Bengal Cabinet, were the two subjects which figured prominently at the opening day's sitting of the Budget session of the Bengal Legislative Assembly held in the Assembly Hall, Calcutta on the 12th. February, 1943. The Assembly, by unanimous Indian votes—the European group opposing—urged immediate and unconditional release of Mahatma Gandhi. The discussion on this special motion took place in remarkable silence prevailing in the House and was over in quarter of an hour's time.

Dr. Mukherjee's Statement on His Resignation

Dr. *Syamaprasad Mookerjee* spoke for over three-quarters of an hour detailing events leading to his resignation from the Cabinet. His speech received tremendous applause from all sections of the House save the European group, and Dr Mookerjee was greeted with shouts of "Bande Mataram" as he resumed his seat. Mr. *Abdur Rahman Siddiqui* and a few other leading members of the Muslim League Party in opposition congratulated Dr. Mookerjee on his speech when the House rose for a short recess. Said Dr. Mookerjee :—

As members of the House are aware, I felt compelled to resign first because I found that the continued policy of the British Government and the Government in this country was to ignore the claims of Indians to fuller political power, to hamper good Government consistent with the true interests of the people.

Present Indian Deadlock

Suffice it to say that I definitely regard the authorities as responsible for the present deadlock in India. The Indian public on the whole can possibly have no sympathy with any foreign aggressor. The reason is simple and straightforward. We do not want a change of masters. We would like to see our country attain as speedily as possible that political status which is its birthright. There is no sense in our asking to be rid of British control, if we simultaneously wish to place

ourselves under a fresh foreign yoke. The deadlock however suits the reactionary elements that dominate over the Indian administration and it is manifest that the British Government has no desire to part with power in India. Excuse after excuse is trotted out for holding India under its heels against the will of her people.

During my experience as a Minister I found to my utter surprise that in many vital matters affecting the rights and liberty of the people the advice tendered by the ministers was invariably subject to revision in the light of the counsel tendered by the more trusted members of the services whose omnicompetence was almost of a divine character. Let me make it clear beyond dispute that I do not charge public servants as a class with having failed to respect the spirit of provincial autonomy in this province. I know of officers, British and Indian, whose services have been of inestimable value to the province. My charge is directed against a coterie of officials forming the Fourth Estate or the Real Estate who to-day exercise a malign influence over the affairs of the province, and according to the language of the Defence of India Rules are dangerous men. I cannot possibly discuss all the details of the provincial administration in respect of which the farcical state of a Government within a Government has been the main characteristic. But such matters related not only to the department of Law and Order but also to other departments. The keynote of the policy of interference was that people of the land were not to be trusted and power, whenever possible, must remain in the hands of chosen British officials enjoying the confidence of the Governor and his coterie.

RELEASE OF POLITICALS

In the matter of release of political prisoners the Ministers were anxious to pursue a policy which while fully consistent with the present war emergency would at the same time help to mobilise public opinion of all shades in favour of the defence of the province against Axis aggression. Whether the recommendations affected the general state policy or individual cases, systematic obstruction came from the permanent officials, whom ministers could not remove. The revised scheme of Home Guards approved by the Council of Ministers calculated to lay the foundation of a people's army, irrespective of caste, community or politics was summarily rejected by the Governor inasmuch as the stalwarts of the department of law and order were not prepared to trust Bengalees to unite in the defence of their own motherland or in maintaining internal security. The present situation regarding food and supply of essential commodities has taken an acute turn. But here also the interfering hands of the Governor and the policy of his own selected officials whom the ministry was bound to accept, whether it liked them or not, have been mainly responsible for the lack of co-ordination and for the failure to draw up a comprehensive scheme for the relief of the people at large.

When the political disturbances due to the Congress decision in August had not broken out, the policy of combating the movement was outlined by the Government of India and such is the nature of responsible Government functioning in this unfortunate land that the communication was not allowed to be placed before the Council of Ministers inspite of repeated demands made by the Chief Minister himself. A coterie of public servants could however see this document and they were ready with plans and proposals. But Ministers were allowed access to it only after the policy had been given effect to by the Government of India on August 9 last. In the matter of appointments an Indian Civil Servant who was a Bengali, could easily be superseded by the decision of the Governor in spite of ministerial advice, on the plea that all appointments and transfers were to be made by the Governor acting in his own discretion under the Government of India Act. One may stop here and ask, is that discretion intended to be exercised only in favour of protecting the vested interests of choosen officers or the interest of members belonging to the Governor's own community? Another British Civil Servant had the audacity to put down in writing that the rates of payments made to the unfortunate evacuees of Eastern Bengal were much higher than what they deserved and as "an Imperial officer",—the words are not mine but his—(and who will dare say after this that Imperialism will ever die on the soil of India ?)—as an Imperial officer he refused to carry out the orders of the provincial Government. This officer still remains in power and enjoys position of trust and responsibility.

COLLECTIVE FINES

The history of imposition of collective fines is another chapter of deliberate violation of justice and fairplay. The Hindus were singled out for mass punishment in respect of collective fines. I never suggested for a moment that the remedy was

the inclusion of Moslems as a whole. My claim has been and is today that fines should be imposed only on persons who can be held to be guilty according to the provisions of the Ordinance. There should no imposition based on communal consideration. Just as innocent Moslems should be excluded, so also innocent Hindus should be excluded, unless the policy of Government is to terrorise the Hindus as a community. We as Ministers asked for the whole policy being reconsidered by the Cabinet and demanded a correct application of the Ordinance to suitable cases.

The House will recall that in course of a recent discussion the Indian members of the legislature belonging to all groups pressed Government for liberalising the conditions for admission to the Army and for taking steps for organising a national militia which would be charged with the solemn duty of defending our hearth and home. The ministry unanimously advocated the creation of such a militia but there was systematic obstruction from higher quarters. Want of arms and ammunitions, want of trainer, want of time were some of the pleas that were put forward time after time. We were reminded that the task of armed defence might be left in the hands of non-Bengalees and we in our turn could well prepare the minds of the people for putting forward an effective passive resistance should the enemy ever penetrate into our land. The real reason was not a sudden affection for the doctrine of non-violence discovered by British representatives in this province, for England would not rightly agree to follow it in her own case. It was deep-rooted distrust of Bengalees, be they Hindus or Moslems, that justified a deliberate policy of emasculation of the manhood of this land.

The Denial Policy and the schemes for compulsory evacuation for military purposes have caused the greatest possible hardship to thousands of poor people in Bengal. The Council of Ministers prepared a unanimous note indicating with sufficient clearness that the Denial Policy which was the outcome of a theory of defeatism could easily be avoided consistent with military requirements. That memorandum was not even forwarded to the Government of India and the advice of the ministers though it ultimately secured some alteration in the detailed application of the policy, could not undo the total mischief which has caused an unprecedented social and economic disaster in many parts of Bengal.

APPEAL FOR UNITY

When we come here as members of the legislature, we seek to reach the goal of our national freedom through the path of constitutional struggle. The history of countries, which still form part of the British Empire but had to wrest from unwilling hands the charter of their liberty, affords glorious examples of constitutional struggle and victory. One had to read the histories of Canada and Australia for the purpose of recalling how sharp was the difference between local power and constitutional rights in these Dominions and many a Governor was actually recalled at the instance of the legislature for their flagrant acts of arbitrary dictatorship. The Government of India Act of 1935 will not indicate the manner and method of fighting for our constitutional rights. The legislatures of India will have to create new usages and conventions and demand the abrogation of arbitrary rule. After all, what is it that we want in this province and country of ours? We have as much right to throw off the yoke of British domination as England is anxious to save herself from Hitler's profane hands. Are we to be guilty of treason or branded as fifth-columnists if we re-echo President Roosevelt's historic utterance that it is much better for a nation to die standing on its feet than to live on its bended knees? We claim the liberty to shape the administrative policy of this province with the real needs of the people. We want that the will of the people will be reflected truly and forcibly in the voices of the members of the legislature and unmindful of all consequences, its members will compel the executive to proceed on lines which are in accordance with national interests. If in the process of so doing the legislature finds disturbers and obstructionists seated on high pedestals standing in the way, it must fearlessly demand their removal from office. Let me make this appeal to all section of this House so that we may unite in our own struggle to uproot tyranny and oppression we have often fought with each other and thereby not only weakened ourselves but have strengthened those reactionary forces whose very continuance depends on our difference. To-day in the crisis that threatens us, not as Hindus or Moslems as such but as Bengalees and Indians, let us demand the inauguration of an administration which will recognise our just economic and political rights. A Hindu and a Moslem may differ on many things. But do they not equally detest slavery,—and it is for ending the state of intolerable slavery that I am asking for your support and co-operation.

Release of Mahatma Gandhi

The Assembly next passed *Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookerjee's* special motion urging the Government of Bengal immediately to take necessary steps to represent to the Government of India that in view of the fast undertaken by Mahatma Gandhi in the present stage of his health, he should be unconditionally released forthwith The motion was supported by all non-official members of the House excepting the European Group.

Moving the motion, Dr Mookerjee pointed out that the motion was not to raise any controversial political issue "The life of one of the greatest men of the age," he said, "is to-day at stake. That life is considered valuable and sacred by millions of men irrespective of caste, religion and politics and that life to-day should be saved from impending peril by his immediate release. Bengal wants to add her voice to the demand raised by the rest of India that Mahatma Gandhi should forthwith be released from detention and his fast brought to an immediate end."

Speaking on behalf of the Government, the Chief Minister, Mr. *A. K. Fazlul Huq* said that Government as such had nothing to say in the matter. What he proposed to do was to forward the proceedings of the House in regard to the Central Government for their consideration. Speaking as an individual, Mr. Huq said that he shared the feelings expressed by different sections of the House. He pointed out, if the Central Government took action in a particular direction, it was not open to the Provincial Government to interfere in that action. The Provincial Government as such therefore could not offer any advice to the Central Government in matters of police or in regard to any action that might be taken by the latter.

Supporting the motion on behalf of the Muslim League Party in opposition, *Sir Nazimuddin* made it clear that they did not support the political stand taken by Mr. Gandhi and his followers Out of deference, however, to the reverence with which Mr Gandhi was held by a large section of their Hindu brethren, they associated themselves with the motion moved in the House. Mr *K. S. Roy*, Leader of the Official Congress Party, the hon. Mr. *Santosh Kumar Basu*, Leader of the Congress Parliamentary Party, and the hon. Mr. *Shamsuddin Ahmed*, Leader of the Krishak Proja Party, supported the motion. Opposing the motion on behalf of the European group, their leader, Mr *David Hendry* pointed out that they greatly deplored the decision taken by Mr Gandhi to enter upon a fast and they were deeply concerned of the risk which he had exposed himself to by resorting to a fast in his old age At the same time, Mr. Hendry added, they felt that Mr Gandhi might have accepted the offer of the Government of India for his release for the period of his fast. He regretted, therefore, that they had to oppose the motion. The motion was passed. The House then adjourned till the 15th.

The Midnapore Incidents

15th. FEBRUARY :—An adjournment motion moved to-day on behalf of the Congress Parliamentary Party (official) to discuss the situation in Tamluk and Contai sub-divisions in Midnapore district, was talked out after a full dress debate for two hours. The adjournment motion ran as follows:

"This Assembly do now adjourn to discuss a definite matter of urgent public importance and of recent occurrence, namely, the repressions carried out in the Tamluk and Contai sub-divisions of Midnapore district, including the arrest of innocent persons, destruction of property, burning of houses and assaults on men and women".

The adjournment motion was moved by Dr. *Nalinaksha Sanyal* and supported among others by Mr *Narendra Narayan Chakravarti*, a supporter of the Government Others who participated in the discussion included Dr. *Shyama Prasad Mukherjee*, ex-Finance Minister and Sir *Nazimuddin*, Leader of the Muslim League Opposition. Some of the speakers narrated the alleged excesses in Midnapore district. Dr. Mukherjee demanded an open and independent judicial enquiry into the reported instances in Midnapore.

Sir Nazimuddin, in the course of his speech, said that if the Ministry thought that excesses were committed in Midnapore then the House and every one would demand an enquiry into the allegations made. It was for the Chief Minister either to defend the officers of the Government or to appoint a committee of enquiry. He hoped that the Ministry would make its position clear in regard to the matter Replying to the debate, the Chief Minister, Mr. *A. K. Fazlul Huq*, announced the Government decision to hold an independent and impartial enquiry into the allgations of excesses in Midnapore. He added that persons of the eminence

of High Court Judges would be appointed to hold this enquiry. Mr. Huq, who is in charge of the Home portfolio, gave a brief review of the state of affairs prevailing in Midnapore. The Government, he said, had in their possession abundant evidence to show that for some time previous to the adoption of the resolution by the All-India Congress Committee on August 8 last there was something like a network of parallel administration set up in the district of Midnapore.

Dr. *N. Sanyal* (Congress): We challenge you to prove that.

Mr. *Huq* : If a proper enquiry is made, these things will come out.

Continuing, Mr. *Huq* said that the people who had set up the parallel administration had their district magistrates, sub divisional officers, the police, C. I. D. etc. "When Dr. Sanyal challenges me," Mr. Huq pointed out, "let me remind him that after August 8 when lawlessness broke out in Midnapore, these 'police officers of the Congress actually 'arrested' persons whom they put in jails which were called 'Gandhi jail.' There is also evidence that many of these persons who called themselves volunteers and the 'police' force of the Congress, actually committed acts of violence on persons who resisted these acts of lawlessness." Proceeding, Mr. Huq said that the movement broke out with such intensity in Midnapore that the local officers had in many instances to call in the aid of the military. The Government got reports that post offices and police stations were burnt, people were kept confined, 10 or 25 people were kidnapped and some of them were kept confined and of some, no trace yet had been found. When these things were going on, it was true that strong measures were taken by local officers. Even now the Government were receiving from various parts of the district reports that lawlessness was far from being at an end. There in placing before the House this version of the incident received from local officers, the Chief Minister said that of the charge made on the floor of the House, many had been repudiated by local officers. On the one hand it was his duty as Home Minister to place before the House and the public an official version, but he also did feel impressed by the narration of events made by representatives of the people as regards the alleged excesses committed by or under the direction of some of the local officers. He had been particularly distressed to hear of the ghastly tales of rape and repression occurring after the cyclone. Justice demanded, and in fact, the very interest of the officers concerned demanded that there should be an impartial enquiry regarding the affairs relating to Midnapore.

Dr. *Syama Prosad Mookerjee* said that within the time at his disposal it was impossible to give a true picture of Midnapore. He would only give as briefly as possible, a picture of Midnapore before and after the cyclone.

The House would recall that before the "Civil Disobedience" started the denial policy was enforced by Government in many parts of Bengal. So far as Midnapore was concerned, the policy of removal of boats and other conveyances, especially bicycles, went on unabated. Nearly 10 thousand bicycles were taken away from the district, a large number of boats were ordered to be surrendered at a very short notice and a few hundreds were destroyed, because people failed to surrender them in time. How these acts should arouse strong feelings in the minds of the local inhabitants could be comprehended.

Continuing Dr. Mookerjee said that then came the Civil Disobedience Movement. Dr. Mookerjee would not go into details how that movement went on. He would accept for his present purpose the statement made by the authorities that the movement took a serious turn, and there was a deliberate challenge thrown out to Government. He also assumed that the situation took a bad turn. But the fact remained that men who were carrying on these subversive activities were doing them non-violently. When the Chief Minister would make his statement, Dr. Mookerjee could dare say that the Chief Minister would say that there was not a single allegation of violence used by the workers until the situation worsened by the 'extraordinary' repressive policy of Government went on. Arrests went on; burning of houses and looting went on. This was how the district fared.

"Now, under what authority the burning of people's houses was being carried on, I do not know. I do not know if the Chief Minister will be able to say under whose orders these acts of violence were committed. Dr. Mookerjee said that it might be assumed that before the 16th of October the movement had assumed an extraordinary character. Any legitimate steps taken by the local officers for curtailing the activities of the workers or for re-establishment of law must be supported by any Government. "But Government officers overstepped this and carried on", Dr Mookerjee alleged, "a deliberate policy of destruction".

SUPPRESSION OF NEWS

Continuing he said that the cyclone came. And the first charge he would level against Government was the suppression of news until the Minister had visited the district. He hoped that the Chief Minister would deal with this question. The communique was issued, Dr. Mookerjee said only after the return of the Ministers on the 4th November. Not one single item of news was allowed to be published. News was published about certain other parts of Bengal, about Noakhali, Faridpur etc., and that a severe cyclone had passed through certain areas of Bengal.

When a Bengali daily merely asked about happenings in Midnapore, there went a warning from the Secretariat that it must not refer in any way to the happening in that district.

Nobody knew anything about the extent of disaster in Midnapore. Did the Chief Minister who is also the Home Minister know? Not a single Minister knew anything about it. When the Ministers demanded an answer from the Home Department, the reply was "military consideration prevent the circulation of the news." The Defence of India Rules prohibited the circulation of news which give information to the enemy about the weather of any particular area, and that no news should be circulated which would disclose information to the enemy about the breakdown of communications. It was news of this description the circulation of which had been prohibited by the Government of India. In fact, the Ministers reminded some of the officers that they were not giving information to the enemy, but the Japanese were broadcasting that a lakh of Bengalees were killed by the cyclone. "This", Dr. Mookerjee declared, "was a criminal neglect on the part of the Home Deartment". In fact, the Government communique was issued when the Chief Minister and other Ministers stated, after their visit to Midnapore, that they would issue communique on their own responsibilities.

SITUATION BUNGLED

The report came from the district officer, Dr Mookerjee continued, minimising the gravity of the situation Did that report, asked the speaker, suggest that relief should be withheld for the purpose of teaching the people a permanent lesson? (Cries of Shame, shame) The district officer reported that not a single person came forward to receive relief. But shortly report came that thousands of persons were coming to receive doles. The whole situation was bungled. There was practically one man; there was no organised relief. The Revenue Department tried to do certain things but on account of the obstructive attitude taken up by the Home Department it could do little. There was, Dr Mookerjee said, relief by day and raid at night. Dr Mookerjee challenged Government to produce reports of some responsible officers of the district which, he said, would bear out his allegations (Shame, shame) Government said that they wanted peace. All the Ministers tried to release political prisoners of Midnapore who gave undertaking that the political movement would cease The prisoners pleaded for seven days' release. But that was not given. Some of the Ministers found themselves helpless in the matter This was the true picture of Midnapore. 'We demand an enquiry. There must be an open independent judicial inquiry. We know the Chief Minister feels in his heart the necessity of this inquiry. Let him say what prevents him from doing so. He must take the House and the public in the fullest confidence and tell us who are preventing the Chief Minister from accepting our request and setting up an inquiry."

BUDGET FOR 1943-44

16th. FEBRUARY:—The Bengal Government's budget for 1943-44 presented to-day disclosed a deficit on revenue account of one crore and 53 lakhs.

Presenting it in the Assembly, Mr. *A. K. Fazlul Huq*, the Chief Minister and Minister for Finance announced the Government decision to raise additional revenue during the coming year by enhancing the rates of some of the existing duties. The estimated yield of the enhanced taxation will be about Rs. 33 lakhs.

THE FINANCE BILL 1943

After presenting the budget, Mr. *Fazlul Huq* introduced the Bengal Finance Bill 1943, which sought to raise additional revenue to the extent of Rs. 33,00,000 by enhancement for a maximum period of two years of the rates of the following taxes. Entertainments Tax, Totalisator Tax and Betting Tax under the Bengal Amusements Tax Act, 1922, and Electricity Duty under the Bengal Electricity Duty Act, 1935.

The proposed enhancement in taxation nearly doubles the existing rates of Entertainment Tax payable for admission to cinema houses, increases both the Totalisator Tax and Betting Tax from four per cent to ten per cent and enhances the existing rates of Electricity Duty in respect of supply of energy for lights and fans.

DEBATE ON FOOD SUPPLY

17th. FEBRUARY :—The debate on food, coal, kerosene oil and cloth situation in the province was initiated on behalf of Government by *Prince Yusuf Mirza*, Chief Whip of the Government Party. The Congress Party outlined a scheme for effectively dealing with the situation. In doing so, its spokesman, Dr. *Nalinakshya Sanyal*, said that Government's complete failure to tackle the problems was due to the lack of a policy. Government, Dr. Sanyal said, had not considered the situation on an all-Bengal basis, but were concerned for maintaining supplies for the industrial and other workers engaged in war works. Mr. *Tamizuddin Khan*, on behalf of the Muslim League party in opposition, also made several suggestions to improve the situation, at the same time strongly criticising Government for its "failure". *Prince Yusuf Mirza*, Chief Whip of the Ministerialist party, moved that the situation in the province relating to the supplies and distribution of food-stuffs, coal, kerosene oil and cloth be taken into consideration. Prince Mirza said that the problem was not merely a provincial one but a complicated one linked with the whole of India. He hoped that the combined wisdom of the House would help Government greatly in meeting the situation.

18th. FEBRUARY —Mr. *David Hendry*, leader of the European group, said that the debate had been left a good deal in the air in the absence of an opening statement from the Minister-in-charge setting out the real food situation in the province and what he was doing to cope with it. While it must be admitted that for imported commodities, acute shortage and abnormal prices had been largely due to factors beyond the control of the Bengal Government but so far as the essential commodity, rice, was concerned, the responsibility for controlling the situation rested entirely with the provincial Government. In normal years, Mr. Hendry said, there was only a small margin between imports from Burma and exports from Bengal, and the province was really self-sufficient. Last year Bengal's rice crop was a good one, this year it was not so good, but with the carry-over from last year the possible shortage could only be very small "Exports and military consumption" according to Mr Hendry, "can only amount to an extremely small percentage of the total available supplies, and shortage, if any, cannot account for the fantastic prices which have prevailed for rice in Calcutta and the mofussil areas since November last." *Maharaja Sris Chander Nandy* of Cassimbazar said that there was a good deal of public anxiety at the way in which food situation was being handled by Government for the past one year. Government failed to take into consideration the fact that the control of price could not succeed without control of supply. The speaker spoke in favour of creating a Food Department under a Minister responsible to the legislature, The Maharaja regretted that while Government had not made any effective attempts to meet the deficit of rice supply arising out of the occupation of Burma and Siam by Japanese up till now, they should have allowed exports of rice to Ceylon and other countries. Mr. *D. N. Sen* (Bengal National Chamber of Commerce) said that the food position had become serious from the point of view of the cost of living of the working class which had moved from 100 to 218 The average price of rice had gone up by nearly 300 p. c and 'Ata' by more than 200 p. c The reason why the effort to impose price control had led to chaos lay primarily in the fact that Government always sought to control prices without obtaining control of the total supply of the commodity. If the Government seriously wanted to obtain control over the supply of various foodstuffs, it must have an Intelligence Bureau for compiling statistics of food production in various districts. Once it is done the Government would be able to formulate their policies on the ascertained date. The available data showed that Bengal was a deficit in respect of food supply. The imperative need, therefore, was to increase the food supply at once. The grow more food campaign which had been successful in Madras failed in Bengal on account of the action taken by the Government in encouraging increased acreage of jute area The Government should also stop all exports of rice from Bengal unless they knew the stocks available in Bengal. The Government must also effect better co-ordination through a central organisation in order to obviate sudden fluctuations in demand. The Government must also

combat the psychological tendency of hoarding rice by law and by total purchase of all available supplies accompanied by all-round rationing if necessary. If an examination of the statistical positions revealed a shortage in foodstuffs, there could be no way out but rationing rather than to allow a few rich people to monopolise the available food supplies at the cost of general public. He concluded by warning that the outlook was very gloomy and unless the Government acted quickly and boldly they might soon experience food riots all over the province.

DETENUS IN BENGAL

19th. FEBRUARY :—Replying to a question in the Assembly to-day, Mr. *A. K. Fazlul Huq*, Chief Minister and Minister in charge of the Home portfolio informed the House that 1,019 persons had so far been arrested and detained under Rule 129, and 1,210 persons under Rule 26 of the D. I. R. in the province. He further stated that number of persons convicted under the Defence of India Rules in the Province in connection with political and anti-war activities and the Civil Disobedience movement from August last to the end of December, 1942, was 1,559.

The Assembly discussed non-official bills to-day and adjourned.

BENGAL SECURITY PRISONERS

20th. FEBRUARY .—During question-time this morning the Chief Minister, Mr. *A. K. Fazlul Huq* informed the House that the tribunal set up by the Government to review the cases of the security prisoners submitted their findings on August 27 last. But, in view of, he said, the widespread campaign of sabotage and violence, which followed the ratification by the All-India Congress Committee of the Congress Working Committee's resolution of August 8, 1942 and the subsequent arrests of leading Congressmen which had introduced an entirely new factor in the situation, and in the interest of public security, the Government had been compelled to postpone consideration of the recommendations of the tribunal. He added that the campaign of violence and sabotage was almost at an end and if the present improvement continued, the Government would be able to consider the matter and make an announcement as early as possible.

MINISTER'S ADVICE TO GOVERNOR

22nd. FEBRUARY :—A point of constitutional importance was raised by Dr. *Nalinakhya Sanyal* (Congress) to-day when he sought, on a point of order, a ruling from the Chair as to whether the House had a right to know what advice a Minister had tendered to the Governor in relation to a particular matter. The point arose out of a question put by Dr. Sanyal last week when he wanted to ascertain from the Home Minister, Mr. *A. K. Fazlul Huq* whether Dr. Suresh Chandra Majumdar, Dr Satyapriya Banerjee and Mr. Sasanka Sekhar Sanyal had been detained as security prisoners under Rule 26 of the Defence of India Rules with his consent or not.

Speaking on the point of order raised by Dr. Sanyal, Mr. *Huq* said that he had tried to ascertain whether the Viceroy's declaration made in June 1937 defining the position of a Minister *vis-a-vis* a Provincial Governor had been modified in view of the circumstances consequent upon war conditions and he (Mr. Huq) had been assured that the declaration stood good. Mr. Huq said that in relation to a matter falling within the sphere of individual judgment' of the Governor, a Minister had the right to differ from a Governor and had also a right to tell the Legislature, if he so desired, that he gave a particular advice and that it was not accepted. But if the Minister did not desire to let the Legislature know what passed between him and the Governor, Mr. Huq did not think that the constitutional position came to this, that he (the Minister concerned) could be compelled by a series of questions to disclose the advice that he had tendered.

The *Chair* said that the point of order raised by Dr. *Sanyal* was an important constitutional question and a ruling was given by Mr. Syed *Jalaluddin Hashemy*, Deputy speaker, on the **24th. February** expressing that "it is absolutely within the discretion of the Minister to take the House into confidence". The Deputy Speaker said that the whole question hinges on the point whether the Speaker had got the power to compel a Minister to disclose to the House as to what advice he had tendered to the Governor in a case where the Minister's advice was not mandatory upon him. He, however, stated that the message of Lord Linlithgow, dated the 21st June, 1937, in defining the position of the Ministers *vis-a-vis* the Governor, clearly laid down that the Ministers were entitled, if they so desired, publicly to state their responsibility for any particular decison or even the advice they tendered in a particular case to the Governor. "So in this particular case", he

said, "Mr. Fazlul Huq will be within his right if he discloses to this House what advice he had given to the Governor".

No Truth In Enemy Radio Reports

23rd. FEBRUARY :—Questions regarding the truth or otherwise of certain assertions made recently by enemy radio stations, particularly German and Japanese, were asked in the Assembly to-day.

Replying the Chief Minister, Mr. *A. K. Fazlul Huq* pointed out that the reports alleged to have been broadcast by the Berlin Radio that British armed police opened fire on February 1 and 2, upon students of the Dacca University singing "Bande Mataram" and injured a number of them was without any foundation. The only foundation for such a report apparently was, said the Chief Minister, the objection that was taken by some students to the singing of the song by others and the scuffle which followed among the two groups of students.

As regards the broadcast from Saigon, dated February 5-6, alleging that a demonstration of nationalists in front of the Chief Minister's residence had been dispersed by a police lathi charge, the Chief Minister said that the story was also completely without foundation. He added that these reports were so palpably wrong that he did not consider it necessary to give further publicity to the actual facts. "The enemy broadcasts about conditions in India are absurd and carry their own condemnation", pointed out Mr. Huq. "The people of the province are intelligent enough not to attach any credence to them. No other action is necessary."

Debate on Food Situation

25th FEBRUARY :—The announcement of a definite policy from Government to deal with the food, fuel and cloth situation in the province was demanded by speakers participating at the resumed debate on the Government motion in this regard to-day. Members participating in the discussion dwelt mainly on the food situation, and the suggestion of the Congress Party for a Central Food Committee composed of Government, non-official and trade representatives to guide and advise Government in the execution of its policy, was supported by majority of them. 'Quick decision" on the part of Government was urged by M. *Syed Abdul Majid* (Muslim League), while stressing the immediate need for introducing rationing of rice in view of the acute shortage of the crop. Mr. *Abdul Hafiz* (Moslem League) asked Government to stop export of rice from the province, and to take steps to ensure adequate transport facilities. Mr. *Atul Sen* (Progressive Coalition) demanded a more vigorous "grow more food" campaign among the peasants. He complained that Government propaganda in this regard had up till now been done mostly through newspapers which did not reach the peasantry Large tracts of land were still left uncultivated, and such land should be given to the peasants for cultivation without rent. Mr. *P. Banerjee* (Congress) gave his unqualified support to the amendment of his party moved by Dr. Nalinakhshya Sanyal. The scheme contained in that amendment, in his opinion, would ensure a fair measure of 'success'. Mr. *J N. Gupta* (Labour) drew a 'pathetic' picture of the distress among the labour and poor sections of the population at the scarcity of cloth at cheap rates. Government's promise to supply standard cloth had remained unfulfilled and strong indications were not yet available to its realisation in the near future. *Moulana Abdul Aziz* (Moslem League) referred to the 'extreme' difficulty of obtaining kerosene oil in mofussil districts. Many houses were going without light. In black market, however, the speaker alleged, abundant quantity of oil was available at inordinately high price He criticised Government for having failed to check corruption and black market, and pleaded for effective control. Mr. *Anandilal Poddar* (Nationalist) deplored that the food situation had been aggravated by Government creating panic by ill-conceived measures. He also criticised Government for altering their original decision of reducing jute acreage by one-third and making it one-half at the instance of interested trade. Mr. Poddar doubted if rationing would be a success with the existing "incompetent" machinery. Dr *Sanaullah* (Progressive Coalition) and Mr. *Abdul Waheb Khan* (Progressive Coalition) also spoke. The House then adjourned.

Small Coins

Replying to a question put by Khan Bahadur *Mohammed Ali*, the Hon. Mr. *A. K Fazlul Huq* stated that he was aware of the great hardship and distress that was being caused to the people of Bengal due to an acute shortage of coins of small denominations. Currency, coinage and

legal tenders were central subjects and the Government of India were taking steps to increase the supply of small coins This Government have directed that prosecutions shall be instituted wherever hoarding is detected and have announced that rewards will be paid to persons furnishing information leading to conviction. Prosecuting officers have been instructed to press for deterrent sentences on conviction.

Replying to supplementary questions by Mr *Anandi Lal Poddar* and Khan Bahadur *Mohammed Ali*, Mr. *Huq* confessed that he did not know what amount of coins constituted hoarding in the law court nor could he give any assurance that no prosecution should take place so long as an explanation on that point was forthcoming. He, however, thought that hoarding punishable in a court of law could be defined according to individual cases.

NUMBER OF DETENUS

Replying to a question by Mr. *Nagendra Nath Sen*, Hon. Mr. *A. K. Fazlul Huq* stated that the latest figures (end of January 1943) of detenus detained in goal under the Defence of India Rule 26 or Defence of India Rule 129 are (1) Special security prisoners—2,355 ; (2) others—1,643 : Restrained under Defence of India Rule 26—(1) Criminals- 1,464 and (2) others 1,698.

MINISTERS NOT FREE AGENTS—MR. HUQ'S STATEMENT

27th. FEBRUARY :—A statement on his position as a Minister under the present condition was made by Mr. *A. K. Fazlul Huq*, Chief Minister and Minister-in-charge of the Home Department in the Assembly this morning. Mr. Huq said: "I have to work under considerable limitations. It must be understood that provincial autonomy does not mean that I can do whatever I like. In many cases, I have got to do things contrary to what I would have done if I were a free agent. In these cases, there are moments when I do feel that the best course for me would be to walk out, and if that moment does arise, I shall not be slow to adopt that course, because I am fed up with the position which gives me very little opportunity of conceding to what I know is public opinion, in view of the overriding consequences which have been imposed upon me as a result of the war."

These observations were made by the Chief Minister, while speaking on a cut motion by Dr. *Nalinakshya Sanyal* (Official Congress) to raise a discussion on the 'grievances' of persons arrested under the Defence Rules in connection with the Bengal Government's Supplementary Budget demand under "Jails and Convict Settlements" for the current year.

Earlier in his speechs, Mr. Huq referred to the criticism that the Ministry had not been able to do anything to meet the public demand that the lot of security prisoners should be improved or that the grievances of the public regarding arrests and detention might be removed as far as possible.

Asking the House to judge the constitutional position, Mr. Huq said that under section 49 of the Government of India Act, Executive Government had to be carried on by his Excellency the Govenor with the help of subordinate officers. In this connection, he referred to the judgment of a special bench of the Calcutta High Court which definitely held that ministers were not subordinate officers in the sense in which that expression was used in that section and that they were merely to give advice. The position, therefore, was that "His Excellency the Governor on one side and the departmental officers on the other who carried out the wishes of His Excellency in respect of the Executive Government have got the Ministers sandwiched between them and the utmost that the Ministers could do was only to offer advice."

As regards security prisoners the present was an occasion of extreme urgency in various matters because they were passing through abnormal times in consequence of the war. The Defence of India Rules had given powers which government did not previously enjoy, and the Government of India Act plus the Defence of India Rules had given to the Governor and the executive authority powers which they did not have in normal times. If in these circumstances the military authorities or the police or any other department gave advice that the detention in custody of a particular person was essential for the preservation of peace and order, Mr. Huq said, in the last resort, the judgment of His Excellency must prevail. There had been cases in which Mr. Huq thought that neither the arrest nor the detention was justified and he had tendered that advice to His Excellency but His Excellency, in exercise of his individual judgment, had thought it fit to override his advice.

In conclusion, Mr. Huq pointed out that within the limitation of the powers given to them under the Government of India Act, further restricted by the Defence of India Rules they had done something in regard to meeting public opinion in the matter of alleged grievances of security prisoners to which they could point as an honest attempt to meet public opinion in this matter.

The cut motion was withdrawn and the demand was passed.

Casualties in August Disturbances

The disturbances that had occurred in August last following the Arrest of Congress leaders were recalled in reply to a question to-day

Replying, the *Chief Minister* said that 20 persons were killed and 152 persons injured as a result of police actions during the period of disturbances in August last. Asked whether the action taken by the police in this connection had been approved by the Council of Ministers or the Home Minister, Mr Huq said that the action was taken by the police in the restoration of law and order neccessitated by "riotous and subversive" demonstrations accompanied by "sabotage" on "an alarming scale." The police had taken that action in the exercise of powers conferred upon them by the law for the exercise of which they were not required to obtain any further sanction or approval from Government

In Calcutta, 30 persons were killed and 568 persons injured, by military lorries in 1941-43, according to a statement made by the Chief Minister, Mr. *A. K. Fazlul Huq*, in reply to another question.

Replying to another supplementary question, Mr. Huq said that Government had approached the military authorities and he was glad to say that the military authorities had not only promised to see that these accidents were minimised but they had also taken strong measures in those cases in which action could be taken.

Election of Speaker

1st. MARCH :—Mr. *Syed Nausher Ali*, ex-Minister, was elected Speaker of the Assembly this evening. The voting was as follows: Mr. Syed Nausher Ali Progressive Coalition Party) 118 votes; Mr. A. R Siddiqui (Muslim League) 95, Mr. Nishit Nath Kundu (Progressive Coalition—now a Security prisoner) nil The vacancy was caused by the resignation of Sir Aziz-ul Huq, on his being appointed High Commissioner for India in London.

Deaths in Midnapore Cyclone Disaster

Replying to a question, Mr. *P. N. Banerjee*, Revenue Minister, gave the official figures of the number of casualties resulting from the cyclone and flood in Midnapore District in October last. The actual number of persons killed was about 15,000 while the cattle casualties numbered 60,000.

The Vagrancy Bill

2nd MARCH :—Mr. *Santosh Kumar Basu*, Minister for Public Health and Local Self-Government introduced the Bengal Vagrancy Bill to-day whereby the Government propose to take powers to collect all genuine vagrants and place them in homes established by the Government. The Bill, when passed, will come into force in the first instance in Calcutta

Convictions of August Disturbances

Six hundred-and-thirty-nine persons have been convicted in the Province up to January 28 of offences connected with the movement that had started following the arrest of members of the Congress Working Committee, according to a statement made by the Chief Minister, Mr. *A. K Fazlul Huq*, in reply to a question.

The number of prisoners detained up to that period without trial is as follows: Security Prisoners for political reasons: 1 643; prisoners not yet confirmed as security prisoners. 142: and other detenus—2,355. The number of persons whose movements have been restricted for political reasons up to January 26 is 3,052.—

Special Judges Ordinance

3rd. MARCH .—An adjournment motion to discuss the alleged misapplication of Ordinance Number 11 of 1942, promulgated by the Central Government, by appointing special magistrates in cases not contemplated in the Ordinance, was talked out in the Assembly to-day. The motion was sponsored by Mr. *H. S. Suhrawardy* (Muslim League Opposition). The point of view of the mover and his supporters was that, if the Provincial Government was

satisfied on the existence of an emergency arising from hostile attack on India or from the imminence of such an attack, it was expected to declare the Ordinance to be in force in the Province. It surely was not meant to apply to breaches or disturbances of the peace or to ordinary dacoity or thefts or even to cases of ordinary sedition or to ordinary political disaffection.

Replying to the debate the Chief Minister, Mr *A. K. Fazlul Huq*, said that the question of emergency was beyond dispute, but as regards misapplication of the provisions of the Ordinance, he assured that the Government would reconsider each case that had been mentioned or might be mentioned later on merits and if they found that the Ordinance had been misapplied, they would set aside the convictions and set the men concerned at liberty. Replying to the point raised by Sir Nazimuddin that before a case went to the special magistrates for trial under the Ordinance, it should receive the approval of the Provincial Government, Mr. Huq promised to consult legal opinion and to see that the suggestion was accepted as far as possible.

In the course of the discussion, some members cried "shame" in relation to certain alleged misapplication of the Ordinance, when the Speaker, Mr. *Nausher Ali*, intervened and said that the word was unparliamentary and directed that it should not be used in the House in future.

BENGAL FINANCE BILL 1943

At the afternoon session of the Assembly, the Chief Minister, Mr. *A. K. Fazlul Huq*, (who is also Minister-in-charge of Finance) moved that the Bengal Finance Bill, 1943, be taken into consideration. The Bill nearly doubles the present rates of amusement tax on cinema-goers and the electricity duty and raises the betting and totalisator taxes from four per cent to ten per cent. The proposed enhanced taxation would be emergency taxation for two years only in the first instance. The Opposition moved an amendment urging the circulation of the Bill for eliciting opinion thereon by March 15. 1943 Mr. *H. S. Suhrawardy*, ex-Finance Minister, (Muslim League) supported the motion for circulation. *Sir Nazimuddin*, leader of the Muslim League, thought that the whole scheme of taxation in the Bill was wrong. Speaking on behalf of the European Group, Mr. *D. R Gladding* said that they approved of the extra taxation as a purely temporary war measure. The debate on the motion had not concluded when the House adjourned till March 5.

CASUALTIES IN AUGUST DISTURBANCES

5th. MARCH :—Detailed information about the number of persons killed as a result of police firing in Calcutta proper and in some other parts of the Province, since the movement started in August last, was given by the Chief Minister, Mr. *A. K. Fazlul Huq*, during question hour to-day.

The figures of those killed are as follows: Calcutta proper—20 including one woman; Dinajpur District—4; Contai sub-division (Midnapore district)—13; and Tamluk sub-division (Midnapore District)—32 including a woman.

Thirty-six non-officials and thirteen Government servants were kidnapped by 'rebel elements" in the Midnapore District from the commencement of disturbances to date, according to a reply given by the Chief Minister, Mr. *A. K. Fazlul Huq*, to a question by the Leader of the European Group, Mr. *David Hendry*. Two persons, added the Chief Minister, were killed, this latter figure excluding eight persons who were kidnapped and still untraced and believed to have been murdered.

Giving further details, the *Chief Minister* said that there were 55 cases of intimidation and extortion by "rebel elements" in the area during the period. Thirty persons were assaulted or intimidated by them on grounds that they were supporting the Government forces. Twenty-nine Government buildings and houses and three officers' quarters and two thanas were burnt as well as 21 private buildings and a bazaar. Other Government property burnt included the records of eleven post offices and three thanas. Under the head 'private property', a kerosene oil tank, school furniture and records, a motor bus two boats full of kerosene oil, boats loaded with essential commodities and three wooden bridges were also burnt.

NON-OFFICIAL RESOLUTIONS

The question of imposing collective fines in the province was discussed on a non-official resolution. The resolution, which was moved by *Rai Harendranath Chowdhury* (Progressive Coalition), expresses the opinion that collective fines should not be imposed on those areas where offenders have not been or could not be

traced and where it has not been possible to establish by evidence that the inhabitants in general have been harbouring the alleged offenders. The discussion on the resolution had not concluded when the House adjourned till March 8.

THE BENGAL FINANCE BILL 1943

8th. MARCH :—In the Assembly to-day, the Bengal Finance Bill 1943 introduced by the *Finance Minister* was referred, on a Government motion, to a Select Committee with instructions to submit their report by March 16. The Opposition amendments urging circulation of the Bill for eliciting public opinion thereon were negatived without a division. The Chief Minister stated, in reply to an interpellation, that the Government were aware of the fact that some residents of this Province had been detained in enemy-occupied territory, such as Burma and Malaya and, that in many cases, their family members were in great distress. The Bengal Government, he added are granting repayable advances to the dependents of these persons for their maintenance under the authority delegated to the Provincial Governments by the Government of India All District Officers had been given necessary instructions and authority to deal with such cases. The House then adjourned till the 10th

DEBATE ON FOOD SITUATION

10th MARCH :—An exciting three day debate on the food situation in the province concluded in the Assembly to-night when the House rejected by 92 to 78 votes, the Muslim League opposition's amendment which sought to censure the Government for its alleged failure to tackle satisfactorily the food situation in the province. The European group voted with the League Opposition while the Opposition amendment was opposed by the Government party The official Congress party remained neutral. Two independent Labour members and six Scheduled Caste members of the Government party did not participate in the voting. On behalf of the Government, the Chief Minister Mr. *Huq* assured the House that they were prepared to accept in principle the operative side of the official Congress Party's amendment, which contained certain suggestions for tackling the food situation of the province. The Congress Party's amendment was then withdrawn The debate concluded in a tense atmosphere and the result of the voting was greeted with cries of "shame" "shame" both from Government and Opposition sides. The Speaker pointed out that the term 'shame' was an unparliamentary one, and warned that it should not be used in future In winding up the debate, the *Chief Minister* declared that the Government had decided that there should be a Minister for Civil Supplies assisted by a strong and representative advisory committee He further declared that Mr. Nalini Ranjan Sarkar, lately Commerce Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council had agreed to be the Chairman of the Committee. On the question of supply of rice Mr Huq said that the Bengal Government had approached the Government of India in this connection and he was now in a position to announce the welcome news that in the very near future the province was going to have a sufficient amount of rice He added that as to whether the future policy of the Government should be control or decontrol, the Cabinet would meet to-morrow and come to a decision

A strong attack on the Ministry "that has proved thoroughly incapable of handling the food situation" was made by Mr. *H. S. Suhrawardy. The Nawab Bahadur of Dacca*, Minister for Civil Supplies gave a brief outline of how the situation developed since Burma rice ceased coming into Bengal. The scheme of the denial policy further aggravated the situation. He explained the steps taken by Government to deal with the position

THE MIDNAPORE INCIDENTS

12th. MARCH : The words "smashed by the Congress agitators" appearing in the printed answer to a question in connection with the destruction of telegraphic, postal and other communications in Midnapore District before the cyclone in October, were deleted by the Chief Minister, Mr. *A K Fazlul Huq*, when he read out the answer to the Assembly to-day The Opposition wanted to know if in giving a printed answer, the Minister was entitled to add or alter the answer. The Speaker, *Syed Nausher Ali* said that as the answer was given according to information received by him, he thought the Minister was entitled to do so, if he so liked.

Explaining to the House why he deleted the words, Mr. Huq said : "It is true that the answer as drafted by the Department concerned was approved by me. After that was done, there was another question in the House in the course of the reply to which the words 'Congress agitators' were used and there were questions

from various sides as to what I meant by 'Congress agitators.' In order to make my position clear, I therefore got into touch with the district authorities, and asked them whether they were prepared to stand by the statement that the communications had been smashed by the Congress agitators before the cyclone. The reply I got was that the fact remained that the communications had been destroyed, but there was no positive evidence as to who had done it. I, therefore, thought that I should not give the reply in the form in which it was drafted by the Department.

Allowance to Detenus

Of the 756 security prisoners and detenus who had applied to the Bengal Government for the grant of family allowances, 160 had been granted such allowances, according to a statement made by the Chief Minister. The number of security prisoners and detenus who were granted family allowances exceeding Rs. 25 and Rs. 50 were 32 and 3 respectively. There was no security prisoner or detenu who had been granted an allowance exceeding Rs 100 per month.

The Chief Minister answered in the negative an enquiry whether any amounts as family allowance had been granted to members of the Legislature who were now security prisoners.

Asked as to whether the Government contemplated granting any dearness allowance to those who received family allowances in view of the increase in the price of foodstuffs and other necessaries of life, the Chief Minister said: "Some such relief measure is under the consideration of the Government."

Adjudication of Labour Disputes

13th MARCH.—The decision of the Government of Bengal to set up a permanent Court for adjudication of labour disputes as has been done in Bombay, was announced by the Chief Minister, Mr *A K Fazlul Huq* to-day. Mr Huq added that Government had already taken steps for securing the services of a High Court Judge for the office of President of the proposed Court. On the question of prosecution of workers in essential services who went on strike without notice, Mr. Huq said that necessary instructions had already been issued to the district authorities for taking action in these cases. Although Government had always been anxious to secure the full amount of relief that could be given to labour under the present conditions, the Government's policy was to apply the provisions of the Defence Rules most rigorously, so that the number of strikes might be reduced.

This statement was made by the Chief Minister while speaking on a cut motion moved by Mr. *W. A. M Walker*, European Group, in which the latter sought to raise a discussion on the question of full utilisation and enforcement of the provisions of the Defence Rules relating to the settlement of labour disputes. In moving the cut, Mr. *Walker* remarked that by not enforcing the law Government had encouraged the people when they intended to ignore the law and that labour might go on strike without notice at any time and with impunity. His grievance was that Government had not fully adopted the provision of the Defence Rules and the Essential Service Maintenance Ordinance, and in one instance Government ignored them.

In view of the Chief Minister's assurance regarding the constitution of a court to adjudicate on labour disputes, Mr. Walker withdrew his cut motion.

Govt Decision on Floud Report

15th MARCH:—The decisions of the Government of Bengal on the Land Revenue Commission's recommendations were announced in the Assembly to-day by Mr. *P. N Banerjee*, Revenue Minister. The Commission had recommended the abolition of Permanent Settlement and acquisition by the State of all rent-receiving interests with a view to bringing the cultivators directly under the Government.

Speaking on a cut motion in connection with the land revenue budget, Mr. *Banerjee* said that the Government accepted the policy of bringing the actual cultivators into direct relation with the Government and of securing in the first instance, the interests of all classes of rent receivers above the lowest grade of each paying under-ryots. On the question of payment of compensation to rent-receiving interests whose interests would be acquired by the State, the Government accepted that the rates of such compensation should vary from ten to fifteen times the net profit, according to the nature and circumstances of each estate. The Government had decided that a tribunal of a judicial character should be set up for the assessment of compensation in each case and the tribunal's decision

would be final. The Government also agreed that they should undertake legislation in the matter on these lines as early as possible after going through the technical formalities enjoined under the Government of India Act. In view, however, of the financial and other risks involved the Government had decided that State acquisition should be undertaken on an experimental basis in one district, when the revisional operations now going on there were brought to a close.

GOVERNOR'S REJECTION OF PREMIER'S ADVICE

16th. MARCH :—There were interpellations to-day on the subject of "The Council of Ministers and their advice to His Excellency the Governor". Mr *Satya Priya Banerjee*, a security prisoner now in detention, had tabled a question in which he asked if the attention of the Minister in charge of the Home Department had been drawn to a report published in the Press in October last wherein, among other things, it was stated that the Chief Minister had been reduced to the position of a non-entity, the administration to-day in Bengal was being carried on in an autocratic fashion by the Governor and officials of the permanent Services over the head and in most cases behind the back of the Ministers and his Cabinet colleagues. Mr. Banerjee further asked if it was a fact that Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookerjee, in the course of a statement published in the press in November last immediately after his resignation, observed that 'the Governor has chosen to act in many vital matters in disregard of the wishes of the Ministers and has depended on the advice of a section of prominent officials"

Replying, the *Chief Minister* said that his attention had been drawn to this statement.

Mr. *Banerjee's* question further asked what were the instances, if any, in which the advice tendered by the Ministers had not been accepted by the Governor and what steps if any the Council of Ministers had taken or proposed to take to meet the situation.

Mr. *Huq* replied that in the public interest he must decline to furnish the information asked for.

Further asked if the Government were considering the desirability of ascertaining public opinion in order to find out what the public demand was in this respect, Mr. *Huq* explained the position in a statement. He said that he was prepared to satisfy public curiosity so far as it was permissible under the Rules. He did not admit as correct the paraphrasing put on his statement by many newspapers. Secondly, Mr. Huq added he would like to remind the members of the House that while he was making his statement he said that there were cases in which the advice had not been accepted by His Excellency the Governor acting in his own discretion. It might be in two cases, ten cases or half-a-dozen cases He had not stated in how many cases, but he did say in some cases. That had happened throughout India, and it had happened throughout the world, wherever a similar system of administration was enforced 'I take the position that, although I submit that there have been instances in which the advice that I have tendered has not been accepted by his Excellency the Governor, I am not prepared to say in how many instances it has occurred. It may be that I decline to give that information in my own interest or in the interest of the public. I have said in my answer that I am refusing at the present moment to disclose the information in public interest It is a matter in which I have exercised my judgment As a responsible Minister of the Crown I have got to realise the responsibility I owe under the oath of my office and having regard to my position as a Minister of the Crown and having regard to the fact that I am bound by certain oaths which I took at the time of my acceptance of office, I have decided that in public interest it would not be wise or advisable or even permissible for me to say in how many instances my advice has not been accepted by His Excellency the Governor"

Mr. *F. Stark* (Secretary, European Group), enquired if the Chief Minister agreed with the statement issued by Dr S P. Mookerjee. The *Chair* pointed out that Dr. Mookerjee's statement was issued after his resingnation from the Cabinet. Mr. Stark was asking the opinion of the Chief Minister as to whether he agreed with that statement The *Chair* held that was a question of opinion and did not arise. Mr. *Tamizuddin Khan* (Muslim League Opposition) asked the Chief Minister to state if Dr. Mookerjee's statement was correct. Replying, Mr. *Huq* said that Dr Mookerjee's statement contained various statements of facts. Some of them might be true, some of them might not be true and some

of them might be matters of opinion of Dr. Mookerjee on the relation between him and the Governor. Mr. Huq thought that this was a confusion of facts and he did not think that he was in a position to give any answer. Mr. *Tamizuddin Khan* asked if it was a fact that in all these cases in which the Governor did not accept the advice of the Ministers, he took the Ministers into subsequent consultations and the Ministers concerned agreed with the views of the Governor. Mr. *Huq* : I am not in a position to answer.

Fixation of Acreage for Jute Cultivation

18th. MARCH :—Hon. Mr. *A. K. Fazlul Huq* explained the reasons why the jute acreage for the current year had been fixed at eight annas in the course of the debate on the demand of Hon. Mr. *Hashem Ali Khan* for a sum of Rs. 51,54,000 for expenditure under the head "Agriculture." Mr Huq said that it would have been dangerous if they would fix it at lower acreage. He also announced that Government would ensure a fair market for the jute cultivators. Mr. Huq also observed that growing of more jute did not mean growing of less food crops. The Chief Minister also stated that cultivators were free to grow jute on any area of land as they liked. The eight annas was however the maximum area on which they were to grow jute.

The Congress party pressed their cut motion criticising the fixation of jute acreage at eight annas to vote. The motion was however lost by 10 to 78 votes, 5 members of the Muslim League party as also three members of the Coalition party remained neutral, while the European group voted against the motion. All other cut motions moved to this demand were also lost, and the entire demand was passed. The House then adjourned till Monday the 22nd

Detention of Legislators

22nd. MARCH :—A point of privilege as to whether the members of the Bengal Legislature, who are now being detained as security prisoners under the Defence of India Rules, could absent themselves from the meetings of the Legislature without the permission of the House, was raised in the Assembly to-day. Mr. *Charu Chandra Roy* (Bose Group), who raised this point of privilege, maintained that Section 68 (4) of the Act was not applicable in the case of members of the Legislature, who are now detained under the Defence of India Rules as security prisoners. These members were not willingly absenting themselves from the meetings of the Legislature. The Speaker, Mr. *Syed Nausher Ali*, said that the point of privilege raised by Mr Roy was a very important one and that on this point he had also received a letter from the Speaker of the Orissa Assembly. He reserved his ruling.

Censure Motion on the Ministry

23rd & 24th. MARCH :—What he described as a motion of censure on the Ministry was moved to-day on behalf of the Muslim League Opposition by Mr. *Tamizuddin Khan*, ex-Minister, when the demand for a grant under General Administration was taken up. Mr. Tamizuddin Khan said that his motion was a motion of censure and must be taken as such. It sought to raise a discussion on "the failure of the Ministry to assume responsibility for the actions of officers of the Government" and charged the Ministry with "grave constitutional delinquency". The psychological background of this tendency as well as of the perpetration of the offence, he said, was provided by "the unnatural political situation" arising out of the Bengal Ministry's "adherence to office" in spite of the fact that the ministry did not agree with the Government of India in their policy to combat the subversive movement following the arrest of Congress leaders in August last. The Bengal Ministry did not agree with the Government of India and yet pretended to carry out the latter's policy instead of boldly avowing their disagreement and gracefully stepping out of office. He alleged that instead of resigning office, the Ministry had fallen back upon the "dangerous and preposterous alternative" of disclaiming responsibility for the actions of their officers. "Not only by his conduct but also by his utterances, innuendoes and insinuations the Chief Minister has disclaimed responsibility for the actions of permanent officials on many occasion. If things continued like this for a little while longer the result will be irretrievable administrative chaos."

Moving another cut motion, Dr. *Nalinaksha Sanyal* (Official Congress Parliamentary Party) demanded that the total number of instances as well as specific details in which the 'advice tendered by the Council of Ministers has been superseded or sought to be modified by the Governor in regard to matters entirely within the ministerial field or within the special responsibility of the Governor "should be made known to the House". The debate was adjourned till the next day, the

24th. March, when the censure motion was defeated by 116 to 86 votes. The European group voted in favour of the motion, while the official Congress Parliamentary Party voted against the motion along with the Ministerial Party To-day's debate lasted nearly five hours, more than a dozen speakers including the leaders of different parties participating in the discussion. The result of the voting was received with loud applause in the Ministerial benches.

Speaking on the Muslim League Opposition party's motion, the Leader of the European group, Mr. *David Hendry* said that the confessions of the Chief Minister showed, not that he was being frustrated by the permanent officials, but that he was failing to govern and direct the administration for which he was responsible. The events of this and the last session of the Assembly had shown that not only was the motion justified, but that it was an urgent necessity.

Mr. *Kiron Sankar Roy* the Leader of the Official Congress Parliamentary Party, said that the motion was ill-advised and the arguments advanced in its favour unconvincing. His party, therefore, proposed to oppose it. He thought that in the present circumstances no single party was capable of dealing with the problems that had arisen in Bengal. The best course would be to form an administrative cabinet of all parties prepared to work the present constitution, excluding, of course, the Official Congress Party. Efforts were being made during the last few days by some leading members of the Legislature for the formation of such an all-parties government, but the present motion was a "bomb shell" which had spoiled the atmosphere in that regard.

Dr *Shyama Prasad Mookerjee*, ex-Finance Minister and Leader of the National Party, said that the responsibility for striking at the root of the constitution did not rest on the Chief Minister, but on the Governor. He added that he was criticising the Governor, not in his personal capacity, but as part and parcel of the Government of Bengal and as the head of the executive of the Province, and claimed that he could do so. He concluded with an appeal for unity among the Hindus and Muslims in view of the present crisis.

Winding up the debate on behalf of the Opposition, Mr. *H. S. Suhrawardy*, Deputy Leader of the Muslim League Parliamentary Party, said that they were anxious to come to an agreement with any group that could deliver the goods and pool all their resources for the betterment of the province, but they refused to be made pawns in a political game. Dr Shyama Prasad Mookerjee was not serious when he made the appeal for unity between Hindus and Muslims On the plea of unity Dr. Mookerjee, said the speaker, wanted to create disunity among the Muslims so that his community might rule in Bengal.

Replying to the debate, the Chief Minister, Mr *Fazlul Huq* said that he was prepared to take the fullest responsibility for the actions of officers of the Government in so far as he found that these officers had carried out their duties, true to the traditions of British rule, and of the traditions of justice, humanity, equity and righteousness. But he did not wish to encourage the idea that officials, Indians or Europeans, could flout public opinion and in the exercise of their duties trample upon the rights and liberties of the people

The cut motion moved by Dr. *Nalinaksha Sanyal* (official Congress) by which he demanded that the total number of specific instances in which "the advice tendered by the Council of Ministers had been superseded or sought to be modified by the Governor in regard to matters entirely within the ministerial field or within the special responsibilities of the Governor" was negatived by the House by 101 votes to 87.

Other cut motions also having been lost, the main demand under "General Administration" was then voted without a cut. The House then adjourned.

INCIDENTS IN NOAKHALI

25th. MARCH :—Moving a cut motion in the police budget of the Government of Bengal for 1943-44, Mr. *Harendra Kumar Sur* (Official Congress) alleged that the police had utterly failed to enforce law and order in cases where military were involved. He referred to an incident in a village in Noakhali District and said that the police there failed to give protection to unarmed villagers.

The Chief Minister, Mr. *A. K. Fazlul Huq*, said that he was aware of the incident in Noakhali District where military people had committed acts which amounted to an offence under the Indian Penal Code. A magisterial enquiry was immediately held and although the main allegations were substantiated, there could not be a prosecution because there could be no identification. All that they could do was to pay compensation to the relations of four persons who had lost their

lives in consequence of the firing. In another incident the military authorities permitted the men concerned to be tried by an ordinary court and they were convicted.

WOMEN KILLED DURING SHOOTING PRACTICE

26th. MARCH :—Two women were killed as a result of practice shooting in the evacuated area in Sonarpur Thana, 24-Parganas District, according to the Chief Minister, Mr. *Fazlul Huq*, replying to a question to-day. He added that measures had been taken by the armed forces concerned to indicate the area within which firing was to be confined in such a manner as to minimise the risk of such accidents.

In connection with the case in which one *Manindra Chandra Das* of Budhair, police station Burichang, Tippera, was alleged to have been shot dead by a European soldier at Mainamati, Tippera, Mr. Huq said that the case was already in the file of the sessions judge, but owing to the absence, on active service at the front, of the principal military prosecution witnesses, it had not been possible to present the whole evidence in court and the trial had been consequently delayed.

BLACK MARKET AND PROFITEERING

27th MARCH :—By a majority of 10 votes, a cut motion moved by Mr *K. A. Hamilton* (European Group) in connection with the budget demand under the head "Extraordinary Charges in India", censuring the Government for alleged failure to deal with black markets and speculation in and hoarding of foodstuffs, was rejected this afternoon, the voting being 109 to 99. The motion was supported by the European Group, the Muslim League Opposition and eight scheduled caste members in opposition, while it was opposed by the Ministerialist party and the members of the official Congress Group.

Mr. *Kiran Shankar Roy*, Leader of the Congress Parliamentary Party, said that they were not satisfied with the Cabinet as they thought that the food question had been bungled by them. They, however, did not approve of a vote of censure as a method of reshuffling the existing Ministry. They were for a Cabinet consisting of representatives of all parties and they were prepared to work for its constitution. Mr. Roy asked the Chief Minister to take the House into his confidence and say whether he was being frustrated by the permanent officials.

Mr. *David Hendry*, leader of the European group, said : "I want to make it quite clear that this cut motion is not a condemnation of the new Food Minister who has just taken over the new portfolio. This is a condemnation of black marketeers and speculators who are depriving people of their food, and a condemnation of the Ministry which has done nothing to stop them. We are not condemning the cultivator who holds on his paddy, for he has lost his confidence, and Government statements in the past and present have tended to increase that loss of confidence than to restore it. He knows perfectly well that when his paddy goes to the hoarder at higher price it will not in any way go to the benefit of the people. The confidence of the cultivator can be restored, and that can very well be done by propaganda and persuation. So far nothing has been done in the direction."

Continuing, he said that this problem had not come upon the province overnight. It must have been brought about by the persistent failure of the Ministry as at present constituted to take any effective action or any action against those social lepers who were driving the country into a state of desperation.

Mr. *H. S. Suhrawardy* began by saying that the Ministry had not only failed in its food policy but had deliberately supported blackmarketeers and hoarders. He did not know where the leader of the Congress group was when the problem came up before the House last year. He seemed to be of the opinion that evils had come upon them only since the establishment of the Directorate of Civil Supplies. He would take Mr Roy's mind back a little further. One might trace it long before such a directorate was even thought of. The price of sugar was first controlled and later came the control in price of rice. Permits were issued and not even traders could get sugar without permits. The Ministry, it was well-known, interfered with the issue of permits. There used to be long queues of applicants for permits before and in the House of the Hon. Minister in charge of the department and other Ministers including the Hon. Chief Minister.

Did, asked Mr. Suhrawardy, Mr. Kiran Sankar Roy expect the House to believe that 25 or 35 shops allotted to Kali Babu was done for the benefit of the Directorate of Civil Supplies. There was no Directorate then in existence. Even the regular traders could not get their supplies, but Kali Babu could get permits for 10,000 maunds at one time. Did Mr Roy expect the House to believe that the prosecution against Kali Babu and other favourites of the Ministers was withdrawn.. ...

Dr. *Nalinakshya Sanyal*: Who is this Kali Babu. Is he Kali Bose?

Mr. *Suhrawardy*: Yes.

Dr. *Sanyal*: He is your friend also.

Mr. *Suhrawardy*—Dr. Sanyal is entirely mistaken. I heard his name but I have not seen him.

It was clear, proceeding Mr. Suhrawardy said, that black-market started long before the Director of Civil Supplies came into existence. And then long queues before shops established after the Directorate came into existence started Calcutta, the city of palaces became the city of beggars Black-markets had become the standard feature of the Ministry. They had ceased to be a scandal and they had ceased even to be a crime and they were considered a concomitant of the Ministry so long as it remained in power.

PUNISH THE HOARDERS

Discussing the question of hoarding and speculation, Mr. Suhrawardy said that this thing practised by persons who had traded in rice before should have been stopped right from the beginning. Hoarding was always a grave danger; it was responsible for the sudden withdrawal of good amount of rice from circulation. People who did not wish to hoard anything began keeping back good amount of rice In consequence more and more of the essential commodities were withdrawn from the market. The dangerous nature of hoarding should have been realised from the very beginning. They of the Moslem League Party drew pointed attention to it and suggested remedies. Unfortunately those steps never were adopted and hoarding had continued until the present time. The reason for the Government not taking the people into confidence

Dr. *Sanyal*: Who are the biggest hoarders? Are not those Europeans the biggest hoarders?

Mr. *Suhrawardy*: It does not matter who are the biggest hoarders. Steps must be taken against the biggest hoarders although they may be the biggest persons in the commercial field. What was the use of taking the last minute step in this matter? It was no use coming to the House and attempting to wash one-self of his past guilt The co-operation of the people was offered It was stated that they belonged to political parties and therefore their offer was not accepted The vast majority of the people of this province belonged either to one or the other political parties. They were kept outside, the Government being all along the sole representative of the political thought.

"Our people", said Mr. Suhrawardy, "are patient, they can starve, they can commit suicide but a time comes when their exasperation is bound to break the bounds of law and order. And when it passed beyond endurance you have the looting, arson and crimes which have already commenced Is it not time that something was done, something drastic—and the only way it can be done is for the Ministry to realise what it has done and suffer if necessary self-immolation for the good of the people and as a penance for its own crimes? The Hon. Chief Minister does not appear to appreciate mass psychology. People can bear up to a point. If they lose respect for law and established order then no restraint can possibly be put on them. I hope the Ministry will not bring the country to that sorry pass

PEOPLE WANTED CHANGE

Proceeding Mr Suhrawardy stated that he did not follow the arguments of the leader of the Congress group when he stated that a chance should be given to the new Minister for Civil Supplies. The very fact that Mr. Banerjee had been put in charge of the department was itself a censure on his predecessor for his incompetence. But if this was allowed to go uncensured then at every turn a Minister might be put in charge of a new portfolio and there would be occasion for giving him a chance. Apart from that Mr. Banerjee was in the Cabinet when this change took place. The Minister whom he had succeeded was his colleague and because all the Ministers has joint responsibility for the acts done by one or the other, no Minister could save himself of the responsibility and acts of his colleague or of his predecessor Besides he would ask the House to believe him that the very name of this Ministry was nauseating outside. The people outside wanted a change and the Moslems had shown that Mr. Huq and his Ministry did not enjoy the confidence of the people. If the Ministry had enjoyed the confidence of the people, then Mr. Huq would have a better reception from the country than the defeat of his present supporters including one of his ministers. He would make bold to say, although he might not probably have justification in saying so—having talked with his Hindu brethren, having discussed with them and particularly in the near

past—he would make bold to say that Mr. Huq did not enjoy the confidence of the Hindus as well. Wherever they had gone and talked about the Hindu-Muslim settlement, they had found the Hindus speaking bitterly about the present Ministry. Mr. Huq and his friends were all exposed because all the communities both inside and outside the House were now aware that Mr. Huq changed his opinion as it suited his prospects. He regretted that some Hindu leaders were still utilising Mr. Huq They were propping him up because it was advantageous to do so. Mr. Huq the other day stated that he would get 50,000 men supporting him. Mr. Suhrawardy did not think that Mr. Huq would get the support of those Hindus who believed in Hindu-Moslem settlement. He did not think that he would get the support of that vast and growing majority of the Hindus who believed that there should be a settlement as early as possible between the Congress and the Moslem League. It was the support of those few who believed that this Ministry ought to continue because through Mr. Huq they could preserve their influence on the administration of the country.

Proceeding, Mr. Suhrawardy said that Mr. Kiran Sankar Roy had said that if Mr. Huq went out, Sir Nazimuddin would come into the picture. Could he have the support of the Hindus? They could not, said the speaker, answer that question. But they could make it plain that they were going to make a determined effort to secure the co-operation of the Hindus. For the last five years the Ministry in Bengal had depended and relied only upon the support of one community. If the reins of the Government were placed in their hands, whether it was the party of Mr. Roy or the suspended Congress Party or the party led by Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee, it should be their endeavour, even if they did not succeed, in securing their co-operation. The other day, Dr. Mookerjee jeered them stating that the Moslem League Party approached them with a proposal. Perhaps Dr Mookerjee thought that by giving out that news he would be able to expose them showing that the Moslem League intended to make friends with the Hindus. That was entirely misunderstanding the position of the Moslem League Dr. Mookerjee perhaps believes that the Moslem League Party was a blood-thirsty organisation and was out to rob the Hindus. They had been making speeches in mofussil to find out what the Muslim community thought and he could tell the House that wherever they had spoken of the Hindu-Muslim co-operation—that in this country they had got to live side by side—the Muslim community had supported them and had applauded them The Moslem community had endorsed their efforts to bring about peace between the Hindus and Muslims and establish communal harmony. They had tried desperately for it not because they wanted to get power but because they felt that Hindus and Muslims must get together. They had felt that so long as Mr. Huq was there, so long the Hindu party could utilise him, there was very little chance of a compromise between them. A compromise and an honourable understanding could come, if that impediment was removed. It was often said that the British Government could remain in power only by dividing the Hindus and Muslims. That was exactly the position here. They could come to an agreement if that particular person was not propped up. He could make this declaration with a full sense of responsibility of the Muslim League that should this impediment be removed they would sit together and on the part of the Muslim League there could be no stone unturned to come to an agreement between the Hindus and the Muslims. He therefore urged the House to support the motion of censure on the Ministry.

The Hon Mr. *A. K. Fazlul Huq*, Chief Minister said that Mr. Suhrawardy had concluded his remark by saying that so long as a particular individual, Mr. A. K Fazlul Huq, was alive there would be no peace in Bengal and there was hardly any prospect of a stable and useful Government. Mr. Suhrawardy was in a communicative mood this morning because he was apparently in high spirits that the dissolution of this cabinet was at hand and that he would have once again the opportunity of having the commerce portfolio"

"I do not know if the House is aware," Mr. Huq said, that Mr. Suhrawardy is a man who throughout has shown hostility towards me especially of a personal character.

Mr *H. S. Suhrawardy*: Mr. Speaker, every time when statements have been made regarding his political conduct, Mr. Fazlul Huq has replied by personal attacks and personal insinuations.

Mr. *Speaker*: I will not allow that.

Mr. *Fazlul Huq*: I may tell you without going into details that his hostility to me has been traditional. He has never missed an opportunity of doing harm to

me, and he has delivered a speech to-day full of venom of a personal character, and not as a public man or leader of a community or a party. I would appeal to those who go in the same lobby with Mr. Suhrawardy to-day if they really and sincerely believe that my personal presence in the cabinet or the fact that I am still alive can ever be taken to be an obstacle to good Government and prosperity of Bengal. If not, I will urge them to dissociate themselves from the observations which have been made by Mr. Suhrawardy."

As regards the main question Mr. P N. Banerjee had replied and he had told that whatever might be the present condition of affairs, however unsatisfactory the Department of Civil Supplies might have been, it was hardly justifiable and fair to throw the blame on the Ministry for what had been done or what had not been done, for what had occurred due to circumstances over which the Ministry had no control. It was obvious that at a time like this and when they were faced with an imminent enemy invasion, the Ministry felt that it would not be proper for the Minister who had practically no knowledge or experience of business to interfere with what the Director of Civil Supplies had been doing or to thrust their own opinion in modification or amendment of the policy that was laid down by the Civil Supplies Directorate The Directorate was headed by one of the most eminent Indian Civil Service men. Whatever his faults might be, he had a reputation of being a very resourceful energetic and honest public servant. His devotion to duty was well known and they all thought—when his name was suggested for the post of the Director of Civil Supplies—that the matter would be in a safe hand Mr. Pinnell had before him examples of what had been done in England. He tried to follow the method that had been adopted in the United Kingdom with such modification as was necessary for the peculiar circumstances of Bengal.

Dr. *N. Sanyal* :—Who told you that ?

Mr. *Huq* : That is my information, I got the information from Mr. Pinnell

Mr. Huq said that he was not defending what Mr Pinnell had done, but he was defending the officer, Mr. Pinnell The Ministry trusted that he would be able to do something to meet the exigencies of the situation. Mr. Pinnell was assisted by Indian members of the Civil Service who had great reputation behind them as successful public servants. The ministry thought that the policy they had formulated would be the best policy in the circumstances that had arisen.

A voice : They were not trusted.

Mr *Huq* : No, they were trusted. We have to take them into trust and if it is found that the policy that they have undertaken had not met with complete success, the Ministers cannot be blamed of that failure. Apart from the question of policy, it is true that at the present moment the situation is very acute. It is easy to formulate a charge-sheet against the Ministry upon a scheme which at the present moment is drawing the attention of every Indian and European It is easy to draw a conclusion in condemnation of the Ministry for all that have been done for the past few months.

"I do not for a moment," Mr. Huq continued, "minimise the seriousness of the situation. If there has been a failure, and if the House thinks that the failure was due to what the Ministry has done, it is not for me to dictate the opinion. They should be examined So far as I am concerned and I say this with the grave sense of responsibility that I have never been anxious to cling to office" (Loud applause from the Ministerial benches, and counter jeerings from the Opposition benches)

"There is no room for murmuring on this point," Mr. Huq continued. "I have never been anxious for office, and during the last few months I have told His Excellency the Governor to take steps to constitute a National Government in Bengal composed of representatives of all sections of the House. I have asked His Excellency and also my friends of the European group to use their influence to constitute a National Government.

"I may tell the House" Mr. *Fazlul Huq* said, 'that even yesterday I told His Excellency. I have written to him that nothing is nearer to my heart than to see a National Government established in Bengal. and I have gone so far as to say that if at any time it is found that I am a hindrance to the formation of a complete National Government I will resign. If necessary, I will even remain afar in order that such a Government is formed. It is for His Excellency to decide in consultation with the leaders of the groups what should be the form of Government that will be best suited to meet the needs and requirements of the province.

"I do not for a moment wish to cling to office if I find that I have forfeited

the confidence of the members of this House or for that matter of my countrymen." (Applause).

Mr. *Fazlul Huq* said that it was not a satisfactory state of things at a time when the situation was so serious—without having a proper machinery of Government. It was now proper at present to have a party system of Government. Party system of Government was bound to give rise to bickerings, charges and counter-charges on the floor of this House "It is a time," Mr. Huq said, "when the best talents in the country should be harnessed to the cause of the province. It is a time when everyone should give up all considerations, party or otherwise, put their heads together to find out what is the best remedy for the present state of things in this country."

"So far as this is concerned," Mr. *Huq* proceeded, "I have pleaded for the formulation of a complete National Government. I am saying this now This is not the first occasion that I am saying this. I have been saying it for month after month, week after week If I am a hindrance, I am prepared to walk out. I do not wish to be a hindrance for the formation of a complete national cabinet in Bengal. If it be the opinion of Mr. *Suhrawardy* that for its formation I should be blot out of existence I am prepared to take that fate. I do not want to be there where I am not wanted. But I would say if at any time it is felt that my services are necessary they will be at the disposal of my countrymen in any way they would like me to serve them."

Proceeding, Mr. *Fazlul Huq* said that Mr Suhrawardy had stated that Mr. Huq had never asked for their co-operation or the co-operation of the public in tackling the various problems. Many a time, the Chief Minister said, they wanted to set up a committee of all parties and Mr. *Huq* would remind Mr. Suhrawardy that they *wanted to have their (Muslim League) cooperation. But for* various reasons known to himself, Mr. Suhrawardy could not condescend to give the benefit of his service. The question of food supplies, the question of necessaries of life could never be a party question "It is a matter of vital importance that we should always place it beyond party or sectional politics. From that point of view it is essentially necessary that there should be a non-party cabinet in power '

As regards the cut motion he had already submitted that although things were unsatisfactory and although it might be that the Ministry should have interfered or at least intervened in what was being done, nothing would be gained by merely passing a vote of censure. 'I submit," he said, "we are here to bear great responsibility We have never for a moment assumed to ourselves the position that we alone can solve the problems But we have done, we have tried to our best under most difficult circumstances and if there are people who can do better, it is for the party I shall be ready and willing to co-operate and bring into operation any bill for meeting the situation with which we have been faced." (Applause and cheers)

The cut motion was then put to vote and lost, with the result stated. The House then adjourned till Monday the 29th.

MR HUQ RESIGNS—HIS STATEMENT

29th. MARCH :—The Hon. Mr. *A. K. Fazlul Huq* resigned his office as Chief Minister. He handed in his resignation last night and the resignation was accepted by H. E. the Governor. This information was disclosed in the Assembly by Mr. *Fazlul Huq* this morning when the House met to consider budget demands for grants.

Mr. *Huq's* resignation followed a ninety minute talk with H. E. the Governor last night during which a long discussion took place about the formation of a National Cabinet Mr Huq gave in the Assembly certain details of these discussions and added that he would make a further statement on his return from Delhi, whither he was proceeding to-morrow night.

Mr. *Huq* had been the head of three successive Ministries in Bengal and the present one was formed in December 1941 Last week two motions of censure were moved against the Ministry in the Assembly. Both of them were lost but the Government's majority on the second occasion was reduced from 30 to 10

Before the business of the House was taken up, Mr. *Kiron Shankar Roy*. Leader of the official Congress Parliamentary Party, said that the city was agog with the rumour that the Chief Minister had tendered his resignation. He wanted to know if it was a fact. Mr. Roy also wanted to know under what circumstances the Chief Minister had resigned and further whether his resignation meant the resignation of the Cabinet also.

Replying to Mr. Kiron Shankar Roy, Mr. *Fazlul Huq* said: "I would have been reluctant to say anything. But as a pointed question has been put to me by the Leader of the Congress Party, I feel I owe it to the House to take it into my confidence and to state the facts. It is true that last night I was sent for by the Governor, and I was with him from 7-30 p. m. to over 9 p. m. A long discussion took place about the formation of a National Cabinet and various proposals were put forward, some of which I could not accept consistent with my self-respect. His Excellency the Governor suggested to me that I should formally tender my resignation, and I said that I could not do so unless I had time to consult my party and my colleagues. To this, the Governor did not agree and I had to sign a letter of resignation. I do not wish to disclose any further details just now and I wish to make a further statement on my return from Delhi, where I am proceeding tomorrow night. The letter of resignation which I was persuaded to sign in order to make the formation of a National Government possible at the earliest, has been accepted by His Excellency, and the letter of acceptance reached me at about 10 last night. In spite of all that has happened, I maintain and I am confident, I still enjoy the confidence of the majority of the House. Therefore my answer is that I have tendered my resignation and that the resignation has been accepted. As regards the circumstances, I have made a statement, and I would defer a detailed statement to a subsequent date."

Mr. *K. S. Roy*. What is the position of the Cabinet in view of your reply?

Mr *Huq* said that the constitutional position was that with his resignation *ipso facto* the Cabinet went.

"Whether my colleagues go out of the Cabinet and formally tender their resignation, it is not for me to say. So far as I am concerned I have tendered my resignation and that resignation has been accepted," Mr *Huq* added.

Dr. *Nalinaksha Sanyal* (Official Congress). Is it a fact that the letter of resignation was kept typed and ready at Government House for your signature and that you were also asked to choose between signing that letter and being dismissed?

Mr. *Huq*: If my friend, Dr *Sanyal* puts that question to me as a member of this House and claims the privileges of the House to have that statement from me, I have to make a statement. Of course, if he insists I will do that.

Dr. *Sanyal*. I do, Sir.

Mr. *Huq*. It is true that a letter of resignation was ready typed. (Cries of "shame, shame" from the Ministerialist Party and the Congress benches)

Khan Bahadur Mohammed Ali (Muslim League Opposition): On your suggestion? (Cries of "no, on" from the Ministerialist Party benches)

Dr. *Sanyal* (to Khan Bahadur Mohammed Ali) Would you kindly enlighten us?

Proceeding, Dr *Sanyal* observed. In the circumstances we feel that the House would be unanimous in demanding the recall of the Governor, Sir *John Herbert*. (Cries of "hear, hear" from the Ministerialist Party benches). Would you, Mr. *Speaker*, let us know the procedure for that?

The hon Speaker (Mr *Syed Nauser Ali*): Order, order. So far as the business of the House is concerned, let us finish it. I do not mean the business of the agenda. Let us see what we can do now. Whether there can be any recalling of the Governor that is a separate matter. You may consider it on a subsequent occasion. Now, Mr. *Huq*, may I know from you, what is the position as regards Ministers' responsibility? Is it joint or several or joint and several?

Mr. *Huq*: Joint and several. Under the circumstances as a matter of fact, constitutionally the Cabinet ought to be *functus officio* with my resignation. I am not sure at this moment whether any formal resignation has been tendered by the other Ministers. So far as I am concerned the matter is finished.

Dr. *Sanyal*: In view of this statement of the Chief Minister, we feel that the House can no longer proceed with the Budget discussion and therefore, we want first of all a vote of confidence to be moved in the Chief Minister, Mr. *A. K. Fazlul Huq* and his Cabinet colleagues. (Cries of "hear hear" from the Ministerialist Party benches). I therefore give you, Mr Speaker, due notice thereof just now, immediately after the statement and I would request you to postpone further discussion of the Budget until the disposal of that motion of confidence.

Mr. *Huq*: As regards the Budget cannot some other Minister move it? (Cries "no on" from all sides of the House)

The *Speaker*: In view of the statement made by the Chief Minister that his

resignation has been accepted and that in view further of the fact that the responsibility of the Ministry is joint and several the Ministry in my opinion, has ceased to exist. Consequently, no business of the House whatsoever can be transacted unless a new Ministry is formed. The House, I declare, stands adjourned for a fortnight.

Application of Sec. 93—Official Statement

31st. MARCH :—His Excellency the Governor of Bengal brought into force the provisions of Section 93 of the Government of India Act 1935 and took upon himself the administration of the province, announced a communique from Government House, Calcutta.

Narrating the events leading up to the present decision bringing into force the provisions of Section 93, the Communique said :

On Sunday the 28th March, the hon'ble the Chief Minister, Mr. *A. K. Fazlul Huq*, in order to enable the exploration of the possibility of re-forming the Ministry on a wider and more stable basis tendered his resignation to His Excellency, who accepted it. On Monday, the 29th March, Mr *Huq* announced in the Assembly that he had resigned. On the question being raised whether the other members of the Council of Ministers were competent to function, the Speaker expressed the view that they were *functus officio*, and stated that as there seemed to be no Ministry, the Assembly stood adjourned for a fortnight. The effect of this order of adjournment were that the Assembly could not, without legal question, be reassembled before the 1st April.

The 29 March had been fixed by His Excellency as the final date for voting of demands for grants for the financial year 1943-44. His Excellency was advised that unless the Ministry could secure the agreement of the legislature before the 1st April to demands for grants there would, after that date, be no lawful supply available for the administration Meanwhile, following Mr. *Huq's* statement regarding his resignation, the other Ministers represented to His Excellency that they considered themselves to have demitted office and they subsequently formally tendered their resignations, which His Excellency accepted

His Excellency found himself on the 31st March without a ministry and in a position where it was impossible to put through the Assembly the remaining demands for grants before the 1st April. Emergent action to secure supply before that date thus became an imperative necessity. Having explored alternative possibilities, His Excellency has had no choice but, with the utmost reluctance, to bring into force the provisions of Section 93 of the Government of India Act, 1935. He has, therefore, issued the necessary proclamation under that section and taken upon himself the administration of the province.

His Excellency proposes as soon as he is satisfied that a stable and representative Ministry is available which commands the confidence of the legislature and is willing to assume the responsibilities of office, to revoke the proclamation. It is the earnest desire of His Excellency that the emergency administration under Section 93, which was introduced primarily to resolve the difficulties relating to supply, should be replaced at the earliest possible moment by a regularly constituted Ministry.

New Ministry Formed—Official Announcement

24th APRIL :—The Governor of Bengal revoked to-day, with the concurrence of the Governor-General, the Proclamation bringing into force in Bengal the provisions of Section 93 of the Government of India Act 1935, which was issued on March 31, 1943. This was announced in a Proclamation by H. E. the Governor to-day.

His Excellency appointed the following as members of his Council of Ministers, with the portfolios mentioned against them . (1) Khwaja Sir *Nazimuddin*—Home Department (including Civil Co-ordination) . (2) Mr. *H. S. Suhrawardy*—Civil Supply : (3) Mr. *T. C. Goswami*—Finance ; Mr. *Tamizuddin Khan*—Education , (5) Mr *B. P. Pain*—Communications and Works (6) *Khan Bahadur M. A. Muazzemuddin Hussain*—Agriculture (including Rural Reconstruction) : (7) Mr. *Tarakanath Mukerjee*—Revenue (including Evacuation and Relief) ; (8) *Khan Bahadur Nawab Musharraf Hussain*—Judicial and Legislative : (9) *Khwaja Shahabuddin*—Commerce, Labour and Industries (including Post-war Reconstruction) : (10) Mr. *I. H. Burman*—Forest and Excise ; (11) *Khan Bahadur Jalaluddin Ahmed*—Public Health and Local Self-Government : (12) Mr. *Pulin Bihari Mullick*—Publicity : (13) Mr. *Jagendra Nath Mandal*—Co-operative Credit and Rural Indebtedness.

The new Ministers took the oath of office to-day.

The Bengal Legislative Council

LIST OF MEMBERS

1. Khan Bahadur M. Abdul Karim
2. Maulana Muhammad Akram Khan
3. Khan Bahadur Mohammad Asaf Khan
4. Khan Bahadur Ataur Rahman
5. Mr. Bankim Chandra Datta
6. Raja Bhupendra Narayan Sinha Bahadur
7. Mr. D. J. Cohen
8. Mr. E. C. Ormond
9. Begum Hamida Momin
10. Mr. H. C. A. Hunter
11. Mr. Humayun Kabir
12. Rai Sahib Indu Bhusan Sarkar
13. Rai Sahib Jatindra Mohan Sen
14. Mr. Kader Baksh
15. Mr. Kanai Lal Goswami
16. Alhadj Khan Bahadur Shaikh Muhammad Jan
17. Alhadj Khan Bahadur Khwaja Muhammad Esmail
18. Mr. Nagendra Narayan Ray
19. Dr. Radha Kumud Mookerji
20. Khan Bahadur Rezzaqul Haider Chowdhury
21. Mr. Sachindra Narayan Sanyal
22. Khan Sahib Abdul Hamid Chowdhury
23. Khan Bahadur Syed Muhammad Ghaziul Huq
24. Mr. Humayun Reza Chowdhury
25. Mr. J. B. Ross
26. Rai Keshab Chandra Banerjee Bahadur
27. Mrs. K. D'Rozario
28. Mr. Khorshed Alam Chowdhury
29. Mr. Krishna Chandra Roy Chowdhury, M.B.E.
30. Rai Manmatha Nath Bose Bahadur
31. Mr. Mesbahuddin Ahmed
32. Mr. Mohamed Hossain
33. Mr. Narendra Chandra Datta
34. Naresh Nath Mookerjee
35. Khan Bahadur Naziruddin Ahmed
36. Rai Radhica Bhusan Roy Bahadur
37. Mr. Ranajit Pal Chowdhury
38. The Hon'ble Mr. Satyendra Chandra Mitra
39. Khan Bahadur M. Shamsuzzoha
40. Mr. Shrish Chandra Chakraverti
41. Khan Sahib Subidali Molla
42. Mr. W. B. G. Laidlaw
43. Khan Sahib Abdul Aziz
44. Khan Bahadur Kazi Abdur Rashid
45. Mr. Abul Quasem
46. Mr. Altaf Ali
47. Amulyadhan Roy
48. The Hon'ble Sir Bijoy Prasad Singha Roy
49. Mr. Birendra Kishore Roy Choudhury
50. Rai Brojendra Mohan Maitra Bahadur
51. Mr. Dhirendra Lal Barua
52. Hamidul Huq Chowdhury.
53. Rai Sahib Jogendra Nath Ray
54. Mr. Kamini Kumar Dutta
55. Dr. Kasiruddin Talukdar
56. Mr. Lalit Chandra Das
57. Mr. Latafat Hossain
58. Mr. Moazzemali Choudhury *alias* Lal Mia
59. Khan Bahadur Mukhlesur Rahman
60. Mr. Nur Ahamed
61. Khan Bahadur Saiyed Muazzamuddin Hosain
62. Sir Thomas Lamb
63. W. F. Scott-Kerr

Proceedings of the Bengal Council

Budget Session—Calcutta—12th. February to 2nd April 1943

Condolence Resolution

Members belonging to different parties in the Bengal Legislative Council combined in paying tributes to the life and work of *Sir Thomas Lamb* **at the opening of the Budget session of the Council held on the 12th. February 1943** As a mark of respect to the memory of Sir Thomas, who was a sitting member of the legislature, the Council was adjourned for the day till the 17th without transacting any business.

Budget for 1943-44

17th. FEBRUARY :—Mr. *A. K Fazlul Huq* presented the Budget estimates for 1943-44 which he had on the previous day placed before the Lower House.

There were notices of as many as six adjournment motions, but the movers did not press them in the hope that two special days would be allotted for the discussion of the food and jute situation. The Council then adjourned.

Funds for Food Grains

18th. FEBRUARY :—A supplementary demand for a grant for the current year amounting to over Rs. 3 crores was presented by Mr *A K. Fazlul Huq* to-day Explaining the details he said that more than half of this total was outside the revenue account and came under two heads, namely, Interest-free Advances and Loans and Advances. The demand under the former was a little over Rs. 79 lakhs, including an advance of Rs. 53 lakhs to the Directorate of Civil Supplies for the purchase of foodgrains and the distribution of imported stocks of sugar and an advance of Rs 15 lakhs for the acquisition of motor vehicles for civil defence purposes. The demand under Loans and Advances was Rs. 96½ lakhs. The extra expenditure was due mainly to the distribution of agricultural loans on a large scale in areas devastated by the recent cyclone and flood.

Under the head Famine the demand was Rs 48¾ lakhs. This was due to the organization of large-scale relief measures in the cyclone-affected areas. Other large demands were about Rs. 32 lakhs under Extraordinary Charges, Rs. 21½ lakhs under Police and Rs. 18 lakhs under Agriculture. The increase under Extraordinary Charges was due partly to non-votable civil defence expenditure undertaken by the Government in regard to its own property or for its own employees and partly to special emergency measures such as employment of additional wartime police, the grant of separation allowances in non-family areas, the organisation of Home Guards and the setting up of a Directorate of Civil Supplies.

Out of the total increase of Rs 21½ lakhs under Police, over Rs 13 lakhs were due to the grant of enhanced dearness allowance and the police emergency areas bonus, the balance being accounted for by the expansion of the Civic Guards organization and the rise in the cost of clothing and other materials The increase of Rs 18 lakhs under Agriculture was due to the purchase and distribution of seeds of various kinds of food crops in connexion with the "Grow More Food" campaign.

Mahatma Gandhi's Release Urged

19th FEBRUARY :—The Council passed a resolution to-day requesting the Government of Bengal to move the Government of India for the immediate and unconditional release of Mahatma Gandhi. The resolution was opposed by the European members while the Moslem Leaguers remained neutral

Mr. *Lalit Chandra Das*, who moved the resolution, said that Mahatmaji was known throughout the world as the greatest man of the age He was now 74 years of age On humanitarian grounds, if for nothing else, he should be released

Mr. *Kamini Kumar Dutta*, leader of the Congress Party, lending his support to the motion said that the Mahatma was known as the greatest apostle of peace For the sake of humanity and for the sake of world peace he should be released. His death would be an irreparable loss to humanity. Mr *Hamidul Huq Chaudhury*, on behalf of the Moslem League, said that nothing would have given them greater pleasure to associate themselves with the resolution, had it not been for the fact that Mahatma Gandhi had undertaken the fast in support of a political demand on which they as Moslem Leaguers were fundamentally at variance. They had not been able to induce Gandhiji or the Congress to accept the Moslem point to view, namely the place of Mussalmans in the future constitution of India. So it was not easy for them to lend wholehearted support to the resolution The Moslem League was not responsible for the situation that had arisen nor had they the power to secure his release. In view of the political implication of this fast their party would, therefore, remain neutral. *Khan Bahadur Ataur Rahman*, on behalf of the Progressive Party, said though they did not share the political views of Gandhiji they must acknowledge his contributions in social and economic spheres. If they would have followed the programme of Mahatmaji they would not have faced the nakedness that was staring them. They would support the resolution. Mr. *J. B Ross*, on behalf of the European group, regretted that he thought it his duty to oppose the resolution. The fast was undertaken by Mahatma Gandhi, as far as he could see, from purely political motive, that was to obtain his release. He had also said that the fast was one of capacity. And it remained with him to call off the fast if he felt that it

would endanger his life or he had overestimated his strength. While the death of Mahatma Gandhi would be an irreparable loss to this country, they also felt that the whole basis of ordered Government would be nullified, if a person who had been incarcerated in the judgment of those who had incarcerated him, resorted to fast so that the sentence or detention be cancelled. If so, the writ of the legislature in the country would not run. It would be a better gesture if they appealed to Mahatma Gandhi to call the fast off. In that case they would support the resolution. The Hon'ble Mr. *A. K. Fazlul Huq* said so far as Gandhiji's action was a protest against the policy of the Central Government they had nothing to say. No Provincial Government could criticise the policy of the Central Government. But the fact remained that Gandhiji's fast had cast a deep gloom throughout the country. They fully shared that feeling and as human beings and on humanitarian grounds they associated themselves with the prayer for release. As the Government of Bengal they would forward the proceedings of the House to the Central Government. The House at this stage adjourned till Monday, the 22nd.

EXCESS DEMANDS FOR 1940-41

22nd FEBRUARY :—The Council had a short session to day when the only item of business before the House was the consideration of Excess Demands for 1940-41. Mr. *Nur Ahmed* of the Moslem League was the only speaker to offer some criticisms. He prefaced his remarks by saying that they were very much concerned over the condition of one of the greatest men whom India had ever produced, who, as reported in the Press, was hovering between life and death. Referring to certain items of the demand, he said that they should have been brought before the House earlier. The Hon. Mr. *P. N. Banerjee*, who replied on behalf of the Government, said that these expenditures were incurred at a time when they were not ministers. Still, as Government was a continuous institution they had to own responsibility for the work of their predecessors. These demands could not be brought up before the House earlier as the Auditor-General's report was not received until May, 1942.

GENERAL DISCUSSION OF BUDGET

23rd. FEBRUARY :—Government's policy in relation to various departments of administration was subjected to sharp criticism when discussion on the budget estimates for 1943-44 was initiated to-day. Mr. *Kamini Kumar Dutt*, Leader of the Congress party opening the debate, felt that there was no policy behind the budget at all. It appeared to him a mere conglomeration of certain makeshift arrangements. It was no excuse to say he added, that because it was war time the only business of the Government was to make make-shift arrangements and carry on the war effort. Mr. Dutt had no objection to prosecution of war efforts which were bound to be carried on. He had, however, heard people talk glibly of the new order. He would like to inquire, were they prepared to welcome the new order of things? Were they trying to make themselves fit for the reception of the new order? If so, what were the actual facts the province was confronted with? All the nation-building departments had been completely starved. There had been reduction under the heads, Education, Public Health, Industry and Agriculture. Mr. Dutt recalled that certain provisions had been made for furtherance of adult education but the amount was not utilised. While this was the case here, China, passing through a life-or-death struggle, had not only carried on her education but, at the same time, given it a fresh orientation on a huge scale.

In the domain of public health no provision for sinking tube-wells in rural areas had been made in the budget on the plea that materials for tube-wells were not available. It seemed that so long as the war lasted the rural people would have to go without water! The absence of quinine had left the masses a prey to malaria which disease was creating havoc in the countryside, especially in Eastern Bengal. Quinine could be produced in the province but no attempt at chinchona plantation had been made. Food problem, Mr. Dutt proceeded, was an agricultural problem. Had there been an adequate food planning, a comprehensive agricultural policy on the part of the Government in the present situation would never have arisen. Had there been a regular system of marketing cottage industries the people would not have been forced to buy their essential requisites at fabulous prices. There was no policy but the policy of drifting. If there was any policy at all, Mr. Dutt would say, it was the policy of scramble for jobs for the supporters and dependents of the Government. There was a Civil Supply Directorate but for the solution of the food problem of this country experts had to be requisitioned from the United Kingdom. There was, in the opinion of the speaker, hardly any co-ordination between the Directorate and the district magistrates. Price control without providing

means of supply had been resorted to and it naturally resulted in the growth of black market and prosperity of profiteers and hoarders. If things went on in this manner, Mr. Dutt felt, doomsday would not be very distant. If there was no way out the country would welcome even rationing and even that would be better than the present state of affairs. Mr. Dutt suggested more effective co-ordination between the Centre and provinces. The central committee should be in touch with district committees which should consist of real representatives of the people. The whole thing must be tackled boldly, honestly and sincerely. The operation of extraordinary laws and the Defence of India Rules which was the concern of the *provincial Government, Mr. Dutt continued, had left no vestige of civil liberty for* the people. The Provincial Government had never cared to scrutinise what classes of cases were tried by special tribunals and special magistrates. There were cases transferred to special tribunals which ought to have been tried by ordinary courts with the right to appeal. There were lapses on the part of the Provincial Government in the operation of emergency laws. But in the budget ample provision had been made for oiling the machinery for the maintenance of law and order

Even during wartime, *Khan Bahadur Moazzemuddin Hossein* said, the Government could have done a lot for the improvement of agriculture and industries. By doing so they could have rendered real assistance to war efforts Government had, in effect, let slip an excellent opportunity for bettering the economic condition of the masses. In order to augment revenues the Government had sought to impose taxes on certain kinds of amusements and other heads. The Khan Bahadur would not object to those taxes Rather the rates proposed should have been higher and the scope should have been made more extensive by including in it taxes on cigar, cigarettes and silk, that would have touched the pockets of the rich alone. Advocating the imposition of an agricultural income tax on agriculturists having an income of over Rs. 2,000 a year, the Khan Bahadur held that they were to-day in a position to pay the tax, for the price of crops had risen by two to three hundred per cent He characterised the failure of the Government to spend a part of the proceeds of the Sales tax to the betterment of the people as a "breach of faith." The Government, he concluded had not only failed to initiate any ameliorative measures but they had definitely ignored the claims of the masses. *They were doing practically nothing to relieve the deplorable condition* prevailing in the country

24th. FEBRUARY :—Speaking on the Budget estimates, Mr. *Birendra Kishore Ray Chaudhury* said that the stop gap arrangement by which the Home Minister had to hold the Finance portfolio also after the resignation of Dr. Syama Prosad Mookerjee should have been replaced long before the presentation of the Budget. Referring to Civil Defence expenditure, he said that this expenditure should be wholly borne by the Central Government. He criticised the activities of the Civil Supplies Directorate, which he said, had failed to cope with the situation. The emergency should have been foreseen by the Government and suitable arrangements made. The muddle in Civil Supplies Department, which was run by I.C.S. officers, was a sad commentary on the vaunted efficiency of the I C.S. Mr. *Dhirendralal Barua* criticised the absence of any special provision for the advancement of the education of Buddhists. Mr. *Nur Ahmed* (Moslem League) characterised the budget as do-nothing and gloomy from the national point of view. It did not contain any scheme for the betterment of the masses of which the Chief Minister claimed to be the leader. He referred to what had been done by the Punjab Government for the improvement of the condition of the masses Khan Saheb *Abdul Quasem* (Moslem League) said that the present supporters of the Government called themselves progressives, but what they had done was to keep in check the ameliorative measures which had been initiated by the previous ministry. Mr. *Kader Baksh* (Moslem League) said that the present Ministry had shown activity only in the direction of keeping down their political opponents. *Maulana Akram Khan* in a satirical speech twitted the Government with neglecting the vital bread problem.

25th. FEBRUARY :—The present food situation is due mostly to the fact that there is really a shortage of available food-stuffs in the country", remarked the Hon'ble Mr. *A. K Fazlul Huq*, Chief Minister, in reply to the general discussion of the budget to-day. With reference to the failure of the Government to deal with "black markets", the Chief Minister said that these were there all over the world. "Even Great Britain is not free from it. There are countries on the Continent where black markets are positive scandals. They arise out of the fact

that in abnormal times there are people who try to make fortunes out of the misfortunes of other people. It is difficult to control because it is a kind of dishonesty which is inherent in a certain section of humanity." He assured that all that Government could do to control these things would be done, and Government proposed to control as much as possible the abnormal situation that now prevailed in the country.

The Chief Minister went on that their field of taxation was very limited and they had got to make a very careful choice. As regards the suggestions of taxation on luxuries and agricultural income, he informed the House that taxing luxuries had been under the consideration of Government for some time past and the Government was still considering the question. As regards taxation on agricultural income, a bill would have been introduced but had been held up for circumstances over which they had no control. Government had however not lost sight of these two possible sources of revenue. He indicated that a modest scheme for establishing communal harmony had been put forward and they hoped to be able to take up this question and make some beginning before the close of the present financial year. He also announced that they had made some progress towards materialising the idea of having a full-fledged Fishery Department in the province. Reference had been made, continued the Chief Minister, to certain confidential circulars in connexion with Home Guards to the effect that Government recommended to district authorities that only persons recommended by the Hindu Mahasabha should be recruited. There was absolutely no basis for such a rumour, he said. With regard to the criticism that there was no policy behind the budget and that it was a heritage of the past, the Chief Minister said that it was impossible to break away from the past. They had got to carry on and build on the past. As regards the policy underlying the budget, he reiterated, the policy was to provide for such measures as were indispensably necessary for the purpose of civil defence for the effective prosecution of the war. With the limited resources at their disposal that was the only practical thing to do. Giving the assurance that everything possible would be done by the Government to utilise the available supply of quinine to the best advantage, the Hon. Mr. *Huq* referred to the criticism made by Mr *J. B Ross* (with regard to the proposal of Grow More Food campaign), and he was prepared to admit that there was a great deal of truth in the criticism made by Mr Ross. Mr *Huq* then referred to the Black Markets and Government's determination to control them.

Mr. *J. B. Ross* in his speech expressed his party's dissatisfaction with regard to the failure of the Government to deal with the Black Market and speculations. His criticism of the budget was that there was no indication in it of any attempt to develop agriculture which was absolutely essential if "Grow More Food" campaign was to be effective.

Dr. *Radha Kumud Mukherjee* emphasised the initial financial handicap which was throttling the economic life of the country. He urged the Bengal Government to take up with the Central Government the question of redistribution of revenue between Bengal and the Centre. The Bengal Government catered for a population of about 60 millions with a revenue of 16 crores which showed that there was not enough money to go round. Nation-building departments could not thrive so long as this initial financial inequity remained.

Dr. *Kumud Sankar Ray* stressed the character of the present war which was a total war and therefore if they wanted to get the maximum work from the people, it should be seen that their needs were met. They could not expect unhealthy people putting forth maximum efforts in times of emergency.

Khan Bahadur *Naziruddin Ahmed*, Prof. *Humayun Kabir* and Mr *Lalit Chandra Das* also participated in the discussion. The Council then adjourned.

SUPPLEMENTARY DEMANDS DISCUSSED

26th FEBRUARY :—The Council discussed to-day the supplementary demand for the current year amounting to over Rs. 3 crores presented by the Chief Minister, Mr. *A. K. Fazlul Huq*. Initiating the discussion, *Khan Bahadur Sayed Muazzamuddin Hossain*, leader of the Opposition, said that the supplementary estimate should have been presented in the autumn session of the Council and not now. It was but a mockery to present the estimates before the legislature after expenditure had been incurred. Commenting on the details of the estimate, the speaker remarked that the loan of Rs. 1 crore from the Government of India for advances to small jute growers was a great mistake. The Government should have known that most of the small jute growers had already sold their jute and

did not require any advance for deferring sale till the rise in prices. The major portion of the money must be lying idle and yet Government had to pay interest on it. The estimate showed a provision of Rs. 8 lakhs for a vagrants' home and Rs. 53 lakhs for advance to the Director of Civil Supplies for purchase of food-grains as additional grants, but there was no word of explanation or the details of the policy underlying the scheme of control. The demand under, Loans and Advances was Rs. 96½ lakhs. This extra expenditure, it was stated, was due mainly to the distribution of agricultural loans on a large scale in areas devastated by the recent cyclone and flood. Such palliative measures, the Khan Bahadur said, would be of no help in the long run. They should have a comprehensive policy regarding agricultural credit instead of giving loans to agriculturists haphazardly. He suggested the establishment of thana agricultural banks in this connexion.

Replying, Mr. *P. N. Banerjee*, Revenue Minister, said that owing to the abnormal situation prevailing in the province at the time, the question of a large part of the demand arose after the autumn session, and that was why it could not be placed before the House earlier. The provision of Rs 96½ lakhs under the head "Loans and Advances", and Rs. 49 lakhs under "Famine" had been the direct result of cyclone and flood which had devastated the province in October last. The establishment of a Directorate of Civil Supplies and the advance of Rs. 53 lakhs under that head for the purchase of foodgrains was a development which normal human eyes could not foresee Nor could they anticipate that a liberal scale of dearness allowance had to be granted to their employees. This allowance had been due to factors over which this province or the provincial Government had no control. Referring to the grant regarding the housing of vagrants, the Minister said that the question of control of vagrants had engaged the attention of the Calcutta Rotary Club for years past. The Government proposed to bring forward a Bill providing a home for 5,000 vagrants The infirm and deceased vagrants would require proper treatment and attempts would be made to find employment for all those who had been cured and cleansed, schools would have to be established for children vagrants and arrangements made for the treatment of the sick. Turning to the demand regarding loans to small jute growers, Mr. Banerjee said that the loans was necessitated by the fact that the prices of jute last year came down considerably. In order to enable small jute growers to hold over their stock until there was a rise in prices, roughly about Rs. 10 lakhs had been advanced. It was discovered later that the prices of jute had gone up and it was no longer necessary to make further advance The advances were made from funds given by the Central Government who were not insisting on payment of interest. As regards the question of an advance to the Directorate of Civil Supplies, the Minister said that the matter would be dealt with separately and all inquiries would be answered.

Election of the President

2nd. MARCH .—*Sir Bijoy Prosad Singha Roy*, ex-Minister, was elected President of the Council to-day. The vacancy was caused by the death Mr. *Satyendra Chandra Mitter*. Sir Bijoy obtained 29 votes while his rival candidate, *Khan Bahadur Abdul Hamid Chowdhury* (Deputy President of the Council), secured 25 votes One vote was rejected. Altogether 55 members participated in the election. Sir Bijoy was the candidate of the Moslem League and the European Group while Khan Bahadur Abdul Hamid Chowdhury belonged to the Progressive Coalition Party.

Non-Agricultural Tenancy Act

3rd. MARCH :—The Council sat for half an hour to-day. The business before the House related to the consideration of the bill to amend the Bengal Non-Agricultural Tenancy (Temporary Provisions Act), 1940, introduced by the Hon. Mr. *Pramatha Nath Benarjee*, Minister. But as the Opposition insisted on having time to put in amendments, the President (Sir B. P Singha Roy) granted them time to do so till 3 p m. thursday. The period of the Act in question will expire on Mar 29, 1943. The Bill sought to extend its operation for one year more pending the introduction of a permanent and more comprehensive legislation on the subject.

Waste Land Reclamation

4th. MARCH :—The Council passed a non-official resolution to-day urging the allotment of "sufficient funds" in the next year's Budget "for small irrigational projects" in E. and N. Bengal "for the purpose of reclaiming cultivable waste

lands." Khan Bahadur *Saiyed Muzzamuddin Hosain* (Leader of the Muslim League Opposition), who initiated the discussion, suggested a provision of Rs. 10 lakhs for the purpose. To this an amendment was moved by Rai Sahib *J. M. Sen* (Progressive Coalition) urging the allotment of "sufficient funds" for the purpose. The House agreed to the amendment

Replying to the discussion that followed, Khan Bahadur *Hashem Ali Khan*, Minister for Agriculture, observed that the object of the resolution was laudable but the problem was a vast one. There were thousands of acres of lands lying waste in the province, which if made arable would no doubt prove of immense benefit to the people But it was not possible for this Government or any other Government, even in normal times to tackle this question easily The Government were however doing something in this respect. They had already had certain schemes one of which aimed at helping district boards in taking up small projects like this In last year's Budget they had provided Rs. 50,000 for the purpose, and some of the district boards had taken advantage of the Government schemes. Besides this, the Government also distributed loans for excavation of tanks, and in this connexion, Rs. 47,000 was advanced by the Government by way of loan. The resolution was passed as amended The Council then adjourned till Monday.

Supply & Control of Foodstuffs

8th MARCH :—The food situation in the country was discussed in the Council when the Leader of the Opposition (*Khan Bahadur Saiyed Muazzamuddin Hossain*) moved his special motion urging the Government to launch upon a comprehensive scheme for supplying the requirements of the people The Khan Bahadur moved : "That this Council is of opinion that the measures so far taken by the Government for ensuring supply and control of prices of food, cloth and other necessaries of life, have been wholly inadequate and ineffective and urges Government to draw up immediately and implement a comprehensive scheme for supply and control of prices of food and other necessaries of life both in urban and rural areas, if necessary, in consultation with the leaders of all parties and other prominent members of both Houses of Legislature who take interest in such matters."

While not minimising the needs of the urban and industrial areas, the Khan Bahadur specially referred to the distress of the poorer section of the people in rural areas and urged that unless steps were taken to save these people, there might have a repetition of the havoc that was caused to the country in the last century when people died in thousands. He asked Government to think out a comprehensive scheme of rationing for the whole of Bengal and not merely of the city and of the industrial areas. The price of rice was rising, and he charged the Government with abetting profiteers and hoarders by not fixing a maximum price of rice earlier If that was done, the poorer section of the people would not have been hit Giving a constructive suggestion, he said that if the whole of the Government staff in the rural areas was utilised, they could get complete figures for the purpose of introducing card system In this connexion he offered his services for a time and averred that necessary provisions could be made for a proper rationing It was high time that the policy of drift should be given up and a comprehensive scheme on a systematic basis should be launched upon and it should be seen that the scheme was given effect to. Otherwise they should lay down their office

Begum Hamida Momin said that it was an irony of fate that the Chief Minister had shouted that the problem of Bengal was the question of dal and bhat and now they were faced with a serious food situation. There was no indication that Government was anxious to relieve the distress. Rice was selling to-day at Rs. 20 per maund. If that was the position now, what was going to happen in the interval before they got the new crop ? Ordinary people did not understand politics. They wanted food and if that was not forthcoming, Government was to be blamed.

Supporting the motion, Mr. *J. McFarlane* said that it was sufficient to say that the food position had been and was still grave and all steps hitherto taken had proved ineffective. The problem of adequate food stuffs was not peculiar to this country but was common practically in all other countries, and he doubted whether anyone of of them had found complete satisfactory solution of it. But with regard to rice, this province had hitherto shown to be more or less self-sufficient In 1941-42 there was considerable surplus. People generally held that a large stock of food-stuffs existed in the country but they unfortunately in the main appeared to be under the control of profiteers and hoarders and it was dealing with these rather that Government had shown such lamentable weakness. The only method to deal

with them was to confiscate their stocks, fine them, imprison them, all three. It would do no harm to treat them rough No treatment was too severe to such enemies of society. He hoped Government would adopt this view and broadcast their intentions of dealing mercilessly with these people, and they would find plenty of support if they did it. Let the names of those people who had been found guilty of the crime and the punishment meted out to them be published in the press. Much criticism had been heard, he continued, in regard to the personnel of the Director of Supplies. He asked Government to consider whether it was fair or reasonable to expect that officials, however willing they might be to apply their minds to the new task, should suddenly become possessed of intimate knowledge of business of purchasing and supplying foodstuffs. Was Government satisfied that the essential qualifications, knowledge and experience of business were not to be found outside the rank of the civil service ? Finally, he asked for an assurance from Government if they regard dearness allowance as only temporary and unsatisfactory expedient for meeting the high price and they recognised the inherent danger of such allowance, one of which was the danger into the hands of the profiteers.

9th. MARCH :—Mr. *Humayun Kabir* moved an amendment to-day reading : "That for the words "ensuring supply and control of prices of food, cloth and other necessies of life have been wholly inadequate and ineffective and urges Government to draw up immediately and implement a comprehensive scheme for supply and control of prices of food and other necessaries of life both in urban and rural areas, if necessary", the following words be substituted .—

"Ensuring supply of food, clothing and other necessaries of life at controlled prices requires revision in the light of experience so far gained and urges upon the Government to declare Bengal a deficit province immediately and take such steps as may be necessary for ensuring the supply of a minimum quota of food and other necessaries to all persons in rural as well as urban areas."

Mr. Kabir wanted to know whether Government had been advised that Bengal might very soon face a serious situation of famine and whether it was not a fact that the export of rice was going on from this province. He criticised the wisdom of giving news about the contemplated introduction of rationing system prematurely which had only the effect of raising prices.

"As the wording of the special motion may imply a vote of censure on the Ministry," the Hon'ble the *Chief Minister* intervened in the debate and said that he was free to admit that the result so far taken to tackle the problem had not proved satisfactory or adequate. From that point of view, without admitting that "we are liable to be censured," they were prepared to announce here and now that they were taking most adequate steps that were possible to be taken in order to meet the emergent situation. If necessary, they were prepared to accept the special motion so long as it was understood that Government did not accept its implications of their failure to deal with the situation If that was made clear, Government would accept the resolution and take steps on the lines suggested by the Leader of the Opposition. It was not their intention to have the matter talked out and if necessary they would give this House another day, any number of days in order to give suggestions. Government were not going to evade facing the situation arising out of the motion. The was the view of the Government.

In his statement the Hon'ble *Nawab Habibulla Bahadur of Dacca*, Minister for Commerce and Labour said that the provision of foodstuffs at reasonable prices for the people of Bengal had received his closest attention since he took charge of the department. He emphasised that for rice the loss of import from Burma, the denial of boats, the demands for military, the normal commitments to Bihar and Assam, hoarding on a fairly extensive scale had all tended to create local shortages. Except rice, this province was deficient in respect of all other essential food supply, viz, wheat, dal, mustard, sugar and salt and had to depend in varying degrees upon the supplies it could secure from the producing provinces. Thus for wheat Bengal was dependant on the Punjab, for dal and mustard largely on Bihar and the United Provinces, for sugar again on Bihar and on salt for supply from overseas and the Weast coast of India. In any scheme of controlled distribution, the Minister proceeded, it was necessary that the price at the source should be known and controlled. In almost all the food-stuffs they had to obtain from other provinces this difficulty was experienced. Added to this was the difficulty that no province now appeared to admit that it had surplus in respect of any food-stuffs and they had often to contend with other provincial embargoes on the export of their food-stuffs. "The Government of India", he told the House, "are now evolving

a scheme for control of food-stuffs on an All-India basis. It is hoped that when this scheme is under way we shall receive the share we are entitled to not only on the basis of our large population, our contribution to war effort and industry, but also upon the ground that this province must receive a preference being most exposed to enemy attack."

The Hon'ble Minister then indicated the action taken by the Government in respect of different food-stuffs, kerosene and coal As regards rice, Government proposed to create and maintain in Calcutta and at principal deficit areas a reserve of paddy or rice. This reserve would not be for consumption but for throwing on the market whenever necessary at moderate prices under a system of free trade. It was obvious that such a reserve could only be obtained on the new crop and a good new crop. Government had their agents now operating in the elected districts and had fixed a ceiling price for purchase. As regards the price control on rice that had already been relaxed on executive instructions to district magistrates not to take action except in cases of gross profiteering, the Minister hoped that they would be able to build up a reserve as intended. Failing this their future policy must depend on whether they could succeed in creating a "bottle neck control" in rice at least in the now dominating market of Calcutta. In this connexion the Minister pointed out that the agency system had been given a go-bye and under the new system there would be only buyer and that was the Government. Under the new system the Government had appointed a food grain officer who along with his officers would purchase rice at a fair and reasonable price So far as wheat was concerned, the Government of India put the Bengal Government into difficulties by fixing a price of wheat in the primary markets. Recently the Government of India had decontrolled the price but supplies had been coming in only in driblets. The 3 import of wheat into Calcutta which normally had been 18,000 tons a month had during the last six months totalled only 25,965 tons In January the supply was as little as 187 tons. He hoped that with the adoption of the new purchase policy by the Government of India the position would improve With regard to mustard oil, a small stock of oil likely to meet Calcutta's requirements for about 2 weeks was now held on Government account by a leading Calcutta firm. The intention was to use it in case of emergency which might result in the city mills temporarily closing down. The disturbances in last August effected very seriously the supply of *dal* from Bihar. The position had somewhat improved since then Importers of Bengal who had made large purchases in U. P. had their stocks suddenly immobilized. Their protest to U P. and the Central Governments yielded no results. On their renewed representation to the Government of India against Bengal's immediate demand of 75,000 maunds, their agents had lately received permit for a little over 2,000 maunds from the Bihar Government i e a little over one day's requirement of Calcutta As in the case of wheat so this case also demonstrated the futility of attempts to safeguard the supply position of a deficit province without the active assistance or protection from the Centre. He hoped the position would improve with the new policy inaugurated by India Government. In respect of sugar, they might have to revise quotas allotted to different areas and channels of supply but the present scheme, he claimed, had already had the beneficial result of making sugar available in the Calcutta markets. So far as salt was concerned, arrangements had been made with the Government of India to secure vessels to carry the salt cargoes. The present position was that there was 16 lakhs maunds of salt in the Government gola (adequate for two months) and the dealers had an additional supply for about three or four weeks. As regards coal, the problem was essentially one of transport and there was no dearth of coal. Lately an agreement had been reached whereby Bengal had been allotted its own quota of wagons,—Bengal's share being 3600 wagons placed at the disposal of the Director of Civil Supplies. There were still difficulties in as much as the collieries on one excuse or other had been avoiding entering into contracts with the coal dealers to whom Government had allotted wagons and there was still the shortage of total wagons available With the strong action taken against a very big coal dealer for disobeying the order against retail sale it was hoped that so long wagons continued to be made available the supply for the city would not be allowed to fall short seriously. As regards kerosene, Government had lately prepared a scheme for the distribution throughout the province. Under the scheme the Dt. Magistrate was to be kept fully informed of the dealers selected by the agent of the Oil Companies and of the quota of oil allotted during the month and delivered to approved dealers or consumers during the month. Bengal's quota of Standard cloth for the quarter February-April was 75 lakhs yards. Government propo-

sed distribution in the first instance mainly in the jute growing districts which had not been benefited from an increase in the price of paddy and in the district of Midnapore. The actual distribution would be made through the existing trade channels subject to the supervision and control of the local officer. The provincial Government, he added, had now agreed to bear financial responsibilities for this scheme.

Mr. *J. B. Ross*, Leader of the European Group, said that there was no doubt that Government had been attempting to tackle the food problem but there was also no doubt that Government had allowed the position to go completely out of hand. The fundamental problem within the province at the time was adequate supply of rice As regards wheat, they had heard a great deal some three months ago about Government having arranged with the British Government that shiploads of wheat were arriving at Calcutta from Australia to supplement their requirements. But they had not heard anything about the arrival of wheat since then. He thought that if the shipment of wheat materialised, the rice position of the province would be considerably eased. The minister had stated that a Food Grain purchasing officer had been appointed and he and his staff would have the monopoly of purchase of rice of the province. But there were certain forces at work which would prevent him and his officers from carrying out their duties satisfactorily. Mr. Ross referred to the statement made the other day by the minister concerned about the rice position for 1942-43 wherein it was stated that the estimated production of rice was 23 per cent short of their requirements and remarked that a reply of this nature, if correct, must have the effect of aggravating the position. It would inevitably encourage the tendency on the part of the cultivators and the stockists in the rural areas to hoard stocks. If the Government were convinced that the figures given were substantially correct, they should be endeavouring to secure additional supplies from other provinces and seeking the the help of the Government of India in this respect. But they had not heard that Government had taken any action in this matter. If, on the other hand, Government considered that the figures about rice were unreliable, it was their duty then to use the whole machinery of administration to ascertain the fact

Debate on Floud Commission Report

11th. MARCH :—Non-official resolutions were discussed by the Council when it took up further consideration of the resolution moved by Mr. *Latafat Hussain* asking the Government to take decision without delay on the recommendations of the Floud Commission and give effect to them within the next financial year. Khan Bahadur *Saiyed Muzzamuddin Hossain* said that it was imperative on Government to consider seriously what could be done to improve the lot of agriculturists. It would be a crime to sit idle even after getting sufficient material for proceeding with the task of overhauling the whole land revenue structure of Bengal, more suited to the present condition. A conference was convened in July last which was postponed sine die. The agriculturists of the country were now in a desperate condition and Government could at least take decision on the recommendations of the Commission regarding reduction of abnormally high rentals, stoppage of enhancements and imposition of agricultural income tax for improving agriculture. Experiments could also be made as to the best scheme of nationalising lands in small experimenal areas. If Government sat idle it could be then rightly charged with culpable negligence.

Replying the Revenue Minister (Hon'ble Mr. *Pramatha Nath Banerjee*) said that the acceptance of the recommendations of the Floud Commission would involve a change in the economic structure of the province. In view of the various difficulties in the way of accepting the recommendations, he agreed that it would be useful for them, for the leaders of the different parties, to meet and give him advice about the practicability of carrying out all or some of the recommendations of the Commission in the altered situation of the country. The Minister admitted that there was an urgent demand by the vast majority of people for something to be done in this matter. He also realised that some change in the economic land system was absolutely essential. He was aware that the land system was too wooden and too anti-diluvian, but the question was one of practicability. They had in front of them the biggest war, and what economic organisation there would be after the war no one knew. They had however to proceed on the present basis. The Minister proposed to give his decision in the matter within the next few days but before he gave his decision he would like to get the co-operation of all sections of the House. He agreed with the view that in abnormal times like this if the

economic structure of the province was to be altered, that alteration should have the willing co-operation of all sections of the communities as far as possible. In that view he proposed shortly to convene a conference of leaders of the different parties to discuss this matter, and he would request the mover not to press his motion.

With the leave of the House, Mr. *Latafat Hussain* withdrew his resolution.

EXPENDITURE ON CIVIL DEFENCE

12th. MARCH :—The Council adopted a non-official resolution to-day urging that 90% of the expenditure on civil defence measures in the province be met from Central revenues. The Government was requested to make a representation to the Government of India. Mr. *Nur Ahmed*, mover of the resolution, and its supporters stressed the need for adequate provision for nation building departments and said that much money would be available for the purpose if the Government bore a large proportion of the expenditure on civil defence measures in Bengal. The Premier, Mr. *A. K. Fazlul Huq* expressing his sympathy with the object of the motion said that the Government would forward the proceedings to the proper quarters with their "strongest recommendation" He added that they would welcome the day when they received substantial help in the matter from the Government of India.

IMPROVEMENT OF SAILORS' CONDITION

Mr. *Nur Ahmed* in another resolution asked the Government of India to place at the disposal of the Bengal Government at lump sum of Rs 50 crores for improving the condition of sailors, seamen, soldiers and non-combatants actively participating in the war effort in Bengal and for the rehabilitation of the families that evacuated from their homes on military ground. The resolution was accepted without opposition

SALT MANUFACTURE IN BENGAL

The 3rd resolution. moved by the same member and accepted by the House, requested the Governo to make an immediate representation to the Government of India to give all reasonable facilities and assistance for developing the manufacture of salt in Bengal. Mr. *U. N. Burman*, Minister for Excise, said that arrangements had been made in certain parts of the 24 Parganas and Midnapore districts for producing salt as a cottage industry. There was no difficulty about that The Government's scheme for production of the commodity on a big scale was still under the consideration of experts and the Industrial Survey Committee. It had, therefore, not been possible for them to forward the scheme to the Control Government. The Council at this stage adjourned till March 22.

DEBATE ON FOOD SITUATION

22nd. MARCH :—The question of rice shortage was again raised when Mr. *U. N. Burman*, Minister on behalf of the Nawab Bahadur of Dacca, informed Khan Bahadur *Saiyed Muzzamuddin Hosain*, Leader of the Muslim League Opposition, that the actual deficit was not expected to be more than 10 against which there was the probability of some stock remaining from last year's exceptionally good crop. The total quantity of rice required for consumption could not be accurately estimated, the estimated requirements being based on an average of 341 lbs of rice per capita annually. The crop forecasts together with net imports for 3 years preceding 1942 placed the average resources at about 76 lakhs tons agains the average requirements of 92 lakhs tons.

The Government, however, were trying to import from surplus provinces through the Government of India who had inaugurated a scheme of co-ordinated purchase of foodgrains. Along with a scheme of distribution which was now under consideration these supplies were expected to reduce the deficit to a minimum In the light of latest information it might be stated that imports were expected at once in substantial quantities and special arrangements were being made by the Central Government to expedite it. It would not be in public interest to disclose the figures The imported rice would benefit not only Calcutta but also other deficit districts.

Later, during the resumed debate on the special motion of Khan Bahadur *Muazzamuddin Hosain* about the food situation Mr. *Nur Ahmed* (Muslim League) emphasized the seriousness of the position and urged the Government to take immediate steps to bring relief to the sufferers.

Mr. *Hamidul Huq Chowdhury* (Muslim League) accused the Ministry of not paying sufficient attention to the food question. He said that if a well-thought-out

scheme had been adopted in 1942, the present crisis might have been averted. He had not concluded when the Council adjourned.

23rd. MARCH :—The four-day debate on the food situation in the Province concluded this afternoon when the House, by 16 to 15 votes, passed a Government party member's amendment on the subject. The substantive motion of the Opposition (Muslim League), which expressed the opinion that measures so far taken by the Government for ensuring supplies and control of prices of food, cloth and other necessaries of life have been 'wholly inadequate and ineffective", was lost without a division. The European Group voted with the Muslim League against the amendment and of the three members of the official Congress Party present in the House, two voted with the Government Party for the amendment and the third remained neutral The amendment expressed the view that measures so far taken by the Government for ensuring supply of food, cloth and other necessaries of life at controlled prices required revision in the light of experience so far gained and urged the Government to declare Bengal a deficit province immediately and take such steps as might be necessary for ensuring the supply of a minimum quota of food and other necessaries to all persons in rural as well as urban areas Replying to the debate, Mr. *P. N. Banerjee*, Minister in charge of Civil Supplies, said that he would accept the Opposition motion if its "censure portion" was left out. He announced that the Government of India had expressed its willingness to help Bengal in every possible way and food grains had got started coming to Calcutta for the purpose of replenishing supplies in the city. He further informed the House that the Government would soon consider the question of introducing rationing system in Calcutta. The Council at this stage adjourned till the 2nd. April but in view of the development regarding the political deadlock in the Assembly and the Governor's proclamation subsequently, no meeting was held on this day and the House adjourned *sine die*.

The Assam Legislative Assembly

LIST OF MEMBERS

THE HON'BLE MR. BASANTA KUMAR DAS, B.L.—*Speaker*

MAULVI MUHAMMAD AMIRUDDIN—*Deputy Speaker*

1. Raja Ajit Narayan Deb, of Sidli
2. Babu Akshay Kumar Das
3. Mr. Arun Kumar Chanda
4. Mr. Baidyanath Mookerjee
5. Babu Balaram Sircar
6. The Hon'ble Mr. Basanta Kumar Das
7. Srijut Beliram Das
8. Srijut Bepin Chandra Medhi
9. Babu Bipin Behari Das
10. Srijut Bishnu Ram Medhi
11. Babu Dakshina Ranjan Gupta Chaudhuri
12. Srijut Debeswar Sarmah
13. Srijut Ghanashyam Das
14. Srijut Gauri Kanta Talukdar
15. Srijut Gopinath Bardoloi
16. Srijut Haladhar Bhuyan
17. Babu Harendra Narayan Chaudhuri
18. The Hon'ble Srijut Hirendra Chandra Chakravarty
19. Srijut Jadav Prasad Chaliha
20. Srijut Jogendra Chandra Nath
21. Srijut Jogendra Narayan Mandal
22. Srijut Jogesh Chandra Gohain
23. Babu Kalachand Roy
24. Srijut Kameswar Das
25. Babu Kamini Kumar Sen
26. Babu Karuna Sindhu Roy
27. Mr. Kedarmal Brahmin
28. Srijut Krishna Nath Sarmah
29. Srijut Lakshesvar Borooah
30. Babu Lalit Mohan Kar
31. Srijut Mahadev Sarma
32. The Hon'ble Dr. Mahendra Nath Saikia
33. Srijut Mahi Chandra Bora
34. The Hon'ble Mr. Naba Kumar Dutta
35. Babu Nirendra Nath Dev
36. Srijut Omeo Kumar Das
37. Srijut Paramananda Das
38. Srijut Purandar Sarma
39. Srijut Purna Chandra Sarma
40. Babu Rabindra Nath Aditya
41. Rai Sahib Daulat Chandra Gohain
42. Srijut Rajendra Nath Barua
43. Srijut Ram Nath Das
44. Srijut Rohini Kumar Chaudhuri
45. Srijut Sankar Chandra Barua
46. Srijut Santosh Kumar Barua
47. Srijut Sarveswar Barua
48. Babu Shibendra Chandra Biswas
49. Srijut Siddhi Nath Sarma
50. Srijut Surendranath Buragohain
51. Maulavi Abdul Aziz
52. Maulavi Abdul Bari Chaudhury
53. Maulana Abdul Hamid Khan
54. Khan Bahadur Hazi Abdul Majid Chaudhury
55. The Hon'ble Maulavi Abdul Matin Chaudhury
56. Maulavi Abdur Rahman
57. Maulavi Syed Abdur Rouf
58. Maulavi Md. Abdus Salam
59. Khan Sahib Maulavi Dewan Muhammad Ahbab Chaudhury
60. Maulavi Md. Ali Haidar Khan
61. Maulavi Dewan Ali Raja
62. Khan Sahib Maulavi Muhammad Amiruddin
63. Maulavi Muhammad Amjad Ali
64. Maulavi Ashrafuddin Md. Chaudhury
65. Maulavi Badaruddin Ahmed
66. Khan Bahadur Dewan Eklimur Roza Chaudhury
67. Mr. Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed
68. Maulavi Ghyasuddin Ahmed
69. Maulavi Jahanuddin Ahmed
70. Khan Bahadur Maulavi Keramat Ali
71. Maulavi Muhammad Maqbul Hussain Chaudhury
72. Khan Bahadur Maulavi Mahmud Ali
73. Maulavi Matior Rahman Mia
74. Maulavi Mabarak Ali
75. The Hon'ble Khan Sahib Maulavi Mudabbir Hussain Chaudhuri
76. Khan Bahadur Maulavi Mufizur Rahman
77. The Hon'ble Maulavi Munawwar Ali
78. Maulavi Muzarrof Ali Laskar
79. Maulavi Nawwar Ali Barbhuiya
80. Maulavi Naziruddin Ahmed
81. Maulavi Sheikh Osman Ali Sadagar
82. The Hon'ble Maulavi Saiyid Sir Muhammad Saadulla
83. The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Maulavi Sayidur Rahman
84. Shams-ul-Olama Maulana Abu Nasr Muhammad Waheed
85. Mr. F. W. Blennerhassett

86. MR. N. DAWSON
87. MR. E. H. S. LEWIS
88. MR D. B. H. MOORE
89. MR. C. W. MORLEY
90. MR. R. A. PALMER
91. DR. C. G. TERRELL
92. MR. P. TRINKLE
93. MR A. WHITTAKER
94 THE HON'BLE MISS MAVIS DUNN B. T., B. L.
95. MR. BENJAMIN CH. MOMIN
96. SRIJUT BHAIRAB CHANDRA DAS
97. SRIJUT BIDESHI PAN TANTI
98. MR. BINODE KUMAR J. SARWAN
99. SRIJUT DHIRSING DEURI
100. REV. L. GATPHOH
101. MR. C. GOLDSMITH
102. MR. JOBANG D. MARAK
103. REV. J. J M. NICHOLS-ROY
104 SRIJUT KARKA DALAY MIRI
105. SRIJUT KHORSING TERANG, MAUZADAR
106. SRIJUT RABI CHANDRA KACHARI
107. THE HON'BLE SRIJUT RUPNATH BRAHMA
108. BABU SANAT KUMAR AHIR

Proceedings of the Assembly

Budget Session—Shillong—8th to 27th. March 1943

FINANCIAL STATEMENT FOR 1943–44

The Budget session of the Assam Legislative Assembly commenced at Shillong on the 8th. MARCH 1943 with the Hon'ble Sj. *Basanta Kumar Das*, Speaker in the chair.

Introducing the Budget for the year 1943-44, Mr. *Abdul Matin Choudhury*, Finance Minister disclosed an estimated revenue deficit of Rs. 10,10,000.

The year 1943-44 starts with an estimated opening balance of Rs 76,39,000. Receipts are estimated at Rs 10,10,08,000 (Revenue Receipts Rs. 3,61,20,000 and Capital Receipts Rs. 6,75,88,000) The estimated expenditure has been taken at Rs. 10,[illegible],18,000 (Revenue Expenditure Rs 3,72,29,000 and Capital Expenditure Rs 7,00,89,000 thus leaving a closing surplus balance of Rs 43,29,000

The Revenue Budget shows a deficit which is estimated at Rs 8,09,000 This again does not reveal the true position as it includes (1) Rs. 1,00,000 on account of Collective Fines and (2) Rs. 18,90 000 less Rs. 17 89 000 shown on the expenditure side or Rs. 1,01 000 net on account of Receipts from the Motor Transport Organisation, the expenditure on which except for the recurring charges is debitable to the Capital Head 55B The result is that the real revenue deficit is estimated to be Rs. 10,10,600.

Mr. Choudhury said that war conditions still pervaded the atmosphere and problems brought in their train still continued to influence and determine the policy of the Government.

The food situation, he added, was absorbing the anxious thought of the Government and provision had been made for an increased expenditure on the "grow more food" campaign and for bringing more land under cultivation.

Turning to the Budget proper he said that according to the revised estimate for 1942-43 a revenue deficit of Rs. 9,52,000 was anticipated but the real deficit was not likely to be more than Rs. 2,42 000. The Budget estimate for 1943-44 anticipated a revenue deficit of Rs. 10,10,000.

Mr. *Rohini Kumar Choudhury*, Leader of the Opposition sought to move an adjournment motion over the Jorhat jail disturbance on Feb. 24. But *Sir Md. Saadulla*, the Premier having stated that a judicial inquiry by the Deputy Commissioner of Jorhat was proceeding the motion was not pressed.

GENERAL DISCUSSION OF BUDGET

10th. MARCH :—The general discussion on the Budget began in the Assembly today. Mr. *Baidynath Mookherjee* criticized the Government for the lack of any well-thought-out plan for improving the conditions of the people. Judging from the poor attendance of members, he said the Assembly was no longer representative of the people and as such he appealed to the Governor either to dissolve the House and order fresh elections or suspend the constitution. He referred to the rising prices of foodstuffs and criticized the Government's policy of price control as ineffective. Mr. *Rohini Kumar Chowdhury* urged the need for adequate provision

for families of security prisoners. Mr. *Arnold Whittakar*, leader of the European Group, after congratulating the Government on estimating a deficit of only Rs. 10 lakhs in a province now situated in a theatre of war, said that unless new sources of revenue were found to cover war-time windfalls, the province would be faced with deficits after the war, and there would be a shrinkage, instead of expansion of nation-building activities. Mr. *Maqbul Hussain Choudhury* asked for suspension of the collection of agricultural loans in distress areas in the Surma Valley. Mr *Abdur Rahman* said that the supply and price control policies of the Government were a failure.

11th MARCH:—The Budget debate in the Assembly concluded today Two members from the Congress group out of four present in the House participated in the discussion. Mr. *C. Goldsmith* said that freedom from want would solve 99% of the problems of the people of Assam. The time was not opportune for the taking up of big objects If the people were kept contented, it would help the war effort indirectly. Replying to the debate, the Premier *Sir Muhammad Saadulla* said that his Ministry was not responsible for the arrest of MLA's in the Province Criticisms of the National War Front Movement were based on e[illegible]l information or misinformation The movement had justified its existence. Regarding the treatment of prisoners in jails, Sir Muhammad remarked that those who wanted home comforts in jail were mistaken He indicated the steps taken in the matter of allowances to security prisoners and assured the House that each case would be carefully considered. Referring to the loss sustained by the Government, local bodies and private persons as a result of arson and looting during the past few months, the Premier asked his critics whose creed was non-violence whether any words of condemnation were forthcoming from them against these acts of sabotage. Mr. *Dakshina Gupta* (Congress) said that individual liberty and individual freedom of speech and action had been denied to all and the Press had been gagged. "Suppression of normal life and suppression of news was the order of the day," said Mr. Gupta. He asked the Premier to shake off his peacock's feathers" lent by the bureaucracy and follow the only honourable course which Mr. Alla Bux and Dr. Syamaprosad Mukherjee have followed.

COURT OF WARDS BILL

12th MARCH—The Assembly today passed the Assam Court of Wards (Amendment) Bill of 1941 and considered the Shillong Execution of Decrees Bill, 1943 and the Shillong Attachment of Salaries Bill, 1943

NURSES' REGISTRATION BILL

1[illegible]th. MARCH—The Assembly today passed the consideration stage of the Assam Nurses', Midwives' and Health Visitors' Registration Bill Mr. *Arnold Whittaker*, leader of the European Group, expressed satisfaction that the Bill was an all-party measure and had emerged from the select committee in an improved form. Dr *C G. Terrell* said that the Bill, if passed into law, would fulfil a long-felt want in the province. He expressed gratitude to the Shillong Welsh Mission Hospital for having shouldered the responsibility for training nurses at present, and hoped that this legislation will encourage the starting of additional training centres.

ALLEGED POLICE EXCESSES

Mr. *Rohini Choudhury* asked leave to move an adjournment motion to consider the situation arising out of alleged indiscriminate house-searches, arrests and assaults and detention of a large number of people in Gauhati Jail, in certain villages in Nalbari Thana from the 2nd to 9th March last by way of what he described as a reprisal, being unable to detect the offenders responsible for stealing six guns from licence-holders. Sj Choudhury said that about or more than 200 men of the Nalbari Thana went to different villages. There was no warrant of arrest against any particular individual and there was no mention of any house, where the search was to take place, because nobody could say who had stolen the guns. Almost every house was searched and nothing incriminating was found. People, who raised a single word of protest was arrested, handcuffed and sometimes assaulted and were brought to Gauhati. People, against whom there was no evidence, were arrested and put into jail simply on suspicion. Bail petitions were moved, they were rejected. Some villagers, through fear, ran away from villages. The occurrences of assault took place in 14 villages Sj. Choudhury said that on the 3rd March, 44 persons were still detained in jail.

The Premier, *Sir Md. Saadulla*, replying, said that the motion was out of order. Sj. Choudhury should have come with this motion on the first day but

instead he came to-day after the House sat for one week. The Premier explained the circumstances necessitating the sending out of raid parties to these areas where persons impersonating as policemen in Khaki dress had been terrorising the people and in fact took away six licensed guns from Nalbari by false impersonification. Similar methods, he added, had been adopted previously too in Nowgong where 17 guns were stolen out of which 16 were since recovered. He said that the searches were made not to terrorise people, but to maintain law and order. Continuing, Sir Md. Saadullah stated that 22 persons, wanted in other connections, were arrested from Nalbari in the course of the searches there. He said that there was no case of assault by the Police.

Sj. *Choudhury* did not press the motion, when he was assured by the Premier that in future he would see that a big police force would be accompanied by a Magistrate.

Black Market Activities

15th. MARCH :—Questions relating to black market activities in the province were raised in the Assembly today on a cut motion moved by Mr. *Baidyanath Mookerjee* under general administration. Mr. *F. H. S. Lewis* recommended severe punishment to people connected with such activities. Dr. *C. G. Terrell* said that the price of quinine in the black market was many times more than the Government price. Sir *Mahammad Saadulla*, Premier, replying said that there was no black market for quinine in Assam and that Government had taken steps to provide quinine at as fair a price as possible. Referring to the supply problem, he said that Government has been doing its utmost to secure essential foodstuffs, such as dal, atta, flour, mustard oil and kerosene. Mr. *Karunasindhu Roy* (Congress) suggested the opening of Government shops in all rural areas for a fair distribution of footstuffs. The House ultimately passed demands under the heads general administration and revenue and civil defence.

18th. MARCH :—The Assembly today passed all demands for grants under police, public health, education (other than European) and medical. The cut motions were either lost or withdrawn. Moving a cut motion under public health, Mr. *Baidyanath Mukherjee* criticized Government policy of giving inadequate grant to this department. He condemned the present dual control under which public health officers had to work in districts He suggested that these officers should be brought under the control of Assistant Directors of Public Health instead of the present arrangement of being under Civil Surgeons. He complained that the number of dispensaries was inadequate and the stock of medicine meagre. Maulvi *Abdur Rahman*, Maulvi *Amjad Ali* and Mr. *Nirendra Nath Dey* also criticized the working of the department in certain matters. Replying Miss *Mavis Dunn*, Minister, Public Health, said the question of the reorganization of the Public Health department was under the consideration of the Government. Mr. Mookerjee's cut motion was lost and the original demand passed

When the House discussed medical grants, Mr. *D. B. H. Moore* referred to the inadequate supply of quinine.

Security Prisoners in Assam

The number of security prisoners detained in different jails in Assam was approximately 227 and amongst them only sixteen were getting family or personal allowance—thus said Mr. *Rupnath Brahma*, Judicial Minister. replying to a question of Mr. *Kamini Kumar Sen* (Ex-Minister) today during the interpellation period. The Minister added that orders had been passed for grant of allowances in other cases and those were constantly increasing. Being asked on what basis the amount of such allowance was fixed, Mr. Brahma said that it was fixed on a consideration of what was strictly necessary to maintain the family in view of its numbers and ordinary habit of living.

Stating the policy of releasing the Security prisoners, Mr. Brahma said that Government were prepared to release those who would give an undertaking to abstain from in any way promoting the activities of any movement which aimed at the sub-version of Government if their undertaking could be trusted. In the matter of release the Deputy Commissioners used their discretion and the Minister expressed his inability to inform the exact number of prisoners released in pursuance of this policy. But he stated that some 30 had already been released.

Regarding the policy adopted by the Government in the granting of parole to political prisoners, Mr. Brahma said : "Government are not ordinarily prepared to grant parole since little reliance can be placed on persons who are not prepared to give a general undertaking to be of good behaviour in the respect already indicated,

but desire release for particular private ends. Release on mere parole is therefore confined to cases of proved necessity where reliance can also be placed on honourable observance of the conditions which must necessarily as a rule be stated by "writing".

THE FINANCE BILL 1943

22nd. MARCH .—The Assembly today passed the Shillong (Execution of Decrees) Bill, Shillong Attachment of Salaries Bill, and the Assam Finance Bill, 1943.

The Finance Bill imposes taxation at the current year's rates under the Agricultural Income Tax Act, 1939. The Execution of Decrees Bill provides legal machinery for the purpose from British courts to Khasi State territory and vice versa. By the Attachment of Salaries Bill the basic salary exempted is raised to from Rs. 40 to Rs. 100.

SUPPLEMENTARY DEMANDS

23rd MARCH :—The Assembly to-day passed supplementary demands for grants for 1942-43 under various heads amounting to Rs. 69,36,843. All cut motions were either lost or withdrawn During the debate several members urged suggestion of the realization of agricultural loans in Surma Valley

Maulavi *Manawar Ali*, Revenue Minister said that orders had been issued not to use coercion but persuasion in realizing loans. The dual control of the Public Health Department was criticized by several members when grants for the department were discussed. Replying *Sir Mahammad Saadulla*, Premier said that the separation of the Public Health and Medical Departments was a complicated problem. He, however, assured the House that prompt measures had been taken to deal with malaria.

SURPLUS RICE IN ASSAM

27th. MARCH :—Assam would have a rice surplus of approximately five million maunds (5.000,000)—this was disclosed by the Premier, *Sir Muhammad Saadullah* today. Sir Muhammad said that to keep this surplus in stock would be depriving many hungry mouths of food in other provinces. He reminded the House of the situation in Bengal, as a result of shortage of rice, and said that on the suggestion of the Government of India the Assam Government has agreed to send 5,000 tons of rice to Bengal In this respect his Government was not guided by any mercenary motive, but simply on humanitarian considerations Dealing with the question of export, Sir Muhammad said that whatever quantity the province could afford to export would go to the Government of India. The Premier appealed to the members to forget all their differences and rise equal to the occasion in extending their wholehearted co-operation. The statement was made in the course of the four hours' debate on the economic situation in the province. The House then adjourned.

The Assam Legislative Council

Budget Session—Shillong—9th. to 13th March 1943

RICE POSITION IN ASSAM

9th. MARCH :—The Council today passed the Goalpara Tenancy (Amendment) Bill, the Sylhet Tenancy (Amendment) Bill, and the Assam Moneylenders' Bill as passed during the last sesion by the Assembly on amendments suggested by the Governor.

A statement on the rice position in Assam was made by *Sir Muhammed Saadulla*, Premier replying to a debate raised through a resolution moved by Mr. *Satyendra Mohan Lahiri* who urged stoppage of export of rice from the province.

The Premier said that he estimated a surplus of about 2,100,000 maunds of rice of which 1,400,000 maunds are to be allotted for military requirements and for labourers in Assam and the rest would be kept in reserve for any emergency. It would be costly, he added, to undertake any statistical investigation into rice crops as advised by the mover. He also stated that the Government of India had asked the Assam Government to give the province's marketable surplus for the benefit of other deficit provinces. He, however, added that at present rice exports outside the province were prohibited.

Mr. *Sarat Chandra Bhattacharyya* requested the Government not to allow exports of rice until the next crop was harvested. The resolution was withdrawn.

GENERAL DISCUSSION OF BUDGET

12th. MARCH :—The Council to-day concluded discussion on the Budget. Replying on the debate Khan Bahadur *Moulvi Saiydur Rahman*, Minister for Education, said that the Government would consider the criticisms made by members. Regarding land revenue remission the Government, he said, had decided to stop it unless there was flood, pestilence or famine to justify remission. The Government was fully alive to the problem of food and cloth supply and hoped to meet the situation through its supply department. Nothing would be done by the Ministry to jeopardize the province's food supply. Referring to dearness allowance for primary school teachers, the Minister said that the responsibility rested with local bodies.

At yesterday's meeting some members criticized the mass literacy campaign of Government and suggested that the money spent for the campaign be devoted to an extension and improvement of primary education.

The need for more subsidised dispensaries in the countryside was pointed out by Mr. *H. Emblen*, Leader of the European Group. He also referred to the "grow more food" campaign and said: "Last year Government inaugurated a 'grow more food" campaign with gratifying results; but just what it actually meant in terms of maunds of foodstuffs produced is the problem at Calcutta. The present situation emphasises the need for more up-to-date and accurate methods of assessing the total crop production of foodstuffs in the province." He pointed out the necessity of bringing waste land under cultivation and advised Government to make a small grant on all new land brought into cultivation. He also advised Government to obtain from the Government of India a substantial grant for opening up new land. He thought that the cultivation of tobacco might be taken up with profit both to Government and to educated young men. Government should arrange for the training of a few young men in the cultivation of tobacco. In conclusion he said that Government should from now think of the post-war reconstruction problems of the province. In this connexion he stressed the necessity of modernization of the provincial road transport system and improvement of village roads.

Maulvi *Abdul Majeed Choudhury* referred to the deplorable condition of non-Government schools and said that suitable grants be given them. He advised Government to start dispensaries at suitable places for the treatment of poor village people.

Mr. *Bhimbor Deori* said that Government was not justified in stopping remission of land revenue. He criticized the mass literacy campaign.

Rai Bahadur *Hem Chandra Dutt* said that the nation-building departments were not well looked after. He requested Government to improve the condition of primary school teachers on the lines of the suggestions made by the Sargent Committee.

Mr. *W. R Gawthrop* (European Group) said that on account of the grant of Rs. 32 lakhs from the Central Government, budgetary problems in Assam were not so difficult as might have been expected, but Government should prepare for the day when such income would no longer be available. He stressed the importance of adopting a courageous financial policy of expansion and reconstruction for post-war years, otherwise Government might have to curtail even the few nation-building activities that existed at present

Khan Sahib *Maulavi Abdur Rahim Chaudhury* said the Government's "grow more food" campaign could not be successful because there was a heavy cattle mortality in the countryside and cultivators were not in a position to purchase cattle

Mr. *Satyendra Mohan Lahiry* said that the outturn of the rice was likely to fall in Assam and outside import was not likely. It was therefore necessary to increase production by bringing waste land under cultivation and by the grant of improved seeds and good manure.

Mr. *Jogendra Nath Gohain* suggested that the mass literacy campaign should be merged in general education.

13th. MARCH :—The Council to-day passed the Maternity Benefits Bill, the Forest (Amendment) Bill and the Temporarily Settled Districts Tenancy (Amendment) Bill and then *prorogued*.

The Orissa Legislative Assembly

List of Members

Sri Raja Krushna Bose
Sri Bichitrananda Das
Sri Atala Behari Acharja
Sri Santanu Kumar Das
Sri Nabakrushna Choudhury
Sri Nityananda Kanungo
Sri Jadumani Mangaraj
Sri Brajanath Misra
Sri Lokenath Misra
Sri Birakishore Behera
Sri Dwarikanta Das
Sri Birabar Narayan Chandra Dhir Narendra
Sri Madan Mohan Patnaik
Sri Krupasindhu Bhukta
Sri Mohan Das
Sri Jagabandhu Sinha
Sri Biswanath Behara
Sri Jagannath Misra
Sri Prannath Patnaik
The Hon'ble Pandit Godavaris Misra
The Hon'ble Sri Mukunda Prasad Das
Sri Nanda Kishore Das
Sri Charu Chandra Ray
Sri Chakradhar Behera
Sri Nidhi Das
Sri Jagannath Das
Sri Nrupalal Singh
Sri Budhram Dube
Sri Prahaladrai Lath
Sri Fakira Behera
Sri Bisi Bibhar
Lal Arfatran Deo
Raja Bahadur Sri Rama Chandra Mardaraja Deo
Rai Bahadur Mandhata Gorachand Patnaik
Sri Govinda Prodhan
Sri Punya Naiko
Sir Dibakara Patnaik
Sri Ramachandra Debo
Vysyaraju Kasi Viswanadham Raju
The Hon'ble Captain Maharaja Sri Sri Sri Krishna Chandra Gayapati Narayan Deo
Sri Sadasiva Tripathy
Sri Radhamohan Sahu
Sri Radhakrishna Biswasroy
Khan Bahadur Saiyid Ahmad Baksh
Khan Sahib Saiyid Fazle Haque
The Hon'ble Maulavi Abdus Sobhan Khan
Maulavi Muhammad Latifur Rahman
Srimati Sarala Devi
Mrs. A Lakshmi Bai
Mr. Premanand Mohanty
Sri Rang Lal Modi
Sri Braja Sundar Das
Raja Krishna Chandra Mansingh Harichandan Mardaraj Bhramarbar Rai
Sri Pyari Sankar Roy
Rev E M. Evans,
Mr. Hari Pani Jennah
Sri Balabhadra Narayan Samantharoy
Sri Radha Mohan Panda

Proceeding of the Assembly

Budget Session—Cuttack—25th. February to 24th. March 1943

Official Bills Passed

The Orissa Legislative Assembly commenced its Budget Session at Cuttack on the 25th. February 1943 and passed the Weights and Measures Bill and the State Aid to Industries Amendment Bill, as amended by the Select Committee and adjourned till March 1 when *Pandit Godavaris Misra*, the Finance Minister, presented the budget. Only one member was present on the opposition benches.

Budget for 1943-44

1st. MARCH :—A deficit of Rs. 3.81 lakhs in the Budget Estimates for 1943-44 was disclosed by *Pt. Godavaris Misra*, Finance Minister, in presenting the Budget this morning. He said, however, that subsequent information had been received from the Government of India that on account of the province's share in income-tax it would get Rs. 80,000 more than that provided in the revised

Budget for 1942-43 and Rs. 120,000 more than that provided in the Budget for 1943-44 The deficit would thus be reduced to Rs. 1.81 lakhs.

In the revised estimates for 1942-43, revenue is estimated at Rs. 218.92 lakhs and expenditure on revenue account at Rs 2,25.65 lakhs. The year's revenue deficit is, therefore, expected to be Rs. 6,73 lakhs. The balance in the Government account which was Rs. 21.18 lakhs at the beginning of the year was, therefore, likely to fall by Rs. 6 73 lakhs at the close of the year. The year 1942-43 which opened with a cash balance of Rs 39.01 lakhs is expected to close with a balance of Rs 26.19 lakhs.

According to the Budget estimates for 1943-44, the total revenue is put at Rs. 212 21 lakhs against Rs. 2 18 92 lakhs in the revised estimate. Thus, there is a drop of Rs 6.71 lakhs.

The Budget provides for expenditure on revenue account at Rs. 2,16.07 lakhs against Rs 2 25,65 lakhs in the revised estimate for 1942-43.

Outside the revenue account the Budget anticipates a receipt of Rs. 5, 02 56 lakhs and an expenditure of Rs. 497. 61 lakhs, which gives a surplus Rs. 4.95 lakhs.

Under Civil Defence, a separate cadre of Civil Defence officers has been sanctioned which will comprise civil defence officers, assistant civil defence officers and ARP inspectors and sub-inspectors. The existing staff of ARP officers will be absorbed in the cadre. The total estimated cost of the scheme is Rs. 109 lakhs. To afford training facilities to various ARP personnel within the province, a provincial ARP training school has been opened at Cuttack with 1 deputy director at its head and 5 instructors.

The number of paid personnel of wardens, first aiders and rescue services has been considerably increased. Provision of Rs 3 lakhs has been made on account of their remuneration.

All this does not however show, said the Finance Minister, that air raids are impending. There are on the contrary distinct indications that possibilities of air raids are more remote now than sometime ago.

Referring to the problems of unification between the 2 parts of this province which came from Bihar and Madras, Pt Misra said that diversity has existed in a number of things. Government have, however, laid down a policy of bringing about unification. Thus the Stamp Act has been unified, a unified Forest Bill has been introduced in this Assembly; constant process of blending is going on by the transfer of officers from one part to the other ; recently steps have been taken to bring about complete fusion in the educational sphere

The syllabuses in the 2 halves of the province at the school final and the matriculation stages have been unified. The courses of study for the secondary school leaving certificate examination in S. Orissa have except for Telugu, been made exactly the same as those prescribed for the matriculation examination of Patna University. The interests of the Telugu students have been adequately safeguarded. With the inauguration of an Orissa University the educational bifurcation between the 2 halves of this province will finally disappear. The Orissa University Act will further consolidate the long-existing relation between the Orissa States and the British districts of Orissa. So far as national aspirations are concerned, there is hardly any difference between the States and the British districts. Both have one language, one literature and one culture. Each forms an inseperable part of one united nation.

General Discussion of Budget

3rd MARCH:—The Budget proposals were discussed in the Assembly today. Initiating the debate *Srimati Sarala Devi* criticized the present policy of the Government in regard to the export of rice from the province and said that while there was deficiency in the province the Government were allowing the export of rice. She also criticized the Government's excise and education policies.

Criticizing the policy of co-education in the primary stage approved by the Government, Mr. *Latifur Rahman* said that he saw in this policy indirect coercion on the Muslims to give up the purdah.

The *Raja Bahadur of Khallikote* feared that with profiteering and hoarding and with the exports allowed by the Government to other provinces, from May or June onwards there would be very little gain left in the province for local consumption. He reminded the Government that the next harvest would not be ready until December next.

Replying on the debate, *Pandit Godavaris Misra*, Finance Member, referred to the rice situation and said that although Orissa was known to be a surplus

province because of the annual exports from the province in the past, it has not been definitely ascertained whether it was a surplus province or not. Figures are now being collected. The Government of India had, he said, advocated a certain policy not only for controlling export and import of foodstuffs but for distributing the entire output in the country between the exporting and importing and between the surplus and deficit provinces. The Central Government relied mostly on the provincial Governments for the success of the schemes which they were going to enforce.

LATHI CHARGE IN BERHAMPORE JAIL

16th. MARCH :—Replying to a question by *Srimati Sarala Devi*, Hon. *Mulavi Sobhan Khan* stated that a detachment of armed reserve was taken to the district jail at Berhampore on November 15 which made a short lathi charge on the political prisoners there as a result of which some political prisoners sustained injuries of a simple nature on their persons. This was done as the prisoners became unruly. The Minister further stated that a case of arson was registered in regard to the burning of the contents of a P. W. D. shed adjacent to the jail and circumstances indicated that either political or security prisoners of that jail might have been responsible, but no conclusive evidence was forthcoming. The District Magistrate of Ganjam made an enquiry among the jail staff in his administrative capacity but no report was prepared by the District Magistrate.

After question time, *Pandit Godavaris Misra*, Finance Minister presented the supplementary demands for grants for the year 1942-43. He also presented the report of the Public Accounts Committee relating to the appropriation accounts for 1939-40.

LEGISLATORS UNDER DETENTION

17th. MARCH :—The question as to whether Section 68(4) of the India Government Act regarding the vacation of seats in the provincial legislature applies to a case of voluntary absence of a member or whether it applies to cases where the absence is involuntary, that is 'as occasioned by the absence of a member by events beyond his control, such as detention in jail under the Defence Rules' came up for consideration today. Mr *Mukunda Prasad Das* Speaker, raising the question to-day, said that Mr. Mohandas who did not attend meetings of the Assembly for a period exceeding 60 days apparently on account of detention under the Defence Rules, and some other members who had not attended meetings of the Assembly for different periods for the same reason, had applied for permission to be absent from meetings of the Assembly. Mr. Das concluded : "Before arriving at a definite decision in the matter of correct interpretation of Section 68 (4) of the Act, the Chair would like to have the views of some of the members including the Leader of the House. It is needless to add that a very important constitutional question like this which affects the rights and privileges of members of the House will be approached by the members in a dispassionate spirit." The Speaker fixed March 25 to hear them on the point.

TACTICS OF THE MINISTRY

24th. MARCH :—Strong criticism of the spirit in which democracy was worked out in the Orissa Province was made by the *Raja Bahadur of Khallikote*, speaking on a cut motion to the demand under "General Administration" today. He said that the constitution had been worked by the previous Ministry as well as the present in a "spirit of vindictiveness and adventurism."

As for the working of Provincial Autonomy in the Province, the Raja Bahadur said there was no parallel to it in any of the democracies of the world. The total strength of the House was 59, excluding the Speaker. Nineteen of the members, because they happened to be in opposition, 'have been safely lodged behind prison bars under the all-embracing sections of the Defence of India Rules without any trial. The remaining twelve members of the majority party as a protest are not attending the Assembly except when it suits them quietly to step in to sign the attendance register lest they should lose their membership. With the majority of the members disposed of in this convenient way, the majority party is carrying on the administration in the name of the people of the province and democracy and under the auspices of the Government of India Act."

The Raja Bahadur referred to the occasion when the House was adjourned for want of a quorum and at another time when a time of 30 minutes was allowed to "enable the Ministerialists to muster even this minimum strength of ten" and said : "There cannot be a greater mutilation of democracy or Provincial Autonomy

as it exists in this province, and it is indeed an example or a model that should be incorporated in the famous Atlantic Charter." He concluded : "After all, Provincial Autonomy has failed in six provinces out of eleven in India. What does it matter if we acknowledge the fact and say that it has failed in tiny Orissa also instead of permitting this unreal and artificial atmosphere to continue any more ?

Legislators Under Detention

25th. MARCH :—The Advocate-General was present in the Assembly today to give his opinion on the question whether Sec 68 (4) of the Government of India Act about vacation of seats for absence from the Assembly for 60 days applies to the voluntary absence only of a member, or whether it also applies to cases whether absence is involuntary i. e as occasioned by absence of a member by events beyond his control such as detention in jail under the DI Rules.

Mr. *Mukunda Prasad Das*, the Speaker, pointed out that in the Constitutions of the Dominions in the British Empire—Canada, New Zealand and Australia—a different phraseology was used. In these Constitutions, he said, the word 'fails to attend' were used in the place of 'is absent'' used in the present Government of India Act To him it appeared that in India, having regard to the peculiar position and the struggle for independence, a definitely different word was used.

The *Advocate General* quoted portions of a number of judgments of the Privy Council as well as of the India High Courts to prove whether the word "absent" implies voluntary absence only or absence for any reason whatsoever.

He said that all the dictionaries gave the meaning for the word 'absent" as "not present", "being away", and so on and not "keeping away'' Now, he added, any person who was not present in the Assembly was absent Nothing else was required. If in Australia or Canada a different language was used, it was with a view to declaring the seat automatically vacant.

The *Speaker* then read out a letter received from Mr Mohan Das, dated February 7. 194?, in which he said that the Governor had notified the session of the Assembly which called for his attendance. He was detained in the Berhampur jail without trial under an executive order of the Government. He also said that he was prepared to attend even under police escort. He wanted the Speaker also to bring this "serious and unconstitutional" position to the knowledge of the House and said that if he was not present his absence was involuntary and unintentional

The *Raja Bahadur of Khallikote* said that the member could not be deemed to have been absent as the Government "has closed the doors of this House against him " It was open to the Government to detain him inside the precincts of the House. He wondered if members, who were kept under detention, could even apply for permission as laid down in Rule 33 (1) of the Assembly Rules.

Mr. *B. N. Das*, Deputy Leader of the Congress Party, held that the section should not apply to cases where absence was involuntary due to detention under the DI Rules. He said that Mr. Mohan Das had written to the Speaker to make arrangements so that he might attend the Assembly even under detention. No arrangements had been made.

The *Maharaja of Parlakimedi*, Leader of the House, said that the absence of Mr. Mohan Das was voluntary in the sense that he (Mohan Das) knew beforehand that for committing certain offences he would be put under detention. The absence from the House, therefore amounted to voluntary absence.

Congress Leaders' Censure Motion

26th. MARCH :—Replying to a question standing in the name of Mr. *Jagannath Misra* (Congress), Mr. *Pyari Shankar Roy*, Parliamentary Secretary, stated in the Assembly today that Mr. *Biswanath Das*, Leader of the Orissa Assembly Congress-Party, had sent a motion of no-confidence in the present Ministry from Berhampore jail. Mr. Das had also made a demand for giving facilities to him and to the other members of the Orissa Assembly Congress Party, who were in different jails under detention, to attend the budget session of the Assembly,

Questioned as to whether Mr. Das had addressed a letter to the Governor of Orissa in this connection and whether the Government would place on the table all the correspondence between Mr. Das and His Excellency and the Government, Mr. Roy said that as the question related to His Excellency the Governor, the Government could not furnish any reply.

The Sind Legislative Assembly

LIST OF MEMBERS

DR. POPATLAL A. BHOPATKAR
MR. RUSTOMJI K. SIDHVA
MUKHI GOBINDRAM PRITAMDAS
MR. NIHCHALDAS C. VAZIRANI
MR. LOLUMAL REWACHAND
HON'BLE R. S. GOKALDAS MEWALDAS
HON'BLE HEMANDAS R. WADHWANI
MR. DOULATRAM MOHANDAS CHABRIA
MR. C T. VALECHA
LALLA MENGHRAJ BEHRUMAL
MR. NEWANDRAM VISHINDAS
MR HOTCHAND HIRANAND
MR. GHANSHAM JETHANAND
MR. GHANUMAL TARACHAND
DR. CHOITHRAM P. GIDWANI
MR. PARTABRAI KHAISUKHDAS
MR. TARACHAND DHARAMDAS
MR. AKHJI RATANSING SODHO
K. B. A. K. GABOL
HON'BLE M. H. GAZDAR
MR. M. U. SUMRO
MR. MUHAMMAD YUSIF KHAN CHANDIO
PIR GHULAM HYDER SHAH
MR. GHULAM MUHAMMAD KHAN ISRAM
HON'BLE ILLAHIBUX NAWAZALI PIR
MR. G. M. SAYED
SHAIKH ABDUL MAJID
HON'BLE K. B. M. A KHUHRO
K B. HAJI AMIRALI THARO KHAN LAHORI
MIR MUHAMMAD KHAN CHANDIO
MR M. A. KHOSO
K. S. SOHRAB KHAN SARKI
K. S. JAFFER KHAN BURDI
KHAN BAHADUR AHMED KHAN SADAYO
MR. SHAMSUDDIN KHAN KABIR KHAN
MR. ABDUS SATAR PIRZADA
SARDAR ALI GOHAR KHAN MEHAR
K. B. KAISER KHAN GHULAM MUHOMMAD KHAN
MR. MUHAMMAD ALI SHAH
MR N. K MUHAMNAD SHAH
MR RASUL BAKHSH KHAN UNER
NAWAB HAJI JAM JAN MUHAMMAD KHAN
MR. KHAIR SHAH IMAM ALI SHAH
MAKHDUM GHULAM HAIDER
MR. MIRAN MUHAMMAD SHAH ZAINULABDIN SHAH
MIR. GHULAM ALLAH KHAN TALPUR
MR BANDEHALI KHAN TALPUR
S. B MIR ALLAHDAD KHAN TALPUR
K B SAYED GHULAM NABI SHAH
MR. ARBAB TOGACHI MIR MUHAMMAD
MISS JETHIBAI T SIPAHIMALANI
MRS. JENUBAI G. ALLANA.
LT. COL. W. B. HOSSACK
COL. H J MAHON
MR. J FRASER
MR ISSARDAS VARINDMAL
HON'BLE. SIR GHULAM HUSSAIN HIDAYATULLAH
MR DIALMAL DOULATRAM
MR. NARAINDAS A. BECHAR

Proceedings of the Assembly

Budget Session—Karachi—24th. February to 6th March 1943

BUDGET STATEMENT FOR 1943-44

A net deficit of Rs. 63 lakhs for the current year and an estimated deficit of Rs. 13 lakhs for the new year were revealed in the financial estimates for 1943-44 presented by the Premier, *Sir Ghulam Hussein Hidayatullah*, in the Sind Legislative Assembly which commenced its Budget Session at Karachi on the 24th. February 1943.

The figures are: 1942-43—revised revenue: Rs. 57, 021,000: revised expenditure: Rs. 63,361,000. 1943-44—estimated revenue: Rs. 49,641,000: estimated expenditure: Rs. 50,937,000.

The memorandum accompanying the estimate shows that two main factors, namely, the Hur rebellion and the floods turned what might have been a fairly prosperous year, into a bad financial year. Nevertheless, thanks to the prudent husbanding of the resources of the province in previous year, the Government was able to withstand one financial shock after another. Actually, says the memorandum, the deficit expected two or three months ago was over a crore of rupees but improved receipts particularly from land sales, enabled the Government to reduce it considerably.

One other interesting feature of the budget is the way in which the war affected the provincial finances. The rise in industrial activity and the agricultural prosperity due to the war led to rises in revenue under a number of heads and the Government of India paid for the construction of strategic roads which are ultimately for the benefit of the province. The cumulative effect of all this was a net excess in receipts of over one and a quarter crores but this was more than nullified by a net excess in the expenditure side of over Rs. 137 lakhs and a fall of about Rs. 40 lakhs in irrigation receipts due to the floods and Hur trouble.

Fresh Taxation Proposals

25th. FEBRUARY :—The *Premier* announced in the Assembly today the following proposals to meet the anticipated deficit of 13 lakhs during the year 1943-44.

Firstly, an increase in the entertainment duty providing for the payment to Government of 20 per cent of the gross takings at all entertainments other than an admission to the race course where 0 per cent will continue to be levied; secondly, increase to one anna per unit of the existing electricity duty and the imposition of a duty of one pice per unit on industrial uses of electricity; thirdly, there would be an increase in certain stamp duties on the transfer of property in the city of Karachi and an increase in certain registration fees.

Other sources of revenue that Government would depend upon to tide over its financial difficulties were the profits that the Government were expected to make through its own trading in the export of surplus food grains and the anticipated extra revenue through the introduction of the revised settlement in July this year. In respect of the last item Sir Ghulam Hussain announced that it was proposed to introduce a sliding scale for the three main crops—cotton, rice and wheat—and to fix the assessment on the average at 20 1/3 per cent of the net assets

The Premier referred to the Government's proposals for irrigation development costing Rs 15 crores and hoped that the profits on Government's export trade of surplus food grains will go some way forwards finding funds required.

Defending the Government policy in acting independently in respect of the sale of surplus food grains, the Premier said the Sind Government had no intention of subsidising other provinces by providing them with cheap food when the later, in return, only provided this province with manufactured articles and other produce at prices which had increased more than twice, proportionately above the pre-war level. Very considerable profits are expected by the Sind Government by itself trading in exportable surpluses. "It is realised" said the Premier, "that thereby the Sind Government will receive a considerable income which it is denying to its own producers, but after all this Government and the people generally will reap the advantage which is denied to individuals."

Sind Hindu Women's Property Rights

A Bill extending the provisions of the Hindu Women's Rights to Property Act of 1937 to agricultural lands in its application to Sind was passed into law by the Assembly today.

General Discussion of Budget

27th FEBRUARY :—The Sind Government's policy of "trading in commodities for the purposes of making profit" by purchasing surplus wheat within the Province at controlled prices and selling it to other Provinces at higher prices was criticised by Mr *Nichaldas Wazirani*, a former Sind Minister, when the general discussion of the Budget began today Mr. Wazirani, who initiated the debate, said that it was not proper for the Government to convert itself into a commercial concern nor was it lawful for them to do so under the Defence of India Rules. He maintained that the purpose of the Defence of India Rules, as far as the control of prices and movements of commodities were concerned, was the "maintenance of supplies." Moreover, the Government of India, Section 297, prohibited the Provincial Governments from controlling exports between the Provinces.

Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah, the Premier rermarked :—"We are on safe ground and if anybody doubts it, let him go to court."

Mr. *G. M. Syed*, a member of the All-India Muslim League Working Committee, urged the Government to bring forward its agrarian relief bills without fear or favour The Government should not follow "Hindu Imperialist policy," he said.

1st. MARCH :—The general discussion on the budget concluded to-day. The Premier and Finance Minister, Sir *Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah*, replying to the various points raised by the earlier speakers, rebutted the charge that the revenue returns had been underestimated. He maintained that, exposed as the

province was to the vagaries of the Indus, locusts, frost and other troubles, the only safe course for them was to budget on conservative lines and not live for the present only. To go on borrowing would be bad finance.

In a spirited defence of the Government's decision to trade in surplus food grains produced in the Province, Sir Ghulam Hussain said that the requirements of the people of the province would be first fully met. It was not true that the primary producer would be deprived of all benefit of the prices by reason of the Government's buying at the controlled rate because the Bania would, in any case, have purchased the entire crop beforehand. Under the new arrangement the producer would get more than twice of what he would get otherwise. If the control was not there the producer would get about four annas more, but the middleman would get Rs. 2

Concluding, the Premier maintained that the operation had been authorised by the Government of India and Rule 81 of the Defence Rules was clear on the point. If anyboy thought otherwise, he could challenge the Government in a court of law.

Taxation Measures

2nd MARCH :—In order to meet the deficits with which the Province is faced the Assembly to-day imposed two additional taxes, both being increases in the existing duties on entertainment and electricity. An additional levy of one pice per unit on the industrial uses of electricity was also imposed. These proposals were expected to yield about Rs 6 lakhs.

Some opposition was encountered before the measures were passed. A concession of three-fourth anna per unit of electricity consumed in the mofussil was also announced.

The House also voted supplementary budget estimates for the current year amounting to Rs. 162,33,000.

Resolution on Pakistan

3rd. MARCH :—A resolution on Pakistan—the first of its kind to be passed in any Provincial Legislature—was passed by the Assembly to-day Twentyfour votes were cast in favour of the resolution and three against—the latter consisting of the two Hindu Ministers, Dr. *Hemandas* and *Rai Saheb Gokuldas*, and one Hindu Parliamentary Secretary. All the European members remained neutral

There was a lively debate over the question of admission of the resolution.

After the resolution had been admitted by the Speaker the non-official Hindu bloc, consisting of seven members, led by Mr. *Nichaldas Wazirani* staged a walk-out.

Eventually, Mr *Syed's* resolution was passed in an amended form providing for safeguards for the minorities and substituting the words "disastrous and unhappy consequences" in place of "civil war with grave and unhappy consequences." The following is the text of the resolution moved by Mr. *Syed*:

"This House recommends to the Government to convey to His Majesty's Government through H. E the Viceroy the sentiment and wishes of the Muslims of this Province that whereas the Muslims of India are a separate nation possessing religion, philosophy, social customs, literature, traditions and political and economic theories of their own quite different from those of the Hindus, they are justly entitled to the right of a single separate nation to have independent national States of their own carved out in the zones where they are in a majority in the sub-continent of India. Wherefore, they emphatically declare that no constitution shall be acceptable to them that will place the Muslims under a Central Government dominated by another nation, as, in order to be able to play their part freely on their own distinct lines in the order of things to come, it is necessary for them to have independent national States of their own and hence any attempt to subject the Muslims of India under one Central Government is bound to result in civil war with grave unhappy consequences"

Mr. *Nichaldas Wazirani*, leader of the Hindu Independent Group, and *Rai Saheb Gokuldas*, Minister of Public Works, at the outset opposed consideration of the resolution on the ground that the resolution raised not one single issue as required under the Rules but many issues and that the subject matter of the resolution was not primarily the concern of the Provincial Legislature but of the Central Government.

The Premier, Sir *Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah*, stated that the issue was quite clear and added that when the House passed a motion on Constitutent Assembly in 1937, none of the Hindu members had raised any objection although it was opposed by others.

The *Speaker* over-ruled the objections holding that the issue of whether Muslims should or should not remain under a Central Government "was not merely the primary but the fundamental concern of the Legislature," because a Central Government such as that envisaged in the Act of 1935 was to be constituted of provincial units and, therefore, their legislatures had a right to express their view on that issue.

Mr. *G. M. Syed*, the mover of the resolution, in a long speech which the House heard with rapt attention said there was no other solution for the salvation of the country than Pakistan. He dwelt on all the aspects of this question—historical, geographical and national and cited the instances which he considered parallel and decisive for his argument. Tension, however unpalatable, he said, was a necessary condition of progress, because anyone aiming at a fruit becoming sweet before it had matured and passed through the stage of being completely sour was destroying the life of the fruit and would never achieve his purpose. He drew a picture of a subcontinent of people 'more or less homogeneous and geographically, socially, economically, religiously and politically one—yet impossible to unite or to be governed as one"

The difference was not only one of class but a material solid fact of the two communities. So long as the Hindus remained as Hindus there could be no possible basis of one nationality Mr. Syed concluded by expressing the earnest hope that Mr Gandhi would see the futility of artificial unity. "I venture to hope that his inner light will reveal to him the imperative need to concede to the Muslim nation the right of self-determination and thereby he will spare us all the tragedy that will inevitably happen leading to disastrous consequences if this fair demand of the Muslims is opposed and any condition that does not confer this right upon Muslims is thrust upon us against our wishes."

The resolution was supported by *Sheikh Abdul Majid* who, in moving his amendment, said that the Muslim League had never stood in the way of safeguards for minorities

Khan Bhadur Khusro, Revenue Minister, supporting the resolution said it was a mistake to suppose that the Cripps proposals had conceded the Muslim demand for self-determination. He referred to the geographical position of Sind and said the Muslims' right of self-determination must be accepted by the British Government.

The Hindu Ministers, Dr. *Hemandas* and *Rai Saheb Gokuldas*, both of whom are representatives of the Hindu Mahasabha opposed the resolution

Rai Saheb Gokuldas said no such resolution had been passed in any other Provincial Legislature or in the Central Houses of Legislature. It appeared to be moved in the Sind Assembly because its passage was considered to be a certainty in view of the Muslim League majority. He dwelt on the practical difficulties of Pakistan and to the warnings of history against its implementation

After the *Premier* had supported the resolution, a division was demanded by Dr. *Hemandas*. The division resulted in 24 votes being recorded in favour of the resolution and three against it, namely the two Hindu Ministers and one Hindu Parliamentary Secretary. The three European members remained neutral. The House then adjourned till the 6th.

Budget Demands Passed

6th MARCH —The Assembly to-day created another record by passing the entire budget demand for the new year at one sitting although six days had been allotted for the purpose in the programme.

The Revenue demand was debated upon and passed during the afternoon, and the whole of the remaining demands amounting to nearly four crores were passed in exactly two hours.

Five cut motions moved by the Opposition were withdrawn. During the discussion of the Police demand, Mr. *Gazdar*, Minister for Home Affairs said that there were 80 security prisoners in the province. He added that he had ordered a re-examination of their records

As regards charges of corruption against the police Mr. Gazdar said that one district police officer against whom allegations of corruption were made had been reverted.

The Speaker, *Syed Miran Mohamed Shah*, referring to this record, said that nowhere in the history of provincial autonomy had any legislature passed the entire budget within a day. He considered that this demonstrated the strength of the Ministerial party.

As a result of this quick adoption of the budget, the session concluded before the end of the week.

The Punjab Legislative Assembly

LIST OF MEMBERS

Speaker.

The Hon'ble Chaudhri Sir Shahab-ud-Din

Deputy Speaker.

Sardar Bahadur Sardar Gurbachan Singh

Ministers

The Hon'ble Malik Khizar Hayat
The Hon'ble Rao Bahadur Chaudhri Sir Chhotu Ram
The Hon'ble Dr Sir Manohar Lal
The Hon'ble Mian Abdul Haye
The Hon'ble Sardar Baldev Singh
The Hon'ble Sardar Shaukat Hyat-Khan
Mr. M. Sleem—*Advocate General*

Parliamentary Secretaries.

Mir Maqbool Mahmood
Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan
Chaudhri Tika Ram
Rai Sahib Thakur Ripudaman Singh
Khan Bahadur Shaikh Faiz Mahammad

Parliamentary Private Secretaries.

Sayed Amjad Ali Shah
Bhagat Hans Raj
Sardar Jagjit Singh Man
Sir William Roberts
Nawabzada Muhammad Faiyaz Ali Khan
Sardar Gopal Singh

Members

Abdul Aziz Mian
Abdul Hamid Khan
Abdul Rab, Mian
Abdul Rahim, Chaudhri
Abdul Rahim, Chaudhri
Ahmad Yar Khan, K. S. Chaudhri
Ajit Singh, Sardar
Akbar Ali, Pir
Ali Akbar Chaudhri
Alla Bakhsh Khan Khan Bahadur Nawab Malik Sir
Allah Yar Khan Daulatana, K. B Mian
Amar Nath Shah, Lala
Amir-ud-Din, Khan Bahadur Mian
Anant Ram, Rai Sahib Chaudhri
Asghar Ali, Khan Sahib Chaudhri
Ashiq Hussain, Major. Nawab
Badr. Mohy-ud-Din, Qadri, Khan Sahib Sayed
Balwant Singh, Sardar
Barket Ali, Malik
Bhagat Ram Choda, Lala
Bhagat Ram Sharma, Pandit
Bhagwant Singh, Rai
Bhim Sen Sachar, Lala
Brijraj Saran, Kanwar
Chaman Lall, Diwan
Chanan Singh, Sardar
Dasaundha Singh, Sardar
Deshbandhu Gupta, Lala
Dev Raj Sethi, Mr
Dina Nath, Major
Duni Chand, Lala
Duni Chand, Mr
Duni Chand, Mrs
Faiz Muhammad Khan, Rai
Faqir Chand Chaudhri
Faqir Hussain Khan, K B Chaudhri
Farman Ali Khan, Subedar Major Raja
Fatehjang Singh, Captain Bhai
Fateh Khan, Khan Sahib, Raja,
Fateh Mohammad, Captain Mian
Fateh Sher Khan, Malik
Fazal Din, Khan Sahib Chaudhri
Fazal Karim Bakhsh Mian
Few Mr E.
Ghulam Mohy-ud-Din, Khan Bahadur Maulvi
Ghulam Qadir Khan, Khan Bahadur
Ghulam Rasul, Chaudhri
Ghulam Samad, Khan Sahib Khawaja
Girdhari Das Mahant
Gokul Chand Narang, Dr Sir
Gopal Das, Rai Bahadur Lala
Guest Mr P H
Gurbakhsh Singh, Sardar
Habib Ullah Khan, K. B Malik
Haibat Khan Daha Khan
Hari Chand, Rai Bahadur, Rai
Hari Lal, Munshi
Hari Singh, Sardar
Harial Singh, Sardar
Harnam Das, Lala
Harnam Singh, Captain Sodhi
Het Ram Rai Bahadur Chaudhri
Iftikhar Hussain Khan, Nawab
Indar Singh, Sardar Bahadur Sardar
Jafar Ali Khan, Chaudhri
Jagjit Singh Bedi, Tikka
Jahan Ara Shah Nawaz, Mrs.
Joginder Singh Man Sardar
Jugal Kishore, Chaudhri
Kabul Singh, Master
Kapoor Singh Sardar
Karamat Ali, Khan Bahadur Shaikh
Kartar Singh, Chaudhri
Kartar Singh Sardar
Kishan Das, Seth
Kishan Singh, Sardar
Krishna Gopal Dutt, Chaudhri
Lal Singh, Sardar
Mazhar Ali Azhar, Maulvi
Mohar Singh, Rao

Mohi-ud-Din Lal Badshah, Sayed
Mubarik Ali Shah, Captain Sayed
Muhammad Abdul Rahman Khan, Chaudhri
Muhammad Akram Khan, Khan Bahadur Raja
Muhammad Alam, Dr. Shaikh
Muhammad Ameen, Khan Sahib Shaikh
Muhammad Ashraf, Chaudhri
Muhammad Azam Khan, Sardar
Muhammad Hasan, Chaudhri
Muhammad Hassan Khan Gurchani, Khan Bahadur Sardar
Muhammad Hussan, Khan Bahadur Makhdum Sayed
Muhammad Husain, Sardar
Muhammad Husain, Khan Bahadur Chaudhri
Muhammad Iftikhar-ud-Din, Mian
Muhammad Jamal Khan Leghari, Khan Bahadur Nawab Sir
Muhammad Nawaz Khan, Lieutenant-Colonel Sardar Sir
Muhammad Nurullah, Mian
Muhammad Qasim, Chaudhri
Muhammad Raza Shah Jeelani, Makhdumzada Haji Sayed
Muhammad Saadat Ali Khan, Khan Bahadur Khan
Muhammad Sarfraz Khan Chaudhri
Muhammad Sarfraz Khan, Raja
Muhammad Shafi Ali Khan, Khan Chaudhri
Muhammad Wilayat Husain Jeelani, Makhdumzada Haji Sayed
Muhammad Yasin Khan, Khan Sahib Chaudhri
Muhammad Yusuf Khan Khan
Mukand Lal Puri, Rai Bahadur Mr
Moola Singh, Sardar
Mumtaz Muhammad Khan Daulatana
Muni Lal Kalia, Pandit
Mushtag Ahmad Gurmani, K. B. Mian
Muzaffar Ali Khan Quzilbash, Sardar
Muzaffar Khan, Khan Bahadur Captain Malik
Nasir-ud-Din, Khan Bahadur Chaudhri
Nasir-ud-Din Shah, Khan Sahib Pir
Nasrullah Khan Nasir, Rana
Naunihal Singh Mann, Captain Sardar
Nawazish Ali Shah, Sayed
Nur Ahmad Khan, Khan Bahadur Mian
Partab Singh, Sardar
Pir Muhammad, Khan Sahib Chaudhri
Prem Singh, Chaudhri
Prem Singh, Mahant
Pritam Singh Siddhu, Sardar
Raghbir Kaur, Shrimati
Ralia Ram, M. K. L.
Ram Sarup, Chaudari
Ranpat Singh, Chaudhri
Rashila Latif Baji, Begum
Riasat Ali, Khan Bahadur Chaudhri
Roshan Din, Khan Bahadur Chaudhri
Rur Singh, Sardar
Sadiq Hassan, Shaikh
Sahib Dad Khan, Khan Sahib Chaudhri
Sahib Ram, Chaudhri
Sampuran Singh, Sardar
Santokh Singh, Sardar
Sant Ram Seth, Dr.
Sardar Khan Noon, Major Malik
Shahadat Khan, Khan Sahib Rai
Shanno Devi Sehgal, Shrimati
Shri Ram Sharma, Pandit
Singha, Diwan Bahadur
Sita Ram, Lala
Sohan Lal, Rai Bahadur Lala
Sohan Singh Josh, Sardar
Sudarshan, Seth
Sultan Mahmud Hotiana, Mian
Sumer Singh, Chaudhri
Suraj Mal, Rai Bahadur Chaudhri
Talib Hussain Khan, Khan
Tara Singh, Sardar Saheb
Teja Singh, Swatantar Sardar
Ujjal Singh, Sardar Bahadur Sardar
Uttam Singh Dugal, Sardar
Wali Muhammad Sayyal Hiraj, K. B. Sardar

Proceedings of the Punjab Assembly

Budget Session—Lahore—4th. March to 25th. March 1943

Supplementary Estimates

The Budget session of the Punjab Legislative Assembly commenced at Lahore on the 4th. March 1943 when supplementary estimates of expenditure for the current year aggregating to Rs. 238,00,000 were presented by Sir *Manohar Lal*, Finance Minister.

The estimates revealed that the Punjab Government have advanced Rs. 30,40,000,* to the Co-operative Department for the purchase of maize, bajra and rice to supplement stocks of wheat and gram stored under the wheat storage scheme, and Rs. 17,00,000 to Deputy Commissioners for the purchase of food grains for the people of the province.

It was also disclosed that out of the current year's anticipated surplus of Rs. 85,00,000 the Government had decided to augment by Rs 60,00,000 the Peasants' Welfare Fund, which was started last year with a sum of Rs 30,00,000, and increase by Rs. 20,00,000 the special development fund, which was created by the Sikandar Ministry in 1938 with an initial sum of Rs. 55,00,000.

The supplementary estimates also provide a sum of Rs. 1,20,000 for the grant of loans to owners of transport vehicles to purchase producer gas plants in order to encourage the saving of petrol.

Financial Statement for 1943-44

5th. MARCH :—A surplus of Rs. 6 lakhs in the current year on the basis of the revised estimates and a likely surplus of Rs 50 lakhs in the coming year was shown by Sir *Manoharlal*, Finance Minister, presenting the Budget estimates in the Assembly this afternoon

The figures for the 2 years are .—1942-43—Revised revenue Rs. 15,77 lakhs : revised expenditure Rs. 15,71 lakhs ; 1943-44—Revenue estimates Rs. 15,19 lakhs ; expenditure Rs. 14,69 lakhs.

In view, however, of the present abnormal conditions which might call for an increase in expenditure and his pessimism about any real prospect of increase in revenue, the Finance Minister uttered a warning that the estimated surplus of Rs. 50 lakhs was not a fact on which they could safely build plans of expenditure

Dealing first with 1941-42 the Finance Minister said that at the time of the Budget for the year a surplus of about Rs. 4½ lakhs was expected but the accounts now revealed that the year actually ended with a surplus of Rs. 64 lakhs.

Analyzing the position during 1942-43, Sir Manoharlal said : "When the Budget for the current year was framed a deficit of Rs. 10 lakhs was expected. The Revenue was estimated at Rs. 13,53 lakhs and expenditure at Rs 13,63 lakhs As the year advanced large claims for expenditure for ensuring security providing against the threat of air raids and the pressing necessity for the grant of dearness allowance, bore heavily on our revenue and at one time I apprehended the likelihood of a deficit of at least Rs 1 crore but the revised estimates now before the House show actually a surplus of Rs. 6 lakhs. The surplus that stood out was really Rs. 86 lakhs, and it is only due to a transfer of Rs 60 lakhs to the Peasants' Welfare Fund and of Rs 20 lakhs to the special development fund, for which supplementary estimates were presented yesterday that the surplus stands at this reduced nominal figure of Rs. 6 lakhs "

The revised estimates of receipts, Sir Manoharlal pointed out, showed an improvement by Rs. 224 lakhs.

Against this big increase in receipts, the Finance Minister said there was a large expansion of revenue expenditure. They included provision during the year of an additional sum of Rs. 31 lakhs for police to strengthen the machinery for securing peace and order ; expenditure on A. R. P. of Rs. 72,54,000 ; expenditure of about Rs. 50 lakhs for dearness allowance to Government employees drawing pay up to Rs. 100.

Continuing, Sir Manoharlal said that the revised estimates of receipts for the current year showed a betterment by the stupendous figure of Rs 224 lakhs. Of these an aggregate sum of Rs 102 lakhs, representing taxes on income under the Niemeyer Award (Rs. 27 lakhs), Forests (Rs. 25 lakhs), Civil Works largely representing receipts from the Central Road Fund (Rs. 38 lakhs), and beneficent department

(Rs. 12 lakhs) could not be anticipated at all. Of the other items of increase, the largest increase was that of Rs. 68 lakhs under Land Revenue.

Against this big increase in receipts, the Finance Minister went on, there is also a large expansion of revenue expenditure. The most striking features of the year's finance are: (1) a further addition of Rs. 20 lakhs to the Special Development Fund, (2) the transfer of Rs. 60 lakhs to the Peasants' Welfare Fund, (3) provision during the year of an additional sum of Rs. 31 lakhs for police to strengthen the machinery for securing peace and order, (4) expenditure on A. R. P. that now stands at the high figure of Rs 72,54,000, (5) expenditure of about Rs. 50 lakhs in providing dearness allowance to all Government employees drawing pay upto Rs. 100.

For the current year, Sir Manoharlal pointed out, the budgeted provision for Police was Rs. 1,67,75,000. This had to be increased during the course of the year by about Rs. 31 lakhs. It had now been found necessary to provide Rs. 2,12,40,000 for 1943-44.

TREATMENT OF DETENUS

8th. MARCH:—The Punjab Government have forbidden the levy of any contribution to the War Fund, whether voluntry or otherwise, based on the land revenue demand or collected through the revenue agency. This was announced by Mr. *Maqbool Mahmood*, replying on behalf of the Premier to a question.

The House then proceeded to discuss the supplementary demands for grants for the current year. Speaking on a cut motion on the grant for Rs, 11,05,990 in respect of jails and convict settlements, Sir *Gokulchand Narang*, on behalf of the Opposition, made a stirring appeal to the Premier to accord better treatment on humanitarian grounds to Congress prisoners like the Leaders of the Opposition and other Congress members of the Punjab Assembly who had been detained since August 1942.

Lt.-Col. *Malik Khizar Hyat Khan*, Premier, in a brief reply, pointed out that since the Civil Disobedience movement was an all-India movement, the Government of India had laid down the broad principles of policy which had been applied by the Provincial Government in the light of the local circumstances.

Referring to the demand for better treatment of detenus, the Premier recalled that the matter was discussed threadbare during the last session after which the Provincial Government issued a communique setting forth the concessions granted. He assured the House that their intention was to be as human as possible.

The cut motion was lost and the House voted the supplementary demand for grant.

CONGRESS DETENUS IN PUNJAB

12th. MARCH:—If the Congress leaders at present detained in the Punjab give assurances that they will not thwart the war effort, then the Government would be prepared to consider the question of their release in suitable cases.—This announcement was made by *Malik Khizar Hyat Khan Tiwana*, Premier, intervening in the general discussion on the budget in the Assembly this afternoon.

Malik Khizar Hyat Khan offered a vigorous defence of the Government's policy in detaining those persons and assured the House that it was not vindictive in any sense. On the other hand their intention was to be as human as possible in dealing with them short of converting the jails into political clubs. He pointed out that there were at present less than 500 civil disobedience prisoners in the Punjab Jails and that 25 percent of the total number detained had already been released on giving suitable assurances

The Premier explained that civil disobedience had been launched in the shadow of a danger of invasion and was an open rebellion. It could not be tolerated in a province which had pledged unconditional support to the successful prosecution of the war and whose seven lakhs of soldiers were fighting the battle of India's freedom. He declared that the Punjab Government, which were the chosen representative of the martial classes, found themselves in complete agreement with the action which was necessary to prevent the persons they represented from being stabbed in the back. He took legitimate pride in the fact that the province had been completely free from the disturbances which had occurred elsewhere and that there had consequently been no firing. Only one shot, he added, had to be fired, but no one killed.

Replying to the criticism as to why no interviews had been allowed with the Congress prisoners, the Premier said that the policy of not allowing interviews had been consistently followed by the Government of India in the case of the high

Congress leaders except for the interlude of Mr. Gandhi's fast. He, however, stressed that the Congress demand for one class of prisoners had been conceded and the diet money had been gradually raised in accordance with the rise in prices and was now more than double of what was sanctioned in August 1942.

Referring to the security prisoners, the Premier said that on the first March, 1943, the total number of those detained under Rule 129 of the Defence of India Rules was 49, while those detained under Rule 26 were 104, of whom thirteen had been detained under the orders of the Government of India.

Malik Khizar Hyat Khan revealed that an underground movement had been unearthed and a large number of arms and sabotage materials had been recovered. Three revolvers had also been recovered from a lady.

Concluding, the Premier warmly reciprocated the feelings of communal harmony expressed by several speakers and said that a board for dealing with postwar problems was already at work.

Wheat Purchase for Central Govt.

An assurance that the Punjab Government had no intention of interfering with the purchasing operations of the existing trade agencies and that the Indian firms would get their due share of commission for the purchase of wheat for the Government of India, was given by the *Premier* this afternoon, replying to a short notice question about the purchase of wheat on behalf of the Government of India.

Rai Bahadur Gopal Das asked whether it was a fact that the sole agency for buying wheat for the Government throughout the Punjab was intended to be given to a European firm; if so, what were the reasons for the step, why was such a serious departure was being made from the set policy of the Government to encourage indigenous trade and venture, what was the special reasons for overlooking the interests of the traders of this province, and whether the Government had invited the views of the Punjab public bodies including the Chambers of Commerce on this question?

Replying on behalf of the Development Minister, *Choudhri Tikaram* said that the Government had no intention of giving anything in the nature of a monopoly on Government account. The arrangements contemplated by the Government would allow the existing trade agencies to function to the full extent of their capacity. The major portion of the commission would go to the existing trading agencies. The arrangements being made were not designed in any way to interfere with the existing trade channels.

The answer evoked a barrage of supplementary questions from the Opposition.

Replying, the *Premier* assured the House that the Indian firms would get their due share, but the Government could not discriminate against any European firm which had been acting as agent of the Government of India for the supply of wheat.

Premier on his Delhi Speech

22nd. MARCH.—"I stand by the commitments made by my predecessor, the late Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan," declared *Malik Khizr Hyat Khan Tiwana*, Premier, in the Assembly this afternoon, replying to the criticism of his statement at the recent Delhi meeting of the Council of the All India Muslim League about the Sikandar-Jinnah Pact. He added that he was a layman and did not wish to enter into high politics.

Speaking earlier, *Malik Barkat Ali* (League), welcomed the Premier's speech at the League Council meeting. The declaration contained in that speech, he said, was an important departure from the past. Now the Muslim League Party would enter into a coalition with other parties and this coalition would be called the Unionist Party.

Choudhri Sumer Singh asked why Malik Barkat Ali was sitting on the Opposition benches.

Malik Barkat Ali replied that he did not sit with the Unionist Party because it did not owe allegiance to the Muslim League and Mr Jinnah, but as soon as the formation of the Muslim League Party was announced, he together with his colleagues would cross to the Ministerialist benches.

Pub. Accounts Committee Report

The report of the Public Accounts Committee was placed before the House by the Finance Minister, *Sir Manohar Lal*. The Committee expressed satisfaction with the revenue and financial position of the province. The debt position was equally

sound. The net debt which on April 1, 1940, stood at Rs. 353,700,000 rose to Rs. 371,000,000 on Mar 31, 1941, thus adding Rs. 17,300,000 to the debt liability of the province in spite of the loan of Rs.17,500,000 raised during the year.

These figures demonstrate the sound financial policy which is being pursued by Government in systematically reducing every year part of the debt previously incurred. Against this net debt of Rs. 371,000,000, the capital expenditure outside the revenue accounts up to the end of the year 1940-41 amounted to Rs. 44,99,00,000.

The capital expenditure is thus higher than the net indebtedness by nearly Rs. 80,000,000 and has to this extent been met by the Punjab Government from its own resources. The Punjab irrigation schemes on which by far the greatest part of the capital expenditure has been incurred, have shown themselves over a long series of years to be definitely remunerative.

FASTING IN JAIL

23rd. MARCH :—*Munshi Harilal, M. L. A.*, (Congress) and another Congress prisoner, *Swami Kishan Das* undertook a 21-day fast in Mianwali Jail in sympathy with Mr. Gandhi's fast. This was revealed during question hours in the Assembly this afternoon by *Syed Amjad Ali*, replying on behalf of the Premier. Syed Amjad Ali said that fresh and dry fruits at his own expense in addition to as much milk and curd as could be covered by the Government allowance at annas 12 pies 3, was the daily menu of Munshi Harilal during the period of the fast. Swami Kishan Das prescribed for himself the following scale of food : milk one seer, curd half seer, oranges two, and dates two chhataks.

Syed Amjad Ali added that in view of the diet prescribed and consumed by the two detenus their health was not affected. That was why the Government did not consider it necessary to issue any communique in this respect

Syed Amjad Ali also informed the House that facilities in the matter of games were allowed to civil disobedience prisoners at their own cost.

There is no suppression of news in the Punjab nor is there any pre-censorship order imposed on newspapers This statement was made by Syed Amjad Ali on behalf of the Premier replying to a question by Sardar Kapur Singh. Syed Amjad Ali added that the newspapers were at liberty to consult the Press Adviser for guidance whether the publication of any news would amount to a prejudicial report.

RESTRICTION ON THE PRESS

25th. MARCH —The question of restrictions on the publication of news in connection with the Civil Disobedience movement of 1942 was raised during the question-hour this afternoon by *Lala Duni Chand*, who asked whether the Government intended to remove or relax the restrictions.

Syed Amjad Ali, replying on behalf of the Premier, stated that the arrests since August 9, 1942 had been allowed to be reported by the press subject to certain restrictions designed to prevent such news coming from unauthorised and irresponsible sources. So far as the Punjab was concerned, no factual news of importance had been suppressed, while happenings in other parts of India, as was evident from newspaper reports, had received the fullest publicity. Syed Amjad Ali assured that the restrictions would be removed or relaxed as soon as it was desirable to do so.

Answering another question, Syed Amjad Ali said that no newspaper suspended publication in the Punjab as a result of any general order issued to the press.

A series of questions were also asked regarding detenus and the House was informed that they were receiving uniform treatment in the different jails of the province where they were confined.

After the question, the Assembly passed supplementary estimates for the current year (third instalment) aggregating to Rs. 2,83,330 and adjourned.

The Government of Bombay

Financial Statement for 1943-44

The Congress Ministry having resigned in 1939, the Governors of Bombay, Madras Behar, United Provinces, Central Provinces and N. W. Fr Province assumed Administrative and Legislative powers assisted by advisers. The following is a summary of the Financial Statements for the year 1943-44 :—

A revenue surplus of Rs 46,000 is anticipated in the budget of the Government of Bombay for 1943-44 published on the 17th. March 1943. The estimated revenue receipts are Rs. 1,769,20 lakhs and Revenue expenditure Rs. 1,768,74 lakhs.

There have been increases in Revenue during the current year, the more substantial being under provincial Excise Rs. 73.21 lakhs, Forest Rs. 73.67 lakhs, and Taxes on Income Rs. 50 60 lakhs. Increased sales of Indian-made "foreign" liquor consequent on curtailment of the import of liquor from abroad account for the bulk of the increase in excise revenue. The supplies of timber for the use of the Defence forces have been vastly extended during the course of the year, and the prices of forest coupes have also increased Hence the larger returns on this account to provincial revenues. The province gets a share of income-tax receipts and has stood to benefit by the general improvement in these receipts.

The accounts of 1941-42 show that the year closed with a free cash balance of Rs. 291.49 lakhs. The closing balance in the Special Development Fund was Rs. 230.37 lakhs. Apart from the cash balances there was an investment of Rs. 75 lakhs in long-dated securities, which the Government had made during the course of the year. According to the explanatory memorandum, the accounts for 1941-42 show a surplus of Rs. 161 01 lakhs against the estimated budget surplus of Rs. 0.65 lakhs.

The year 1942-43 which is drawing to an end, is expected to show a revenue surplus of Rs. 59.07 lakhs and to close with a free balance of Rs. 341 39 lakhs. This is on the provisional basis of the eight monthly revised estimates. On the same basis, the closing balance of the Special Development Fund is estimated to be Rs. 202.03 lakhs, after taking into account a transfer of Rs. 20 lakhs to that Fund during the course of the year.

It will be recalled that, in announcing the budget proposals for the current year, the Government expressed its intention to start a Post-war Reconstruction Fund, with an initial amount of Rs. 22 40 lakhs. This amount has been transferred to the Fund during the year, and it is not unlikely that a further amount of Rs. 60 53 lakhs will be added to the Fund during 1943-44. In fact, it is the Government's hope to bring the total provision in the Fund to Rs. two crores by the end of 1943-44.

The programme of post-war reconstruction is already the subject of careful investigation by the Government. It is pointed out that any programme for post-war reconstruction will require a financial outlay far beyond the scope of the annual revenue of the province For instance considerable amounts of money will be required for the renewed conservation of forests, which are now being heavily drawn on for Defence needs. The resettling of demobilised personnel of the Defence services will need funds and schemes already proposed by the Director of Agriculture will cost over a crore of rupees.

During the year under review, there have been increases in expenditure under the head "Forest", Rs. 38.09 lakhs and additions to the police force and other allied items of expenditure have caused an increase of Rs. 35.61 lakhs over the budgeted amount under "Police" On account of the prevalence of famine in the Bijapur District and of scarcity conditions in parts of Dharwar, Sholapur and Belgaum districts, there has been an additional expenditure of Rs. 10.50 lakhs under famine relief.

The current year has seen an enormous expansion of the food supply schemes of the Government. These are being financed by advances from provincial balances to be recovered by the sale of foodstuffs. At the stage of the eight-monthly estimates, the amount so advanced was more than three crores of rupees.

In view of the need to build up post-war reserves the Government has decided that no reduction can be effected in the existing taxes, though it has at the same

time recognised that there need be no additional taxation in the present state of the finances of the province.

The only notable increase in the next year's budget estimates of Receipts, as compared with the eight-monthly revised estimates for the current year, are under "taxes on income" (Rs. 24.00 lakhs) and "Forest" (Rs. 19.32 lakhs). It is anticipated that Excise revenue, the present steep rise of which is stated to be due to temporary factors, will in 1943-44 record a fall of Rs. 28.11 lakhs.

The provision on account of dearness allowance is distributed between various heads of expenditure, and the total cost, at the present rates, is estimated to be approximately Rs. 87.00 lakhs per annum, including grants-in-aid on this account to local bodies which adopt similar schemes of dearness allowance like that of the Government for their establishments.

The estimated expenditure for the coming financial year on nation-building services such as Education, Medical, Public Health, Agriculture, Rural Development etc., is Rs. 404.83 lakhs.

The Government propose, as an experimental measure, to re-equip and re-organise certain municipal dispensaries and convert them into "cottage hospital," at a cost of Rs. 73 386. The cottage hospitals will take over from the rural practitioner such cases as cannot be treated at the patient's home and will pass on to the bigger hospitals at the district headquarters. To meet the acute shortage of trained nurses Government, as an experimental measure, propose to start a College of Nursing in Bombay.

On the several schemes figuring in the Special Development Programme there is one which makes a provision of Rs. 5 lakhs for measures to ameliorate the condition of backward classes and another of Rs. 5 lakhs for anti-erosion schemes.

The Govt. of the United Provinces

Financial Statement for 1943-44

A revenue surplus of Rs. 8 lakhs is anticipated in the budget of the U. P. Government for 1943 44 published on the **20th. March 1943.** The estimates of receipts and revenue expenditure for the year have been put at Rs. 2,026 and Rs. 2,018 lakhs. In a Note, the Financial Adviser, *Sir T. Sloan* says it is certain that the close of the present year will find the Province in a sound financial position and the prospects for next year are equally good. The main heads are taxes on income, excise, forests, police, civil defence and industries.

In the revised estimates for 1942-43 receipts have risen from Rs. 1,712 lakhs to Rs. 2,011 lakhs and revenue expenditure from Rs. 1,708 lakhs to Rs. 2,000 lakhs, leaving a surplus of Rs. 11 lakhs. Capital expenditure shows an increase of Rs. 62 lakhs. This is due to an outlay of over Rs. 73 lakhs on the Government's grain purchase and storage scheme. Under the debt and deposit heads there has been a deterioration of Rs. 110 lakhs.

Irrigation receipts are expected to reach a new high level of Rs. 227 lakhs in the current year owing to the increase in sugarcane area and more facilities for irrigation provided by the Sarda Canal extension and expansion of the tube-well system. The debt position is practically the same as a year ago. Total liabilities are estimated at Rs 3,783 lakhs at the end of the current year and Rs. 3,955 lakhs at the end of the budget year.

Regarding 1943-44, under the debt and deposit heads receipts are expected to exceed deposits by Rs 217 lakhs, and the result of transactions is expected to be an incoming of Rs. 167 lakhs and a closing balance of Rs. 229 lakhs. By the end of the current year Rs. 217 lakhs will have been paid into the Revenue Reserve Fund which was opened last year to enable Government to conserve any revenue surplus primarily to meet the increasing expenditure on civil defence and secondarily to provide money for post-war reconstruction. Government expect to put another Rs. 148 lakhs into the fund next year, making a total of Rs. 365 lakhs, of which Rs. 310 lakhs will have come from sale of equipment. Expenditure on civil defence in the same period is at present estimated at Rs. 235 lakhs, though it may be less.

While the policy of the Government is to restrict new expenditure, they have made provision for new items of total cost of Rs. 18 lakhs, which is Rs. 15 lakhs less than in the current year. Rs. 6½ lakhs goes to nation-building departments

and Rs. 4½ lakhs to police and jails. In the education department of Rs. 1.35 lakhs, Rs. 1.06 lakhs is for girls, scheduled castes' and backward classes' education.

Accounts for the current year show that on the receipts side there are substantial increases under taxes on income, namely, Rs 35 lakhs, land revenue Rs. 14 lakhs, other taxes and duties Rs. 14 lakhs, irrigation Rs 17 lakhs, administration of justice Rs. 28 lakhs, police Rs. 19 lakhs, civil defence Rs. 35 lakhs and transfer from Revenue Reserve Fund Rs. 65 lakhs. On the expenditure side, important increases are under forests Rs. 14 lakhs, jails Rs 16 lakhs, police Rs. 51 lakhs, industries, Rs. 44 lakhs, civil defence Rs. 65 lakhs and transfer to the Revenue Reserve Fund Rs. 90 lakhs.

The increase of Rs. 72 lakhs in excise receipts since 1940-41 is due to 3 main causes—(1) increase in the consumption of country liquor and drugs, (2) substitution of wines and spirits and malt liquor from overseas by commodities manufactured in India, and (3) increased demand for power alcohol.

The account for 1941-42 shows that in revised estimates the Government expected a surplus of about Rs. 18 lakhs after allowing for expenditure of Rs 75 lakhs not included in the original budget. The actual surplus was Rs 37 lakhs of which Rs. 35 lakhs was transferred to the Revenue Reserve Fund and the actual surplus shown in the account is Rs. 2 lakhs. Revenue receipts rose from Rs 1,434 lakhs in the original estimates to Rs 1,650 lakhs and revenue expenditure from Rs. 1,429 lakhs to Rs. 1,648 lakhs. Capital expenditure at Rs. 39 lakhs was Rs. 23 lakhs less than estimated, and there was a deterioration of Rs. 141 lakhs under the debt and deposit heads.

The Govt. of the Central Provinces

Financial Statement for 1943-44

The budget estimates of the C. P. and Berar Government for 1943-44 published on the 25th March 1943 in a Gazette Extraordinary reveal a surplus of Rs. 7,04,000 Revenue receipts are estimated at Rs. 6,39,61,000 and revenue expenditure at Rs. 6,32 57,000

Estimates of both revenue and expenditure are abnormally high due to factors arising out of the war. Revised estimate for 1942-43 indicates a surplus of Rs. 14.64 lakhs as against 3 24 lakhs in the budget. This increase in the surplus is due to increase in revenue under Forests due to large orders for timber and other forest produce required for war purposes. On the expenditure side there is a large increase of Rs. 16 18 lakhs under Civil Defence as only a lump provision of Rs. 4 lakhs was made in the budget.

A new feature of the budget is the creation of a post-war reconstruction fund which by the end of the next financial year will stand at Rs. 30,00,000.

There is no fresh taxation, but taxation measures due to expire are extended by another year.

A notable feature of the budget is the reduction of expenditure under Civil Defence from Rs 20,18,000 to Rs 16,86,000, showing a saving of Rs. 3 32,000 during the next financial year, owing to improvement in the war situation.

Government have decided to grant free legal aid to aboriginals in accordance with the recommendations of the Aboriginal Tribes Enquiry Officer, and a beginning has been made by providing funds for the aboriginals of Mandla district.

The scheme for the encouragement of hand-spinning and hand-weaving in rural areas under the auspices of the All-India Spinners Association will be continued and provision for grant of Rs 12,560 to the association has been made.

The Government of Bihar

Financial Statement for 1943-44

A surplus of Rs. 61 lakhs is estimated in the Bihar Government Budget for 1943-44 published on the 28th. March 1943.

The receipts for the year are estimated at Rs. 697 lakhs and the expenditure at Rs. 636 lakhs. The total revenue budgetted for 1942-43 was Rs. 603 lakhs against

which the revised estimates are Rs. 721 lakhs. Against the total budgetted expenditure of Rs. 580 lakhs for the current year the revised estimates amount to Rs 665 lakhs. There is nothing special in this budget except that the Government are to continue the Prohibition, Basic Education and the Mass Literacy schemes of the Congress Government. The Rural Development Department has been abolished.

The Government of Madras

Financial Statement for 1943-44

A revenue surplus of Rs. 10,05,000 is shown in the Budget Estimates for 1943-44 of the Madras Government published on the 22nd. March 1943, receipts amounting to Rs. 21,32,63,000 against expenditure of Rs 21,22,58,000.

There is no proposal for new taxes nor for floating loans, but the estimates envisage withdrawal of the usual revenue remissions for the coming year amounting to about Rs. 75,00,000

The year commences with an opening balance of Rs. 92,66,000 against a closing balance of Rs. 50,68,000.

Transactions outside the Revenue Account show an excess of disbursements over receipts of Rs. 41,98 000.

The Government of N. W. Fr. Province

Financial Statement for 1943-44

The Budget Estimates of the NWFP Government for 1943-44 published on the 22nd. March 1943 show a deficit of Rs. 7,73,000 on Revenue Account.

The total revenue for the year is estimated at Rs. 2,06,94.000 against which expenditure inclusive of new items is expected to amount to Rs. 2,14,67,000.

Formation of League Ministry

A communique from the Government House, Peshawar, announced on the 25th. May 1943 that his Excellency the Governor has been pleased to appoint the following to be members of his Council of Ministers :—

Speaker.

THE HON'BLE SARDAR BAHADUR KHAN, B.A., LL.B.

Ministers.

THE HON'BLE *Chief Minister* SARDAR MOHD. AURANGZEB KHAN. THE HON'BLE SARDAR BAHADUR RAB KHAN, NISHTAR, B A., LL.B., *Finance Minister.* THE HON'BLE SARDAR AJIT SINGH, *Minister P. W. D.* THE HON'BLE K. S. RAJA ABDAR REHMAN KHAN, *Minister for Information,* THE HON'BLE KHAN MAHAMMAD SAMIN JAN, B.A., LL.B., *Minister for Education.*

Parliamentary Secretaries.

PIR SYED JALAL SHAH, *Chief Parliamentary Secretary.* K. S. MALIK-UR-RAHMAN KHAN, M A. *Parliamentary Secretary.* KHAN NASRULLAH KHAN, B.A., LL.B. *Parliamentary Secretary.* RAJA MANOCHEHR KHAN, *Parliamentary Secretary.*

The following communique was issued after the new ministers had taken the oath of office on the 25th. May :—

"In exercise of the powers conferred upon him by sub-section 2, section 93 of the Government of India Act 1935, the Governor of the N.-W. F. P., by his proclamation made with the concurrence of the Governor-General, is pleased to revoke the proclamation dated November 10, 1939, as subsequently varied by the proclamation, dated December 2, 1939."

OFFICE OF ADVISER TERMINATED

Another communique states that with the proclamation of the Governor, revoking the proclamation under section 93 of the Government of India Act previously in force, the office of the Adviser to the Governor held by Mr. I. G. Acheson, I. C. S., has been terminated. His Excellency Sir George Cunningham takes this opportunity to express his grateful appreciation of the valuable assistance rendered to him by Mr. Acheson as Adviser.

Proceedings of

THE

All India Hindu Mahasabha

All India Muslim League

AND

All India and Provincial Conferences

JANUARY—JUNE 1943

The All India Hindu Mahasabha

All India Committee—Cawnpore—1st. January 1943.

OFFICE-BEARERS FOR ENSUING YEAR

The All-India Committee of the Hindu Mahasabha met at Cawnpore on the 1st. January 1943, Mr. *V. D. Savarkar* presiding. About 150 members attended.

The Committee at the outset accepted a resolution authorising the President to select office-bearers for the next year.

After two hours' deliberations, the Committee approved of the names proposed by Mr. Savarkar in consultation with Mahasabha leaders.

As regards representation from the provinces of Bihar, Agra and Oudh, it was decided that the President should appoint arbitrators to hold fresh elections in these Provinces and thereafter representatives will be nominated to the Working Committee.

The following were selected office-bearers for the ensuing year: Dr Shyama Prasad Mukherji (Working President); Dr. P. V. Naidu, Mr. B. G. Khaparde, Mr. N. C. Chatterji, Rai Bahadur Harish Chandra; Bhai Parmanand and Sir Gokul Chand Narang, (Vice-Presidents); Dr. B S. Moonjee and Mr. Ashutosh Lahiri (General Secretaries); and Mr Chandra Gupta Vedalankar and Mr. G. V. Ketkar, (Secretaries).

NEW WORKING COMMITTEE

The personnel of the Working Committee of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha announced to-day consisted for the present of 17 members and included one representative of women. Representatives from the Provinces of Bihar, Agra and Oudh will be nominated later.

The following are members: Mr S. R. Date (Maharashtra). Dr. Udgaonkar (Bombay), Mr. Madhusudan Majumdar (Gujrat), Mr. M. N Ghatate (Central Provinces), Dr. Kane (Berar), Mr. K. M Palat (Kerala), Mr. M. N. Mitra (Bengal), Capt. Keshav Chandra (Punjab), Mr. Chandrakaran Sarda (Rajasthan), Mr. T. Ram Krishna Pandey (Mahakoshal), Pandit Sheonath Vaidya (Delhi), Mr. D. L. Patwardhan (Karnataka), Rai Bahadur Mehr Chand Khanna (Frontier), Mr. P. S. Garu (Andhra), Mr. Ganpati (Madras), Mr. Bhojrai Advani (Sindh) and Srimati Janaki Bai Joshi (Poona, women representative).

NEXT SESSION IN AMRITSAR

The All-India Committee of the Hindu Mahasabha accepted the invitation of Capt. Kesho Chandra (Punjab) and resolved that the next annual session of the Hindu Mahasabha be held at Amritsar in the Punjab.

Working Committee--New Delhi—13th. & 14th. February 1943.

The Working Committee of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha met at the Hindu Mahasabha Bhaban, New Delhi, under the presidentship of *Veer Savarkar* on 13th. and 14th. February 1943. The following members were present:

Dr B. S. Moonje, Pt. Chandra Gupta Vedalankar, Dr. M. B. Udgaonkar, Capt. Keshav Chandra, Sjt. Gulabchand Hirachand, Sjt. S. R. Date, Sjt V. B. Gogte, Pt. Anand Priya, Lieut. D. L. Patwardhan, Sjt. Bhojraj Ajwani, Lala Narain Datta, Sjt, A. S. Bhide, and Pt. Shiva Nath Vaid.

The audited accounts of the past year and budget for the current year were read and passed. The time limit of the "Charter of Rights" sub-committee was extended to six months.

(1) ANXIETY ABOUT GANDHI'S FAST

Anxiety about Mahatma Gandhi's health in view of his fast was expressed in a resolution. The resolution proceeds 'prayerfully to wish that his spiritual strength will enable him to survive the ordeal.'

"In case. however, the strain of the fast threatens to endanger his health to any serious extent', says the committee, 'Government must set aside all political considerations and release him to save his precious life.

"Nevertheless, the meeting notes emphatically that fasting as a political weapon used with a view to bringing about constitutional changes and political revolutions, irrespective of their inherent merits or demerits, especially under the political circumstances and foreign domination prevailing in India to-day, is bound to be futile, detrimental and suicidal.

"Consequently any move on the part of Congress or others to exploit this fact for political ends as, for example, to negotiate with the Muslim League or to arrive at an agreement to end the present deadlock, without consulting the Hindu Mahasabha and securing its agreement, would not in any case be binding on the Hindus. The Mahasabha desires all political organisations and the Government to understand that the Mahasabha will resist any encroachment on Hindu rights or any scheme undermining Indian integrity."

(2) CONDOLENCE

This meeting of the Working Committee of the A. I H. Mahasabha, expresses its profound grief and offers its heartfelt condolence on the unexpected death of His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner, the great patron of the Hindu culture and a prominent representative of Rajput chivalry.

(3) JAIPUR AGITATION

This meeting of the Working Committee of the A I H Mahasabha offers its congratulations to Shriman Sett Jugal Kishoreji Bir'a, Sjt Pt. Chandra Gupta Vedalankar, Secretary, A. I. H Mahasabha, and Kr Chand Karan ji Sharda, who were deputed by the Hindu Mahasabha, and other Hindu Sanghatanists such as Pt. Ram Chandra Sharma for having brought about the settlement of the controversy regarding the instalment of the Hindi Nagri Script and Language as the Official and Court Language in the Jaipur State and the removal of tax on Cow-Grazing in the State, and offers its grateful thanks to His Highness the Maharaja for having favourably considered the reasonable and legitimate demands of the people of the State.

(4) HINDU RIGHTS IN SIND

This meeting of the W. C of the A I. H. Mahasabha, condemns the communal policy of the Muslim League Ministers in matters of general administration in the Province of Sind and the Services, by disturbing ratio of services settled by the Cabinet The Committee also views with grave concern the proposal of four Black Bills and calls upon the Hindus to oppose such measures and clauses in the Proposed Bills as are detrimental to Hindus of the province and are based on Communal considerations as any legislation based on Communal considerations is sure to lead to disastrous results.

Working Committee—New Delhi—9th. May 1943

The Working Committee of the Hindu Mahasabha met on the 9th. May, 1943, in the Hindu Mahasabha Bhavan, New Delhi, under the presidentship of Mr. *V. D. Savarkar*. The following members were present.

Shri Ashutosh Lahiry, Kr. Chand Karanji Sharda, Pt Anand Priyaji, Pt Ram Krishana Pandey, Lt. D. L. Patwardhar, Shri A S. Bhide, Dr. M. B. Udgaonkar, Dr. S. K. Kane, Shri R. M. Palat Capt. Keshab Chandraji, Mrs Jankibai Joshi, Dr P. V. Naidu, Shri Anang Mohan Ram, R B. Harish Chandraji, Shri G V. Ketkar, Shri V. B. Gogte, Pt. Chandra Gupta Vedalankar, Dr. B. S. Moonje, L. Narain Dattaji, Shri B. G Khaparde

The following resolutions were passed :—

SOUTH AFRICAN ANTI-INDIAN LEGISLATION

This meeting of the Working Committee of the Hindu Mahasabha strongly condemns the Anti-Indian legislation passed by the South African Government in Natal without paying any heed to all India protests to the contrary, and urges upon the Government of India to realise that discriminatory legislation of this type in the British Commonwealth should be stopped by the British Government and that the Indian Government should immediately adopt retaliatory legislation, and that the High Commissioner stationed there be recalled and that exports of jute, cloth and foodstuffs to that country be forthwith stopped in accordance with Reciprocity Act.

Mover, Shri *R. B. Haris Chandra*,--Supporter, Shri Dr. *P. V Naidu.* (Passed unanimously).

MAHASABHA ACCOUNTS IN BANKS

This meeting of the Working Committee of the Hindu Mahasabha authorises L. Narain Dattajee, Treasurer, Hindu Mahasabha to open and operate upon the Hindu Mahasabha accounts in the Central Bank of India Ltd., Delhi, and the Punjab National Bank Ltd., New Delhi.

Moved from the *chair*, (Passed unanimously).

CIVIL SUIT EXPENSES SANCTIONED

This meeting of the Working Committee sanctions all expenses that have been incurred in connection with the civil suit to be filed in pursuance of the resolution No. 5 dated, 13th February, 1943 and authorises all other expenses to be incurred in that connection.

Moved from the *chair*. (Passed unanimously).

MAHILA CONFERENCE

This meeting of the Working Committee resolves that in view of the resolution No. 6, passed in the last All-India Hindu Conference at Cawnpore, for holding the session of All-India Hindu Women's Conference with that of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha every year, this committee urges upon all the provincial Hindu Sabhas that in order to make this Hindu Women's Conference representative, they should start the Hindu Mahila Sabha organisation in their Provinces subject to the condition that members of this organisation should also be members of Hindu Mahasabha.

Mover, Mrs. *Jankibai Joshi*, Supporter, Mr. *Chandra Karanjee Sharda*, (Passed unanimously).

ACTION AGAINST RAJA M. D. SETH

This meeting of the Working Committee of the Hindu Mahasabha feels that the recent speeches of Raja Maheshwar Dayal Seth of Kotra, at the Jwalapur Hindu Conference and elsewhere, while going beyond the legitimate liberties allowed to a dissenting member in a democratic political organisation, to express his views, has misrepresented the resolutions and the leadership of the Sabha which is calculated to harm the prestige of the Hindu Mahasabha. This meeting of the Working Committee, therefore, authorises the President to call for an explanation from the Raja Sahib with regard to this matter and take such further action as he may deem fit.

Mover, Dr. *M. B. Udgaonkar*.—Supporter, Lt. D. L. *Patwardhan*, 15 voted for the Resolution and 2 against it, 1 non-voting).

Shri. *Ashutosh Lahiry* then explained the Bengal situation and it was decided that a draft resolution should be placed before the Working Committee meeting at 10 A. M. next day.

The *President* then announced the formation of Orissa Provincial Hindu Sabha and the affiliation fee having been paid it was decided that it is affiliated to the Mahasabha. The meeting was then adjourned for 10th May, 1943.

Working Committee—New Delhi—10th. May 1943

The adjourned meeting of the Working Committee of the Hindu Mahasabha was held on the 10th May, 1943.

Pt. *Nilkanta Das* was present by the special permission of the president.

The following resolutions were passed after free discussion.

MERGER OF HINDUS IN MUSLIM STATES

This meeting of the Working Committee resolves that in the new scheme of merging smaller principalities into larger States particularly in Gujrat and Kathiawar, certain Hindu Taluqdars and Hindu territories have been put under the rule of Nawabs of Junagadh and Radhanpur, who are notorious for their communal rule, for instance, in Junagadh the Muslims have been given 50 per cent representation in services when they are only 8 per cent of the population. This meeting of the Working Committee urges upon the Crown Representative to put the Hindu States and territories under the Hindu Princes instead of the Mohammedan rule who have no affinity with them and accordance to the principle laid down by the Crown Representative himself.

Mover, Pt. *Anand Priyaji*, Supporter, Shri *V. B. Gogte*, (Passed unanimously).

HINDU INTESTATE SUCCESSION BILL

This meeting of the Working Committee is of opinion that the consideration of the Bill to amend and codify the Hindu Law relating to intestate succession, which has been introduced in the Central Legislative Assembly should be postponed till after the war, in view of the following reasons amongst others :—

(I) That it involves revolutionary changes in the rights of succession to property.

(II) That in the present disturbed condition of the country various provisions of the Bill could not receive proper consideration from the different sections of the public.

(III) That it has been adversely criticised by a number of provincial Governments, High Court Judges and other Judges, Hindu leaders and representative bodies, and

(IV) That in view of the fact that the representative Hindu element is not present in the Central legislature. Mover—Mrs. *Jankibai Joshi*,—Supporter—Shri *Anang Mohan Dam*. (Passed unanimously).

AGRA, OUDH AND BIHAR AWARDS RATIFIED

This meeting of the Working Committee ratifies the awards of Dr. B. S. Moonje for settling the disputes of the Agra and Oudh Provincial Hindu Sabhas and of Pt. Rama Krishna Pandey in settling the dispute of the province of Bihar. (Passed unanimously).

PT. NEELKANTH DAS TAKEN ON THE WORKING COMMITTEE

It is hereby resolved that Pt. Neelkanth Das be taken on the Working Committee as a representative from the Province of Orissa and this will take effect from today's proceedings of the Working Committee. —Moved from the *chair*. —(Passed unanimously).

RESOLUTION ON BENGAL SITUATION

The Working Committee of the Hindu Mahasabha condemns the action of the Governor of Bengal in securing the resignation of Mr. Fazlul Huq in spite of the fact that he possessed a clear majority in the Legislative Assembly, at the time, and in installing Sir Nazimuddin into power by questionable tactics, and contrary to all constitutional practice

The Committee notes that the Hindu members of the Legislative Assembly were willing to co-operate on the basis of an agreed programme in the formation of an All-Party ministry which was the ostensible plea of His Excellency the Governor in securing the resignation of Mr. Fazlul Huq, but that nevertheless the leader of the Muslim League was allowed to form the ministry without including any representative Hindu in the new cabinet.

The Committee deplores the conduct of the three ministers who were mainly instrumental in establishing the Muslim League Ministry against the decisive opinion of the overwhelming majority of Hindu members of the legislature. —Mover, Shri *Ashutosh Lahiri*, —Supporter, *Shri V. B. Gogte*, (16 voted for the resolution and 1 against it and 2 non-voting).

XI MUSLIM LEAGUE ACTIVITIES

This meeting of the Working Committee of the Hindu Mahasabha notes with satisfaction that the president of the Muslim League made no reference to Hindu Mahasabha which was a sure indication of the full consciousness of the firm and clear cut ideas and attitude of the Hindu Mahasabha which was characterised by him as "an absolutely incorrigible and a hopeless body" on the question of Pakistan. The fact that he invited a letter from either Gandhiji or Congress, is suggestive of his expectation of a favourable response from quarters from which wellknown "P. S." letter in which Gandhiji wrote to the Viceroy that he was ready to agree to a cent per cent transfer of Governmental power to the League emanated. Past experience of his dealings with the Congress and Gandhiji's attitude exhibited in his "blank cheque" perhaps justified his expectations from a body which resents to be called "Hindu." The Hindu Mahasabha realises that under the circumstances they may have to meet and fight the danger of Pakistan single handed, and urges upon all Hindu brethren to prepare and be ready for the same. One of the remedies, amongst others, is to elect none but a sworn Hindu to all representative bodies.

This meeting further wishes to bring to the notice of the Local and Central Governments that *in case they continue to show the indifference they have done* so far towards the irresponsible and violent communal utterances of the leaders of the Muslim League, misapprehensions and misunderstandings are likely to grow in the public mind, which may not be conducive to public peace, since such violent language as has been used recently from the Muslim League platform lends itself to the interpretation of being a direct challenge to both the traditional patience and bravery of the Hindus. —Mover, Shri *B. G. Khaparde*, —Supporter, Dr. *P. V. Naidu* (16 voted for it, 1 against it 1 non-voting).

INTENSIVE PROGRAMME

The Working Committee after deliberations evolved an intensive programme of constructive work in order to enable the Hindus to face anti-Hindu aggression whether from the outside or from inside.

The meeting came to an end with a vote of thanks to the Chair.

Punjab Provincial Hindu Conference

Annual Session—Lyallpur—30th. April 1943

Presidential Address

The Punjab Provincial Hindu Conference opened at Lyallpur on the 30th. April 1943 in a tastefully decorated pandal. Prominent among those sitting on the dais were Dr. B. S. Moonje, Rai Bahadur Mehrchand Khanna, Sir Gokulchand Narang, Raja Narendranath and Mr. Goswami Ganesh Dutt. A big map of "Akhand Hindustan" hung outside the pandal.

Raja Narendranath, inaugurating the Conference, vigorously opposed Pakistan, which, in his opinion, might lead to civil war. He urged the organisation of Hindu Sabhas in every town and village in the Punjab.

We are now in the midst of a world-crisis and whatever the protagonists of a tottering imperial power may say, exploitation of the kind that we have suffered from for a century and a half will no longer be tolerated in the new world, to be born out of the present chaos and conflict," observed Dr. *Shyamaprasad Mookerjee* in the course of his presidential address.

"A gigantic work of social reconstruction," continued Dr. Mookerjee, "awaits us, for it is only by this process that the masses will be roused to a new race consciousness which will be the first step towards political solidarity. Let the message of unity and organisation be carried to the distant town and village and let every Hindu feel that however poor or forlorn he may be, he has at his back a strong friendly and powerful organisation which will advance his welfare and defend any unjust aggression on his rights and privileges."

In extending felicitation and good wishes of his province to all, Dr. Mookerjee said: "Though Bengal and the Punjab are separated from each other by more than 1,000 miles the problems facing the Hindus in both the provinces are remarkably similar. It is of paramount importance that they should jointly endeavour to face them and solve them consistently with their own welfare and the advancement of the country as a whole While there will be problems in each provincial sphere peculiar to itself there must be an all-pervading sense of unity among Hindus of all classes throughout India, for only thus can we hope to fight successfully those reactionary elements who are out to keep India in perpetual slavery."

No More Platitudes

Referring to the international situation, the speaker maintained that if the object of the Allied Powers in carrying on the present deadly struggle was to free the world from the tyranny of unjust domination, they had every justification in asking them, and especially the power that rules over India, to apply this noble principle to the case of India herself.

"Once India gets a free status subject to such transitory arrangements that may be agreed to for securing satisfactory war operations based on a common policy the entire approach to the problem will undergo a tremendous change. Our past experiences manifestly direct us to the conclusion that our masters have little desire to part with power.

"The history of Indo-British relationship has been one of forgotten and broken pledges, followed by a systematic policy of "divide and rule" and a rigorous application of administrative safeguards which have reduced the constitution to a mockery. India's confidence can no longer be won by words and platitudes."

Pakistan Opposed

Dealing with the two-nations theory, Dr. Mookerjee said: "We have made it clear beyond dispute that a division of India is no solution of India's communal problem. Financially, it is unworkable. Economically, it is disastrous. Politically it is ruinous for India as a whole."

"It is not on the ground of sentiment alone or merely as Hindus that we are opposed to the vivisection of India. We condemn it as it offers no solution for lasting communal peace and understanding. There can be no compromise on this issue.

"In spite of diversities peculiar to India there is a commonness of aim of thought and outlook, strengthened by economic interdependence and by time-honoured cultural contacts which we can never permit to be weakened. Let the

provinces, with their boundaries redistributed by agreement, if necessary, retain fullest possible autonomy; let Muslims develop themselves and their culture in their own zones, subject to full and equal rights of citizenship enjoyed by minorities residing therein.

"But there must be a strong representative Central Government responsible for the welfare of India as such, controlling such essential subjects as Defence, Foreign Relations, Customs, Currency, Communications and Army. For each such paramount subject there must be a central policy affecting the welfare not of Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs and Parsees as such but of India as a whole."

CALL FOR UNITY

While inviting all "to stand united for the safety and integrity of our common motherland," Dr. Mookerjee observed : "If once the Congress, the League, the Hindu Mahasabha and other important elements join hands for facing the common crisis that threatens India's welfare, without being called upon to forego any valued principles that each holds dear and sacred, if each makes an open declaration that there will be a genuine endeavour on the part of all to come to an agreement at the end of the war and before the new Constitution is framed, if once this approach is made to the Indian problem, the solution will be easy one.

"We have declared times without number that the future constitution of India must safeguard the religious and cultural rights of all communities, major and minor. As regards political rights the major community will not ask for itself any special privilege and will accept equal and common citizenship"

Answering the question why the Hindu Mahasabha must continue to function as a separate organisation, the speaker said. "There are many problems affecting Hindus who are already torn into divisions and subdivisions, which have to be boldly faced in order to maintain its social solidarity It will be the greatest blunder if the Mahasabha remains occupied only with political problems.

"It is necessary that there must exist a political organisation in India, which will remain loyal to the nationalist ideology for which Hindus have lived and died for generations will genuinely foster communal peace and harmony but at the same time will have the courage and capacity to protect the legitimate rights and aspirations of Hindus whenever there is an attempt to encroach on them or to surrender them for false political expediency. So long as political rights are made to depend by the decree of our rulers on religious consideration, Hindus for their sheer existence must have a well-disciplined and well-organised party of their own. The expression "Hindu" must be interpreted in the most liberal sense including all who are born in this country professing different Indian religions or faiths, and regarding India as their holy Fatherland.

"It is only when Hindus and Muslims will stand together, strong, fearless and well-trained both understanding each other's point of view and realising that it is not Hindusthan or Pakistan they now live in, but Englishthan in the truest sense of the word, they will then unite for the attainment of their country's freedom."

Alluding to the Punjab, Dr. Mukherjee said :

"I appeal to the Hindus of the Punjab to stand united. I specially plead with all my earnestness for a complete and permanent understanding between the Sikhs and the Hindus of this province. I shall not take upon myself the responsibility of comparing Sikhism with Hinduism Sikhism came with a new message, but when the first shock was over, thoughtful men could see that its newness consisted not in the newness of its fundamental doctrines but in the newness of its emphasis. Indeed it can be safely asserted that of the various features of Sikhism, taken separately, there are not many which we do not come across in the past history of Hinduism. What Guru Nanaka did was that he selected certain aspects and put an almost exclusive emphasis on them with the result that the whole, as it emerged, appeared more or less new It was not, however, a purely religious movement. It was also a movement for social regeneration and uplift. Let us recall in no faltering terms that in most cases the Sikhs and the Hindus were the oppressed at the hands of a common oppressor and in peace and adversity both remained tied to each other.

CRISIS THAT FACES PUNJAB

"To day the crisis that faces the Punjab can be solved in a manner which will redound to the welfare of the province and advance the prestige and self-respect of India, if the Hindus remain united and there is complete co-operation between the Hindus and the Sikhs. This will also pave the way for a real and honourable

understanding with the Muslims which will not be unfair to them and will not at the same time lower the flag of Indian unity and liberty. I have no desire to refer in my speech to the various proposals which have from time to time been made by one party and another. I plead for a dispassionate and impartial survey of the conflicting schemes by chosen representatives of each community so that we may understand each other's point of view and stand united for our common good. Our enemies want that we may be divided and we must resist this by all possible means.

THE CAUSE OF HINDUS

"What the Hindus need most to-day is a burning faith in the justice of their cause. Their cause is not sectarian or communal. Their cause is that of Indian liberty itself. They form about three-fourth of India's vast population. The main responsibility for winning and retaining India's freedom must ultimately rest on them. But the task will be easier, if they can work with the co-operation of all other communities in India

"In any event during this crisis the task of mobilising the Hindu masses must go ahead irrespective of all obstacles. The gigantic work of social reconstruction awaits us, for it is only by this process that the masses will be roused to a new race consciousness which will be the first step towards political solidarity. Let the message of unity and organisation be carried to the distant town and village and let every Hindu feel that however poor or forlorn he may be, he has at his back a strong friendly and powerful organisation which will advance his welfare and defend any unjust aggression on his rights and privileges. Freedom will not come as a boon from above. It will have to be taken from unwilling hands as a result of active and vigorous preparation. It will not come unless each of the Indian provinces proceed with the task of reconstruction, consistent with an All-India ideal. To-day the power that we enjoy in constitutional spheres constantly reminds us of the pitiable state of puppet Governments set up in territories now under the control of the Axis Powers. Here the external manifestations may be less barbarous but it is the heart of an agonised and enchained India that feebly beats within the framework of the Indian Administration hammered by the iron hands of an outside Authority. Let some Indian representatives, loyal to the national cause, keep the Constitutional Circus going, if necessary. But the real work lies outside the Legislature and among the teeming millions of India's oppressed and down-trodden population."

Concluding Dr. Mookerjee said With a firm faith in the supreme righteousness of our cause let the soldiers of an unarmed and emasculated India march along the road full of thorns, pit-falls and obstacles that leads to the paradise of Indian freedom. The struggle of a subject country may not always meet with quick and complete success but only weeklings will brand it as a failure and decry further advances. Let us take stock of the achievements that we claim to be our own and mould our destinies on a pattern consistent with our highest traditions. In a spirit of dauntlessness let us proceed along the path of duty and service, asking for the co-operation of all who believe in our cause irrespective of race, creed or community and contribute our humble share in the building of a free and united India '

Resolutions—2nd Day—Lyallpur—1st. May 1943

RELEASE OF MAHATMA GANDHI

The Conference at its second sitting to-night passed a resolution demanding the immediate release of Mahatma Gandhi and other political leaders in order to create confidence in the minds of the people and to enable the leaders of various political parties to confer together.

Moving the resolution, Dr. *B. S. Moonje* said that Hindus should be ready to face the threats of Mr. Jinnah. Hindus were not concerned if Mr. Jinnah wanted to fight the British Government but in case he attempted to give effect to his threats to Hindus he ought to know that Hindus were prepared to defend their hearths and homes. He appealed to the Hindus to join the army to keep up their strength in the army which might be a decisive factor.

Sardar Sant Singh. M.L. A., (Central), seconded the resolution.

Rai Bahadur *Mehr Chand Khanna*, who recently returned from America, referred to the last part of the resolution, and said that America had great respect and sympathy for India but since the launching of the civil disobedience in August, 1942, the situation had changed The place of Mahatma Gandhi and the Congress had been taken by Mr. Jinnah and the League in the American Press. The Hindus were now being considered as rebels. The Rai Bahadur emphasised the necessity

of establishing a Hindu organisation in America to put forth their true case before the American public and the press.

The conference also adopted a resolution relating to the organisation of Hindu Sabhas in the province. The resolution was moved by Sir *Gokul Chand Narang* and seconded by Capt. *Keshab Chander* and Goswami Ganesh Dutt.

The fourth resolution recognises the imperative necessity of solidarity and consolidation of the Hindus and Sikhs and views with disapproval any movement regarding the partition of Punjab or any other scheme which may lead to disharmony between the Hindus and Sikhs or any section of them

A resolution passed by the Conference empowered the President to nominate a committee of five members to take steps to consolidate the Hindus of the Punjab under the banner of the Hindu Mahasabha and to organise the Hindus in the Province. The conference then adjourned

Resolutions —3rd. Day—Lyallpur—2nd May 1943

OPPOSITION TO PAKISTAN

Moving a resolution opposing Pakistan, Rai Bahadur *Mehrchand Khanna* (Frontier), said that he did not oppose the principle of right of self-determination provided it was applicable to all communities and not to one particular community. No other nation, he added, could ever agree to divide their country. He asked Mr. Jinnah if he was prepared to allow division of Egypt into 'Muslim Egypt" and "Pope-Egypt". The speaker was sure that Mr Jinnah would never agree to such a proposal If that was the case why was Mr. Jinnah pressing for the vivisection of India? Mr. Jinnah was giving threats of "blood, strife and misery" but the Hindus, he pointed out, were not afraid of such threats. Concluding, the Rai Bahadur warned the British Government that the Hindus were fully prepared to resist any attempt at dividing their motherland

Sir Gokul Chand Narang, supporting the resolution, said that the Congress was adopting a policy of appeasement towards Mr Jinnah and the Muslim League. In his opinion, this policy of the Congress was responsible for the demand for Pakistan He, however, was convinced that the dream of Pakistan would never materialise and there would never be a Pakistan in his opinion Mr. Jinnah was putting forth the demand of Pakistan in order to force Hindus to give Muslims fifty per cent representation in the Central Government Sir Gokul exhorted the Hindus that they would never agree to give weightage to the Muslims in the Centre If any weightage was given the Hindus would be reduced to a minority which in his opinion would be a death knell to the Hindus.

The resolution which was further supported by *Goswami Ganesh Dutt* was carried amid shouts of Akhand Hindusthan."

Two other resolutions passed by the Conference disapproved of the scheme of "Azad Punjab" and criticised the Unionist Government for enacting "discriminatory measures calculated to seriously affect their economic and cultural interest in various ways"

DR. MUKHERJI'S APPEAL TO PUNJAB

In his concluding remarks *Dr. S. P Mukherji* thanked the people of the Punjab for the warm-hearted welcome accorded to him. He said that he was going back with a new message from the Punjab to his Province and the rest of India. That message was that the Punjab of Lala Lajpat Rai was not dead but was fully prepared to defend any attack on the liberty and honour of its people.

Speaking on the resolutions passed at the conference, Dr. Mukherji said that so far as the general condition in the country was concerned he was sure that no object could be served by sending petitions to the Viceroy but freedom would have to be won by Indians in India without outside help. He complained that systematic propaganda was being carried out in America to lower the prestige of the Indian flag of liberty. He warned American correspondents in India that if they wanted to remain in India as exponents of democracy they should not take sides but present true facts about India to their countrymen

Referring to the Pakistan resolution, Dr Mukherji said that the cry of Pakistan was raised from the Punjab. Therefore the graveyard of Pakistan must be found in the Punjab. It was up to the people of the Punjab who believed in the dignity of their country that the monster of Pakistan should not be allowed to go any further.

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The All India Muslim League

Mr. Jinnah's Reiteration of Pakistan Demand

"The key to resolving the present deadlock primarily rests with Mr. *Gandhi* and the Congress leaders. If they show real and genuine desire, it is possible to solve the problem," declared Mr. *M. A. Jinnah*, President of the All-India Muslim League, replying to the numerous suggestions made that Mr. *Jinnah* holds the key for resolving the deadlock. Mr. *Jinnah* was addressing a meeting of the Muslim Federation at Bombay on the 24th. January 1943.

"It is suggested," observed Mr. *Jinnah*, "that the Muslim League and I, as its President, should take the initiative to get the Congress leaders released from jail. It is flattering and complimentary to me, but let us examine the situation in the country." Mr. *Jinnah* recalled the Congress resolution of August 8th. last and the attitude which the Congress had adopted during the last two decades towards Indian freedom As late as 1942, Mr. *Gandhi* had said, "So long as there is no workable arrangement with the Muslim League, civil resistance must involve resistance against the League. No Congressman can be a party to it." On another occasion, Mr. *Gandhi* had said that a mass movement during the war, without communal settlement, would lead to a civil war and would be an invitation to suicide. Mr. *Gandhi* had emphasised that independence could never be achieved without a Hindu-Muslim Agreement.

Congress Resolution Criticised

The next question was, Mr. *Jinnah* continued, why suddenly Mr. *Gandhi* and the Congress had adopted a policy which culminated in that resolution of August 8, 1942. The policy of independence first and Hindu-Muslim settlement afterwards and the adoption of the slogan of 'Quit India" against the British was a sudden, complete and a revolutionary change and an unprecedented somersault This policy had naturally resulted in the British Government adopting their policy against the Congress mass civil disobedience.

"Do the Congress or Mr *Gandhi* or other Hindu leaders think that they can achieve the independence of India without an agreement with the Muslim League ?" asked Mr *Jinnah*, and continued : 'The policy adopted—as has been stated by Mr. *Gandhi*—is a suicidal policy May be, that the Mussalmans are numerically one-fourth. But you cannot always go by counting heads. The Muslims are a very powerful nation in this sub-continent. The attitude of the Congress leaders is quite clear Mr. *Gandhi* and the Congress think that they are strong enough to compel the British Government to surrender and submit to their demands at the sacrifice of the vital and paramount interests of Muslim India. Ignoring the Muslim League could have no other meaning."

Mahasabha Attitude

In this connection, Mr. *Jinnah* referred to the recent resolution adopted by the Hindu Mahasabha at Cawnpore and said · "The Mahasabha which is a counterpart of the Congress, makes no bones about it. They say, "We are going to get the freedom and independence of India with you, if you like, and without you if you won't come"

Proceeding, Mr. *Jinnah* said that the parties concerned. apart from ignoring the Muslim League, were attempting to coerce and intimidate the British Government with threat of dire consequences. He asserted that the hundred million Muslims would undoubtedly revolt and would never submit to be at the mercy of a Hindu Raj.

Mr. *Jinnah* continued, "On the contrary, the decision of the Mahasabha would only give a handle to British diehards to use the unanswerable argument that 'we can do nothing if there is no agreement among the major parties.' Supposing the Congress succeeded or that the British Government quitted India and according to the conception of the Congress, India became independent Mr *Jinnah* asked whether the Congress would be able to retain the freedom of the sub-continent. It was obvious that Muslim-India would never submit to a Hindu Raj and the result would only be anarchy and chaos.

Mr. *Gandhi* himself had stated that after the British leave they might come to a settlement or they might not, and further stated that there might even be bloodshed and civil war. It was therefore difficult for one to understand and

follow the policy of the Congress or that of the Hindu Mahasabha. But there were newspapers that kept on writing and made suggestions that some sort of a compromise should be effected. Several other suggestions and proposals had emanated from various other quarters also. They clearly showed that they did not believe in the 'Quit India' policy. What they wanted was compromise, compromise not with the Muslims, but compromise with the British Government They wanted the British in this country, though that was not their official policy. They were not for immediate independence or for "Quit India" but for the establishment of some sort of Government which would enable the Hindus to dominate and strangle the Muslims gradually under the aegis of the British.

Mr. *Jinnah* characterised such dreams as mere "moonshine" and asked whether the British Government were going to put "Gandhi and Nehru on the gadi of the Government of this subcontinent to dominate over the Muslims and others with the help of the British bayonet. If the Congress and the Hindu leaders sincerely wish for the freedom and independence of both the nations, Hindus and Muslims, then there is no other way except to agree to the Pakisthan scheme. If the Congress continues to talk of Akhand Hindustan and a United India, the prospect is continuation of slavery for all" Mr. *Jinnah* asserted that "Akhand Hindustan" meant, as had been made clear by the Mahasabha Resolution passed at Cawnpore, complete domination by the Hindus.

Reply To Mr. Amery

Once again, referring to the suggestion that the League should take the initiative in solving the deadlock in India, Mr. *Jinnah* said that in this connection the reaction of the British should be studied He read out extracts from Mr. *Amery's* recent speech and said "Mr. *Amery* has made a discovery of a historical nature and has been studying the pattern of Akbar's Government for the post-war reconstruction of India. The British Government in India, too is constituted like Akbar's Government. Akbar had Hindu Ministers and Muslim Ministers. Akbar knew he had to rule over both. He was eminently concerned with his own autocratic rule and that was no rule at all. He went as far as he can placating the Hindus at one time and placating the Muslims at another He nominated his own Ministers from different nationalities for civil and military administration. The Hindus were never reconciled to his rule, and when there was any trouble either with the Hindus or with the Muslims, Akbar did his job whether through his Muslim or Hindu Ministers That is the system of government which is sought to be perpetuated in this country United India means that so far as the people are concerned they have no voice and it is the rulers who who will rule by manoeuvring. It is that system which the British Government in India is following and desires to continue. The present Executive Council of the Viceroy is on the same pattern as that of Akbar's. There are Muslims, Hindus, Parsis, and the Sikhs, all nominated by the Vicerory to this job."

Referring to H. E. the Viceroy's speech at the Associated Chambers of Commerce in Calcutta Mr. *Jinnah* said · "While Mr. *Amery* was engaged in research of Indian history and preached united India we find that the Viceroy Lord Linlithgow has suddenly discovered almost seven years after his stay here, that India is geographically one. What does this indicate to any intelligent man? The Hindu Mahasabha by its Akand Hindustan resolution, which it adopted at Cawnpore, has made a new year present to the British diehards".

"No Sign of Change of Heart in Congress"

Under the circumstances, Mr. *Jinnah* asked how he could resolve the deadlock. There had been no evidence of a change of attitude on the part of the Congress since August 8th. Though many Congressmen were in jail, yet all Congressmen were not in jail, and "the Hindu Press was not in jail" So far, there was not any sign of any change of heart. There had been no great proposal except rigid adherence to the position that the Congress has taken up by the resolution of August 8 and which has been endorsed in a most aggressive form by the Hindu Mahasabha" "Is there no body of men with a clear head, a body of Hindu opinion with sanction behind them, who have a proposal for the solution of the present deadlock? Is there any body of opinion which can give some assurance—and which has some sanction and authority behind any definite proposal it makes—of a change of heart and a change of attitude and desire to negotiate and come to a settlement with Muslim India and the Muslim League?" asked Mr. *Jinnah*. "If you analyse the

position," he added, you will find that the key to resolving the present deadlock is in the hands of Mr. *Gandhi* and the Congress by evincing a real and genuine desire for a change. Otherwise, the great authority attributed to me is merely in the nature of a compliment. I did not have the power to put them in jail, and how can I have the power to open the jail gates?

After reiterating the Muslim League demand for Pakisthan, Mr. Jinnah advised Muslim students, without in any way sacrificing their studies, which were absolutely necessary, to engage themselves in social work amongst Mussalmans during their vacation. He also advised them to study the state of affairs in India and abroad.

Dr. Latif Criticises League Attitude

Dr. *Abdul Latif* of Hyderabad (Deccan), author of the Pakistan Scheme, blames the League President, Mr. Muhammad Ali Jinnah and appeals for contacting Congress Leaders in a statement issued to the Press on the **3rd. February 1943**: The following is the text:—

"Yesterday the Muslim League appeared to hold a key position in Indian politics. But how does it stand to-day?

Mr. Jinnah in his latest utterances at Bombay complains that the key has passed on to other hands. If that is so, who is responsible for it?

"Several opportunities did present themselves to the League last year to take the lead in improving the situation, but one by one they were thrown away in sheer petulence.

"Its supreme moment came when during the first week of August last, the Congress, at my instance, clarified its attitude 'vis-a-vis' "Pakistan". It was an earnest attempt to placate the Muslim League. The Congress held out the largest measures of autonomy to units, residuary powers and even the right of secession. All that argued sovereign status to units including Pakistan areas.

"The Congress also looked forward to the opening of formal negotiations with the League to afford further clarification of its attitude, if necessary. But Mr. Jinnah would not appreciate the move.

"Instead, he stiffened his intransigent attitude by coming upon the British Government on the one hand and Indian political parties on the other, first to guarantee an undefined Pakistan before he would entertain proposals from them for the formation of an interim Provincial Government to rally the people for the defence of the country.

"What was the response? The Congress Executive was by now in jail and could not speak.

"The Mahasabha at first did try make overtures, but soon realized that counter-intransigence was the only answer to Mr. Jinnah.

"The leader of the Depressed Classes, Dr. Ambedkar refused to involve himself in what he considered a mere personal feud between Mr Jinnah and Mr. Gandhi.

"Even Mr. Rajagopalachari forsook Mr. Jinnah in despair; while Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer Dewan of Travancore, in what he considered the abiding interests of Indian States, was not prepared to understand him.

"From the British side also nothing encouraging came forth. The Viceroy gave Mr. Jinnah a cold shoulder and friend Mr. Amery, forgetting every promise made in the past, seriously put the question to himself whether Akbar's plan of administration would not suit future India.

"On the top of all this, the Turkish Mission chose to administer a 'coup de grace' to all expectations of active sympathy from independent Muslim countries by making it clear in their reply to the League Secretary's address that Turkey was not interested in the domestic squabbles of India such as Pakistan.

C. R.'s New Offer

"This is the position to which the League has now been reduced. To disturb its equanimity still further and complicate the situation, Mr. Rajagopalachari has evolved a new technique to hoist the League with its own petard. "Have your pound of flesh," says he in effect to Mr. Jinnah, a tiny lump to the West of Lahore and a tiny lump round about Dacca and Mymensingh, poverty stricken patches. That is the utmost that you can have in terms of your Pakistan resolution and your creed. Have it. It will be a good riddance for us; for then, we Hindus, shall be free to have a strong Central Parliamentary Executive for the rest of India, a single party Government under whose dispensation your Muslim minorities shall have to live."

ANGULARITIES MUST GO

"How does all that strike Mr. Jinnah? Will he, for a moment, think that he is simply eddying about in blind uncertainty obsessed with meaningless egoism? The Muslim League on his account is still a concern of the easy going—of those who would lie in ambush to pounce upon gains gathered by others."

Council Meeting—Resolutions—New Delhi—7th. March 1943

MR. JINNAH ELECTED PRESIDENT

At the session of the All-India Muslim League Council held at New Delhi on the 7th. March 1943, the Secretary of the League announced amidst cheers, that all provincial Leagues had unanimously recommended Mr. Jinnah's name for the presidentship.

Prominent among those present were *Nawab Mohd Ismail*, *Choudhry Khaliquzzaman*, Lt.-Col. *Khizar Hayat Khan*, Mr. *Abdul Haye*, the *Nawab of Mamdot*, *Begum Aizaz-Rasul*, Dr. *Sir Ziauddin Ahmed*, *Sir Yamin Khan*, Mr. *Hossain Imam*, Mr. *Yusuf Haroon* and *Moulvi Abdul Ghani*.

SIND PAKISTAN RESOLUTION APPROVED

The Council adopted a resolution approving the decision of the Sind Assembly, endorsing the Pakistan resolution of the Lahore session or the All-India Muslim League. The Council felt confident that other Muslim majority provinces would follow Sind's lead. The resolution was moved by Maulana Zafar Ali Khan, M.L.A. (Central).

PUNJAB MINISTRY FORMATION DISCUSSED

The position of Muslim members of the Punjab Assembly in relation to the League was explained by the Punjab Premier, Lt.-Col. *Malik Khizar Hyat Khan*, speaking on a resolution moved by *Maulana Abdul Hamid Badauni*, to the effect that these Muslim members should form a Muslim League Party as soon as practicable and in accordance with the League policy.

The Punjab Premier pointed out that the resolution was unnecessary as a Muslim League Party existed under the terms of the Sikandar-Jinnah Pact. He did not wish to enter into a controversy whether this Party had been working as efficiently as was expected of it, but he assured the Council that he would endeavour to put life into that Party, consolidate it and bring it up to a standard worthy of the great organization of the Muslim League and the Muslims of the Punjab and serve the true interests of the Muslims. "You will never find me and my Muslim colleagues failing in our loyalty to the cause of Mussalmans and their sole representative body—the All-India Muslim League."

The Sikandar-Jinnah Pact, he said, had laid down that *Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan* was to convene a meeting of the Muslim members of his Party and advise them to join the League and as such they were to be subject to the rules and regulations of the central and provincial boards of the League and this was not to affect the continuance of the coalition of the Unionist Party and that the existing combination was to maintain its name- the Unionist Party.

The Punjab Premier also explained the circumstances in which he was invited by the Governor to form a Government after the death of the late *Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan*. He said he had an opportunity of consulting a large number of Muslim members of the Assembly before accepting the invitation. The action of the Governor was unanimously approved at a meeting of the Muslim League Party, convened by the President of the provincial Muslim League in the 1st week of January. Subsequently at another meeting of the party on January 23, he explained that he had accepted the Governor's invitation because an emergency had arisen, but it was open to the party to have any one they liked as their leader, and he assured them that he would most faithfully abide by their decision and would support any person whom the party decided to have as their leader. "This meeting, which was very largely attended, unanimously expressed their confidence in me. The decision of the party was subsequently endorsed by the Unionist Party and the Ministerial Coalition."

He quoted a passage from the Instrument of Instructions indicating the procedure which a Governor had to adopt in making appointments to his Council of Ministers and said . "In view of this and the facts already stated by me, I am sure the House will agree that my acceptance of the Government invitation was constitutional and in accordance with the unanimous wishes of the members of the

Muslim League Party and all other parties and groups that constitute the Ministerial Party."

As regards the appointment of the 6th Minister, he said that from informal consultations with members of the Muslim League Party he had come to the conclusion that an overwhelming majority was in favour of Maj. *Shaukat Hyat Khan*. He accordingly asked Maj. *Shaukat Hyat Khan* to join the Muslim League and on his agreeing to do so he (the Speaker) advised the Governor to nominate him as a Minister.

Mr. Jinnah's Observations

The President Mr. *Jinnah*, said: "You have heard the statement of *Malik Khizar Hyat Khan*. The main object of the resolution is that a Muslim League Party in the Punjab Legislature should be set up. As explained by *Malik Khizar Hyat Khan* a party already exists. It is a different question whether it has been functioning efficiently or not. But now a definite assurance has been given that efforts will be made to make the party worthy of the prestige and honour of the sole authoritative and representative body of the Mussalmans, namely, the Muslim League. Therefore, might we not wait and see what efforts are really made?

Mr. *Jinnah* proceeded to recall the terms of the Sikandar-Jinnah Pact, and said the essence of the whole arrangement was that Muslim members of the Unionist Party were to function as a separate party. Actually, 86 members had signed their pledges and given them to him. Constitutionally, the party did exist but it did not function properly as it ought to have. Many things would have to be done to make it really efficient and strong.

Maulana Hamid Badauni, mover of the resolution regretted that the Punjab Premier before accepting the Governor's invitation had not consulted the Quid-e-Azam. He welcomed the assurances from the Premier and hoped that all Muslim Ministers in India would look up to the All-India Muslim League and its President rather than anybody else. He could not understand why he was asked not to press his resolution, which only aimed at strengthening the Muslim League in the Punjab.

Mr. *Jinnah* said: "When the Punjab Premier has given the assurance that the Muslim League Party in the Legislature will be brought on a proper footing, I do not know what the mover wants to be discussed. The basis of the resolution does not exist. The party is already there."

Maulana Hamid Badauni urged that his resolution be adjourned till the next meeting.

Mr. *Jinnah* said: "The point is not that it should be adjourned. I should consider the resolution to be out of order, but I leave it to you to withdraw.

The resolution was withdrawn.

Muslim Mass Contact

Dr. *Afzal Hussain Qadri* moved a resolution urging for the creation of a central mass organization committee to organize the Muslims, especially the masses, more effectively, and to impart to them a sound and acute political consciousness and training and also to bring about greater solidarity and contact between the Muslims of the various provinces

Mr *Jinnah* pointed out that the Muslim League Civil Defence Committee, after their first 14,000 miles' tour of each and every province of India, apart from their immediate task of organizing the Muslims to defend themselves against external and internal dangers, had brought back ample material relevant to this resolution. They were going on tour again and thus they would have another opportunity of further exploring the same subject. It was better to wait for their return and in the meantime, the resolution could stand open till the session of the All-India Muslim League Further consideration of the resolution was thereupon postponed till the next meeting.

Sind Assembly Resolution on Pakistan Endorsed

Moving a resolution approving of the Sind Assembly's action in endorsing the Pakistan scheme, *Maulana Zafar Ali Khan*, M.L.A. (Central), remarked that Sind had played its historical role. Thirteen centuries ago, Islam came to India through that province and once again, that province had shown the way by raising the banner of Pakistan. He hoped that similar resolutions would be adopted in the Punjab, Bengal and the North-west Frontier Province.

After the reolution was seconded, the Chair said that, so far as the League was concerned, it was not a controversial resolution. Therefore, further discussion was unnecessary. The resolution was put to vote and unanimously carried.

In his concluding remarks Mr. *Jinnah* expressed his pleasure that during the last few months, trying and difficult, a period of various developments in the country, it was clearly demonstrated that Muslim India stood solidly united behind the League and spoke with one voice. He said that he would review the whole situation at the forthcoming session of the All-India Muslim League in April.

Earlier, the meeting adopted a resolution of condolence on the death of Sir *Sikander Hayat Khan*, "who had rendered very valuable services to the Muslim League and who was a member of the Council and the Working Committee for many years."

Open Session of the Muslim League

30th. Session—New Delhi—24th April 1943

Presidential Address

In a tastefully decorated pandal, which was full to capacity and amid repeated shouts of 'Allah-o-Akbar' the 30th session of the All-India Muslim League commenced at New Delhi on the 24th. April 1943 under the presidency of Mr. *Mahomed Ali Jinnah*. The pandal was decorated with buntings and placards with slogans, such as "Freedom of India lies in Pakistan" There was a map of Pakistan placed at the head of the dais A feature of the audience was the presence of a large number of Muslim ladies, both inside and outside the purdah enclosure.

Long before Mr. *Jinnah's* arrival, the pandal became crowded and prominent persons were seated on the dais. They included the members of the Working Committee of the League and distinguished visitors, included among whom were Sir *Mahomed Usman*, Sir *Feroz Khan Noon*, Colonel *Khizer Hyat Khan*, Premier of the Punjab, Sir *Ghulam Hussain Hidyatullah*, Premier of Sind, Major-General Victor Odlum, Canadian Minister to China, Mr *Lao*, Secretary to the Chinese Mission in India, Nawab Bahadur *Yar Jung*, Sir *Ziauddin Ahmed*, Sir *Raza Ali* and Sir *Yamin Khan*.

Mr. *Jinnah* was dressed in white sherwani and for the first time to-day wore a button on his collar with the letter 'P' standing for Pakistan engraved on it. He was received with tremendous ovation and cheering

The proceedings started with recitation form the Koran Mr. *Jinnah* spoke for three hours and was heard with rapt attention and in pin drop silence His speech was punctuated with shouts of 'Allah-o-Akbar' 'Jinnah Zindabad' and 'Pakistan Zindabad'. There were 1.200 delegates and 350 members of the Council of the League present this morning.

In the course of his address, Mr. *M. A. Jinnah* said that nobody would welcome it more than himself if Mr. *Gandhi* was now really willing to come to a settlement with the Muslim League and that would be the greatest day both for Hindus and Muslims. He then proceeded to explain the nature of the Government under Pakistan and deprecated all loose talk about Federation

APPEAL TO HINDU PUBLIC

After charging Mr. Gandhi and other Congress leaders with systematic and deliberate attempt to establish Hindu rule in India, Mr Jinnah said : "Let us close that chapter. Even nations that have killed millions of each other—we have not done so yet—even they who were the bitterest enemies yesterday have to day become friends. That is politics. I make this appeal to the Hindu public. If your leaders are on this path, as I say they are, and if you do not approve of it, is your responsibility to come forward and say, 'Stop this internecine war. Declare a truce. Let us sit as two equals and come to a settlement'. That is now the problem of problems I ask, how can you keep on saying that it is the British who keep us apart? Of course, I grant the British take advantage of our policy. But we have devices of our own which are better than any devices that the British Government can fashion to keep us disunited (cheers). Why should not the country say. 'Unite and drive the British out?' It is no use appealing to other nations of the world."

Mr. *Jinnah* referred to the internal affairs of the League and declared.

"There is not the slightest doubt that the Muslim League is moving from strength and strength throughout India" (cheers).

He congratulated the Muslims of Bengal and particularly the youth of Bengal, and condemned the "tyranny, persecution, manoeuvring and machinations and disregard of elementary principle of justice and fairplay" resorted to by the Government headed by Mr. *Huq* and said: "We have gone through the crucible of fire in Bengal and to-day Mr. *Fazlul Luq* is no more (laughter and cheers), and I hope for the rest of his life he will be no more."

Bengal's Example

"Bengal," Mr. *Jinnah* went on, "has shown that there is no more room for duplicity. Bengal has set an example from which others may learn." (cheers).

"The League is now the voice of the people, the authority of the Millat, and you have to bow before it, even though you may be the tallest poppy in the Muslim world," he added.

The League had formed Ministries in Assam, Bengal, Sind and the Punjab, but he warned the audience not to run away with the idea that that was all they wanted. "This is only the starting point, and it is not what we are willing to make sacrifices for the Ministries We expect the Ministries to make all the sacrifices for us. So long as these Ministries remain within the orbit of the fundamental principles and policy of the League, they will certainly have our support, but I want to make it once more clear that the time has now come when we will not hesitate to withdraw our support from any Ministry." (cheers).

Referring to Sind, he asserted it would be no exaggeration to say that almost 99 per cent of Muslims were with the League In the North-West Frontier Province, which was the only Province which remained under Section 93, his information was that within the last 16 or 18 months, it was entirely with the Muslim League That information was based on the testimony of foreign correspondents who had been there and examined the situation Similar was the position in the Punjab. "But I regret to say that the Punjab has not yet played the part that it ought to play and is entitled to play, because, remember the Punjab is the corner-stone of Pakistan I particularly appeal to the delegates from the Punjab The people are all right. I appeal to the delegates, and I ask them to substitute love of Islam and Muslim nation in place of sectional interests, jealousies, tribal notions and selfishness. These evils have overpowered you, and your being ground down. But I think I see light a very bright light. I was very happy to see throughout my tour of the Punjab last November that the people are all right and quite sound. My appeal is to the leaders, and I assure you that if our leaders in the Punjab,—and we have got able and capable men—if they will make up their minds, I feel confident that within six months the face of the Punjab will be changed."

Hindu-Muslim Differences

Mr. *Jinnah* gave the background of the freedom movement in India and traced the development of the constitution from 1861 onwards. Quoting from the late Mr. *Gokhale's* statements, Mr. *Jinnah* said it was *Gokhale* and *Dadabhoy Naoroji*, at whose feet he had sat, who inspired Mussalmans with the hope of a fair and reasonable adjustment between Hindus and Muslims. Mr. *Jinnah* quoted extensively from Mr. *Gandhi's* writings to show that he was inspired by the aim of establishing a Hindu Raj, and continued: "Now we are told repeatedly by the organized Press in India that the Muslim League is a communal organisation. It is the Hindu leaders who have deliberately and with a set purpose destroyed any possible chance of the adjustment between these two communities, by well planned and sytematic manoeuvres and by organizing themselves and then calling themselves nationalists and democrats. I ask you, Is this nationalism and democracy? (Cries of No, no).

"We learnt democracy 1300 years ago (cheers). It is in our blood, and it is as far away from the Hindu society as the Artic regions. It is we who learned the lessons of equality of man and brotherhood of man. Among yourselves one caste will not drink a cup of water from another. We are for democracy but not the democracy of your conception, which will turn the whole of India into a *Gandhi Asram*. I say, give up this pose. You have made your bed. You may lie on it. Have your Hindu nationalism. Have your democracy to your heart's content. Have your Hindustan if you can. I wish you God-speed, but we are not going, so long as life is left in a single Mussalman, to have that type of democracy." Quoting the reply given by Lord *Carson*, Ulster Leader, to Mr. *Raymond*, he would say to Mr. *Gandhi*: "I don't want to be ruled by you." (cheers).

CONGRESS MOVE TO ENFORCE FREEDOM OF SPEECH

After referring to the failure of the *Cripps* proposals, Mr. *Jinnah* dwelt on the plan to launch individual civil disobedience to enforce freedom of speech and said . "I think even if it was our own Government, if I had any say in the matter, and if an organisation, the most powerful in the country, with all its resources, wanted to be let loose to preach against war effort, I would put them in jail. How do you expect any Government to allow this thing to be carried on ? (Cheers). Was is really intended to vindicate freedom of speech, or was it intended to crush the British Government ?"

After commenting on the "new technique" of the Congress and the "Quit India" resolution, Mr. *Jinnah* said "The British say that in resisting the Congress they are protecting us. We say, 'Nothing of the kind. We don't believe that you love us so much.' We know it suits them and they are taking the fullest advantage of the situation, because if there is any agreement between Hindus and Muslims, then they know the net result of that would be parting with power. If we can not secure power as a united India, then let us take it as divided India. (Cheers).

BRITISH GOVT'S. POLICY

The British, said Mr. *Jinnah*, knew full well that Hindus and Muslims would not agree, and if by some means or other they could agree, then it would be nothing but a cock-pit of fued under the umbrella of a united India, with the Englishman on top. *Lord Linlithgow* and Mr. *Amery*, who were of the pucca diehard brand, were dangling the carrot before the donkey by saying that geographically India was one and that under *Akbar* India was united If by any miracle Hindus and Muslims came to an agreed constitution on the basis of a united India, it could only be done for British India, and then the biggest hurdle would be the Indian States There were a series of hurdles.

"This," said Mr. *Jinnah*, "is the policy of the British Government pursued for a hundred years. Not only have they somehow or other made us miss the bus, but put us on the wrong bus. (Cheers). "I say to the Hindus—and the British know it—the quickest way for the freedom of the people of India, both Hindus and Muslims, is Pakistan. (cheers), whether it comes in my lifetime or not. (Cries, 'It will') : I can say this with a clear conscience My regret is that it is the Congress and Hindu leadership that is holding up the attainment of freedom for both Hindus and Muslims."

NATIONAL GOVT. PROPOSAL

Mr. *Jinnah* referred to the recent correspondence between Mr. *Gandhi* and *Lord Linlithgow* in which Mr *Gandhi* observed that the Congress was prepared to let the *Qaid-e-Azam* form a National Government for the duration of the war, such a Government being responsible to a duly elected Assembly. What, asked Mr. *Jinnah*, would be left if this proviso about responsibility to the Legislature was carried out ? *Lord Linlithgow* would immediately be turned into a constitutional Governor-General, if he did not get the kick (laughter) The Secretary of State would be abolished, the India Office and His Majesty's Government would be abolished. This simple proposal could only be brought into effect by repealing completely the present constitution. It could not be done otherwise. Then it would follow that the Provincial Governments should also be overhauled. It would mean undertaking the framing of an entirely new constitution for the whole of India.

Mr. *Jinnah* said : "If we proceed on that basis immediately, is it not obvious that once that basis is accepted, the Pakistan demand is destroyed at once, to say nothing of the bitter controversy that will arise on the basis of the constitution to be set up as described by Mr. *Gandhi*, namely, a Government responsible to the duly elected Legislature. If such a constitution comes into being, it means without doubt the establishment of Hindu and Congress Raj '

GANDHI INVITED TO WRITE

"Nobody will welcome it more than myself if Mr. *Gandhi* is now really willing to come to a settlement with the Muslim League. Let me tell you that will be the greatest day both for Hindus and Muslims. If that is Mr. *Gandhi's* desire, what is there to prevent him from writing direct to me ? (Cheers). Who is there that can prevent him from doing so ? (renewed cheers). What is the use of going to the Viceroy ? Strong as this Government may be in this country, I cannot believe that they will have the daring to stop such a letter if it is sent to me (more cheers). It will be a very serious thing indeed if such a letter were stopped."

Mr. *Jinnah* proceeded : "Mr. *Gandhi* gets all the information and knows what is going on. If there is any change of heart on his part, he has only to drop a few lines to me. Then the Muslim League will not fail, whatever may have been our controversy before." (hear, hear and cheers).

Referring to the nature of the Government under Pakistan, Mr. *Jinnah* declared they visualised it as a people's government. "When we passed the Lahore resolution, we did not use the word Pakistan at all." Mr. *Jinnah* said : "who gave us this word ? (shouts of "Hindus.") Let me tell you this is their folly. They started damning this on the ground that it was Pakistan. They foisted this word upon us and they talked of Pan-Islamism. We ourselves went on for a long time using the phrase "the Lahore Resolution popularly known as Pakistan". But how long are we to have this long phrase ? I say to Hindu and British friends, we thank you for giving us one word." (cheers).

Deprecating talk of some sort of loose federation, Mr. *Jinnah* declared : "There is no such thing as a loose federation. When a central federal government is established it will tighten and tighten until the units are pulverised in the matter of real power, and reduced to the same status as Indian States at present."

"We are opposed to any such scheme. It is bound in the long run to lead to certain emasculation of the entire Muslim nation, socially, educationally, culturally, economically and politically and to the establishment of a Hindu majority raj in this sub-continent. Therefore, dismiss from your mind any idea of this kind that might lure you."

Mr. *Jinnah* gave a warning to "landlords and capitalists who have flourished at our expense by a system which is vicious and wicked,' and said : "Believe me, I have seen them, there are millions of our people getting hardly one meal a day. Is this civilisation ? Is this the aim of Pakistan ? (cries of no). If that is going to be the result of Pakistan I will not have it. If these landlords and capitalists are wise they will adjust themselves to the new and modern conditions of life. If they do not God help them. We will not help them." (Cheers).

Proceeding to speak about the British Government, Mr. *Jinnah* said they had declared the Congress was a rebel organisation, that it was only one party and the overwhelming majority of the people of India was not with the Congress and that the people of India were with the British Government. Having declared Congress an outlaw, what had the Government done to the others ? By their own admission the British were confessing that their desire and anxiety to move in the direction of handing over power to the people was held up successfully by the Congress, which was a rebel organisation. It was a confession of failure on their part. Either the people of India were at the back of the Congress or not. If the overwhelming majority were not—certainly the hundred million Muslims were not —then what was the answer to India ?

The Muslim League had been accused of not helping the war effort. "I say that so far as Muslim India is concerned our cup of bitterness is nearly full. I once more draw the British Government's attention to this. It is a very serious situation indeed, and the British Government ought to be kept informed. I inform them from this platform that the bitterness and disappointment at the shabby treatment meted out to Muslim India is a danger to them (Cheers). Therefore, reconsider your position. Guarantee the Muslim right of self-determination and give a pledge to abide by the plebiscite of Mussalmans for Pakistan."

It was thoroughly dishonest, Mr. *Jinnah* continued, on the part of the British Government to say that the League were non-co-operating. The Muslim League said it could not co-operate. "You want me to come as a camp follower. What are the prospects for me? If I am defeated, Japan or Hitler will come. If I win, I am to be a camp follower and get a bakshish. Is this an incentive to co-operation ? Can any honourable, respectable nation accept that position? (Cries of no) Therefore, really they have blundered and are blundering or don't want to part with power and are taking their chance, as a gambler does, saying to themselves, "If we win, we will keep them where they are. If we lose, then after us the deluge."

Dwelling on the nature of the constitution under Pakistan, Mr. *Jinnah* said it would be a constitution which would be framed by the Millat and the people. "See that you make a constitution which is after your heart's desire" he exhorted his audience. The only question was about the minorities. Minorities, he said, were entitled to get definite assurances. Those assurances were part of the Lahore Resolution. The whole history of Islam, the Holy Book of the Prophet

and the policy followed by Muslim Governments were the clearest proof that non-Muslims had been treated not only justly and fairly but generously.

THE SOUTH AFRICAN BILL

Mr. *Jinnah* commented on the South African Bill and asserted: "There can be no doubt that this legislation is the blackest of its kind. That it should have been undertaken at this stage is amazing" On the one hand, every unit of the Empire was asked to contribute to the war effort and Indians were considered good enough to stand side by side with the whites in the battlefield, but on the other hand, this badge of the colour bar was the reward for one of the members who was contributing her share. He was astonished that the Secretary of State for India should say he had no statement to make, while the whole of India was condemning this Bill, including even the Government of India, which was an agent of the British Government. "Can we not learn a lesson from that with regard to our internal political controversies?"

Mr. *Jinnah* said things were not at all well in the Indian States in which Hindus were in a majority, such as Kashmir and Kotah. He thought they might set a better example. Similarly, where there was a Muslim Ruler with a Muslim majority he ought to set a good example, and if anything was brought to his notice against a Muslim Ruler, he would be equally grieved.

Mr *Jinnah* referred to the emergence of the Muslims as a decisive factor in Modern India and said: "You have to play your role It is time now to take up the constructive programme, so that we can march along the road that will take us to Pakistan. It is for you to put your heads together and undertake a proper and systematic planning. I can only repeat that we as a nation have got to adopt a real concerted programme for educational, social, economic, cultural and political uplift. I will conclude by saying this. The goal is near us. Stand united, persevere and march forward (cheers)."

Dealing with the freedom movement in India, Mr. *Jinnah* said that step by step during the last twenty-five years, the Hindu leadership, particularly that of Mr. *Gandhi*, had alienated the Mussalmans resulting in their demand for the partition of India. Men like *Dadabhoy Naoroji* and *Gokhale* had realism and vision They had a sense of fair play and justice. For instance, *Gokhale* in 1907 declared "Confronted by an overwhelming Hindu majority, Muslims are naturally afraid that release from the British yoke might in their case mean enslavement to the Hindus. This fear is not to be ridiculed. Were the Hindus similarly situated as are the Mussalmans in regard to numbers, would they not have entertained similar misgivings?" These were men who inspired Mussalmans with the hope of fair and reasonable adjustment between them and the Hindus.

Then came Mr *Gandhi* on the Indian horizon As early as May 1920, Mr. *Gandhi* announced that "for me there are no politics but religion. They subserve religion" Mr. *Gandhi* said that he had been experimenting with himself and his friends in politics "and he has done so with a vengeance" said Mr. *Jinnah*. Writing in the *Young India* in 1921, Mr. *Gandhi* defined faith as follows: "I call myself a Sanatani Hindu, because, firstly I believe in the Vedas, the Upanishads, the Puranas and all that goes by the name of Hindu scriptures and therefore in Avatars and rebirth. Secondly, I believe in the Varnasnrama Dharma (law of the caste system) and its Vedic form and thirdly I believe in the protection of the cow as an article of faith, and fourthly I do not disbelieve in idol worship"

Later on in 1924, Mr. *Gandhi* declared: "It has been whispered that by going so much with Muslim friends I make myself unfit to know the Hindu mind The Hindu mind is myself and every fibre of my body is Hindu."

"And yet," said Mr. *Jinnah*, "when I wanted Mr. *Gandhi* to meet me as a Hindu, he refused to do so." (Laughter). Proceeding, Mr. *Jinnah* said that from 1925 onwards many efforts were made for the adjustment of the communal issue. Everytime the Mussalmans were the petitioners, standing at the door of Mr. *Gandhi* and his friends. The Hindus never made any counter proposal. In 1927, the Mussalmans made certain proposals, which were substantially accepted by the Congress at Madras. Two committees then were set up to work out further details. It was Mr. Gandhi who smashed up these committees and forced the Mussalmans to withdraw from them. Then came the Nehru Report which provoked even the one-time Congress leader, *Maulana Mohammed Ali*, to declare that it would mean the Government of India by the Hindu Mahasabha.

Mr. *Jinnah* next referred to the Second Round Table Conference where

Mr. *Gandhi* had gone as the sole representative of the Congress. Mr. *Gandhi's* one anxiety was to prevent the scheduled castes getting any special treatment and on that basis alone he was prepared to settle with the Mussalmans. At the Minorities Committee of the R. T. C., Mr. *Gandhi's* observations that a solution of the communal question would follow the establishment of Swaraj, made Mr. *Ramsay Macdonald* to retort, "Be honest and face facts. The communal problem is a problem of fact. Does the problem exist in India or does it not? I do not answer. I leave you honestly to answer it for yourself and to yourselves."

Mr. *Jinnah* next referred to the speech of *Seth Govindas* when, as Chairman of the Reception Committee of the Tripuri Session of the Congress, he declared: "Our Congress organisation can be compared to the Fascist Party of Italy, the Nazi Party of Germany and the Communist Party of Russia and *Mahatma Gandhi* occupied the same position among Congressmen as that held by Mussolini among Fascists Hitler among Nazis and Stalin among Communists. The Congress, as at present constituted, is the creation of *Mahatma Gandhi*".

As to the question what Mr. *Gandhi* had done, Mr. *Jinnah* detailed nine Gandhi institutions. They were the Gandhi Ashram, the Gandhi Seva Sangha, the Gandhi Harijan Seva Sangha, the Gandhi Hindi Prachar Sangha, the Gandhi Nagri Prachar Sabha, the Gandhi Gram Sudhar Sabha, the Gandhi Khadi Pratisthan and the Gandhi Cow Raksha Sabha Mr. *Jinnah* said that the Gandhi Seva Sangha was the Mother Superior of all these institutions (laughter.) Mr. *Gandhi*, besides dividing the whole sub-continent of India into three definite parliamentary zones and appointing three parliamentary zone dictators, also gradually developed permanent deputy Mahatmas in almost all the provinces and zones. The object of these was nothing less than the production of a new privileged caste of Gandhists who alone were thought fit to hold office or rule the country.

ATTITUDE TO FEDERATION

Defining the League's attitude to a 'loose federation," Mr. *Jinnah* said: "There are people who talk of some sort of a loose federation. There are people who talk of giving the widest freedom to the federating units and residuary powers resting with the units. But they forget the entire constitutional history of the various parts of the world. Federation, however described and in whatever terms it is put, must ultimately deprive the federating units of authority in all vital matters. The units, despite themselves, would be compelled to grant more and more powers to the central authority until in the end a strong Central Government will have been established by the units themselves and they will be driven to do so by absolute necessity. We are opposed to any such scheme, nor can we agree to any proposal which has for its basis any conception or idea of a Central Government, federal or confederal, for it is bound to lead in the long run to the emasculation of the entire Muslim nation, socially and politically, and to the establishment of Hindu majority Raj in this sub-continent."

Resolutions—2nd. Day—New Delhi—25th April 1943

The second sitting of the open session of the League commenced on the **25th. April 1943**, Mr. *M. A. Jinnah* presiding.

The proceedings opened with the presenting of the annual report by the Honorary Secretary, *Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan*.

The report explained in detail the events leading to the rejection of the Cripps' proposals. It paid a tribute to Mr. *C. Rajagopalachari* for his foresight and political sagacity in his attempts to persuade the Congress to concede the principle of self-determination to the Mussalmans and to the discipline and solidarity of Mussalmans particularly in keeping aloof from the Congress movement of August last.

The League, said the report, had no opportunity to solve the deadlock. On the one side, the Government kept the door locked and on the other side, Congress remained adamant. The report also referred to the activities of the Muslim League Defence Committee. The other outstanding achievements of the year were the establishment of Ministries in Sind and Bengal and conversion of the weekly *Dawn* into a daily paper.

The session adopted a condolence resolution on the death of *Sir Abdulla Haroon* and *Sir Sikander Hyat Khan*.

THE SOUTH AFRICAN BILL

Mr. *Z. H. Lari* next moved the resolution on South Africa.

By this resolution, the Muslim League "strongly condemns the Trading and

Occupation of Land (Natal and Transvaal) Bill passed by the South African Parliament and makes it clear that, if the Bill is assented to by the Crown, it will lead to the gravest breach between the Indians and South Africans and will go to sap the foundations of the future of the Commonwealth of Nations. The session urges on the Government of India to intervene in the matter immediately and calls upon the Union Government to refrain from enforcing the Bill and convene an R. T. C. between the Government of India and the Union Government to explore all possible methods of arriving at an amicable settlement of the situation that has arisen. It is the considered opinion of the Muslim League that the only solution of the Indian problem in South Africa is the enfranchisement of Indian settlers there. The session urges upon the Government of India that in case the Union Government fails to convene the R T. C. immediately and enforces the Bill they should examine the position with a view to bringing into operation forthwith some of the provisions of the Reciprocity Act recently passed by the Indian Central Legislature."

Mr. Lari said India could never neglect the interests of her nationals abroad. Although India was not in a position to effectively protect such interest on account of her present dependent position, yet the course of protest was open to her. He explained the history of the Indian problem in South Africa and said that Indians were being humiliated in that country. He hoped the Union Government would see the wisdom of agreeing to the demand for holding a Round Table Conference. If to-day we were not listened to, the day was not far off when we would be able to retaliate against the ill-treatment of our nationals.

Sir Raza Ali, Government of India's former Agent-General in South Africa, seconding the resolution said that the condition of Indians in South Africa was pitiable. He criticised the speech of Field-Marshal Smuts in support of the "Pegging" Bill and observed that while on the one hand he was conscious of the delicacy of the situation, yet it made no difference to his determination to see the Bill through. The South African Premier had suave words for Indians but his action was altogether different. Had India been free her nationals would not have been treated like this. The resolution was unanimously carried.

FOOD SITUATION

Sir Ziauddin Ahmed moved the following resolution on food:—

"Whereas the Government is responsible for the supply of necessities of life to the people of India—specially during war time when the movement of merchandise is controlled entirely by the Government—whereas the marked disparity between prices fixed by the Government for their own purchases and the prices at which the civil population is forced to buy the same articles is against all sound theories of economics and leads to corruption, black markets and exploitation of the public, whereas the policy of control as devised and practised by the capitalists, traders and manufacturers in the name of the Government has failed to achieve its purpose, is encouraging hoarding and abnormal profiteering and causing misery to the people in general and the poorer classes in particular the Muslim League urges on the Government of India the necessity of framing their policy of control and distribution of the necessities of life not so much in consultation with capitalists and officials as in consultation with the representatives of the people and of ensuring that (1) necessities of life are made available to the people and are not locked up by distributors (2) they are sold at reasonable prices providing economic profit to the producers (3) distributors are selected from all classes of people and (4) retail shops are opened in every quarter of a town

"The Muslim League further demands that the representatives of the people, specially of the Muslim League, should be associated with the officials and capitalists at every stage in the planning and execution of schemes of production and distribution."

Sir Ziauddin said that the Government had no courage to face textile interests and cotton piecegoods were being sold at abnormally high prices while the scheme for standard cloth had been in the making for the last two years. Coal was another article in the control of which the Government had greatly bungled, particularly because consumers' interests had not been consulted As for food grains, the Government controlled the prices without controlling the supplies. The system of distribution was equally defective. If the present conditions continued he was afraid the worst sufferers would be the Mussalmans and the poorer classes in India. It was bound to weaken the home front.

Supporting the resolution, Mr *Hoosain Imam* said that the Government was

completely divorced from public opinion. The business were only actuated by profit-making incentive and not by human feelings. The price of standard cloth had been increased by 25 per cent even before the cloth had been placed on the market. He regretted that the Government had not effectively dealt with the profiteers and industrialists in the same way they had dealt with the political agitators. The resolution was passed.

COLLECTIVE FINES

Syed Zakir Ali moved the resolution on collective fines *vis-a-vis* Mussalmans. This resolution recorded "emphatic protest against (1) imposition of collective fines on the Mussalmans notwithstanding the Government's clear declaration that Mussalmans kept strictly aloof from the subversive movement launched by the Congress and (2) non-exemption of the Mussalmans from collective security orders which have been passed as a punitive measure."

Syed Zakir Ali said that defence committees had been set up all over India before August last. The result was that through the efforts of these defence committees, Mussalmans were successfully kept away from the Congress movement. He added the following to the resolution: "The policy of issuing licenses for the sale and distribution of foodstuffs and other necessaries of life to the overwhelmingly non-Muslim dealers and demands that the collective fines realized from the Mussalmans be remitted and they may be exempted from the operation of the orders regarding collective security and watch and ward and urges the issue of licenses to Muslim dealers in due proportion."

Mr. *Padshah* supported the resolution and said that in Madras a Mussalman has to prove his alibi before he could be exempted.

The resolution was further supported by *Khan Bahadur Mohammed Ismail* of Bihar and was adopted. The session then adjourned.

Resolutions—3rd. Day—New Delhi—26th. April 1943

EXECUTION OF PIR PAGARO

The third and last sitting of the League started on the 26th. April 1943. Mr. *Jinnah* was in the chair.

Maulana *Abdul Hamid Badauni* moved his resolution about the execution of Pir Pagaro. Nawabzada *Liaquat Ali Khan* seconded and the session adopted it unanimously. The resolution stated: "This session of the All-India Muslim League deplores the unjustifiable action of the Government inasmuch as retrospective effect was given to Martial Law and Pir Pagaro was tried by the Martial Law Court instead of by the normal judicial tribunal of the land for offences alleged to have been committed before the introduction of Martial Law in the areas of of Sind concerned and the sentence of death passed against him by such a Court was executed" The Nawabzada, in a brief speech, said that incident depicted an act of injustice.

MARTIAL LAW IN SIND

A second resolution concerning Martial Law in Sind was moved by *Mustapha Shah Gilani* urging the authorities to entrust the properties and treasures of Pir Pagaro to a Committee to be appointed by the Sind Government The speaker alluded to the difference in treatment meted out to the Hurs and the Congress, 'both of whom were, in the eyes of the Government, rebels," and asked why it was so. The resolution was supported by Nawab *Siddiq Ali Khan* M. L. A. (Central) and was unanimously passed.

The third resolution protesting against the continuance of Martial Law in Sind was moved by Mr *G. M. Syed*, who traced the unrest in Sind to the Allah Bux Ministry. He said the law-abiding section of the population were suffering great hardships on account of the continuance of Martial Law. He demanded its immediate withdrawal and hoped that the Government of India would accede to this demand.

Mr. *S. H. Abdul Majid Sindhi* said the present Martial Law unlike past practice was not preceded by a Proclamation by the Governor-General. He said it was still not known under what authority or provision of the Government of India Act Martial Law was enforced. No satisfactory explanation had been forthcoming from the Government The resolution was carried.

The Honorary Secretary, Nawabzada *Liaquat Ali Khan*, through a resolution, reconstituted a committee of women for the purpose of propagating the League's programme amongst Muslim women.

The Nawabzada also announced certain amendments to the Constitution of the League. The session approved the amendments.

DECLARATION REGARDING PAKISTAN

Chowdhury Khaliquazzaman moved the main resolution of the session, which was as follows:

"This session of the All-India Muslim League views with concern and grave apprehension the failure of the British Government to make an explicit declaration asked for in the resolution passed by the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League, in Bombay, on the 20th of August 1942.

"Since that resolution was passed, the speeches and statements made by responsible British statesmen, both in England and in India lead to the conviction that not only the declaration such as was asked for will not be forthcoming but that some kind of federal constitution, not necessarily on the model embodied in the Act of 1935 is under contemplation. This session, therefore, warns the British Government in all earnestness that the imposition of such a federal constitution will be resisted by Muslim India with all its might, which will inevitably result in strife, bloodshed and misery, the responsibility for which will rest on the British Government alone

"This session of the All-India Muslim League is convinced that the attainment of the cherished goal of Pakistan is only possible by the untiring effort, willing sacrifices and grim determination of the Muslims, and they should therefore do their utmost to acquire the strength requisite for such an undertaking."

Chowdhury Khaliquzzaman said that the resolution was self-explanatory. He traced the history of the constitutional deadlock since the beginning of the war *vis-a-vis* the Congress attitude towards the Muslims. The Congress, he said, focussed its attention on the future and demanded a declaration of war aims and peace aims. The League, on the other hand, declared that it was prepared to share in the mobilisation of the war effort on the basis of equality. Then came the August Declaration of 1940, which made it clear that no constitution would be acceptable to the British Government unless it had the approval of the Muslims. That put up the back of the Congress which started "individual civil disobedience"

The Bombay resolution of August 20th. 1942, *inter alia* demanded of the British Government an unequivocal declaration without delay, guaranteeing to the Mussalmans the right of self-determination and to pledge themselves that they will abide by the verdict of a plebiscite of Mussalmans and give effect to the Pakistan scheme in consonance with the basic principles laid down by the Lahore resolution of the All-India Muslim League, passed in March 1940 By the Bombay resolution the League also expressed itself ready and willing to consider any proposals and negotiate with any party on a footing of equality for the setting up of a provisional Government of India in order to mobilise the resources of the country for the purpose of the defence of India and the successful prosecution of the war, provided the demands of Muslim India as indicated above are conceded unequivocally.

"MUSLIMS WILL NOT ACCEPT FEDERATION"

The Cripps scheme conceded self determination on provincial basis, which led to the "Quit India Movement." The suppression of the Congress had changed the attitude of the British and their spokesmen had started the slogan of 'India geographically one" The Hindus would prefer to rot in jail rather than settle with the Muslims. The Muslims, meanwhile, were becoming stronger. Their Ministries had been set up in four Provinces and would soon be established in the fifth. He made it clear that the Muslims would never accept federation or confederation or any improved constitution. The Muslims could not be fooled and did not believe in non-violence. He challenged the British that they would never be able to impose any federal or confederal constitution on the Muslims, nor would the Muslims ever go again before the British with a beggar's bowl for concession. They would have free Governments in their majority Provinces and would see how the British imposed their will on them The Muslim minorities in the Congress Provinces made it impossible for the Congress to govern them without going to jail. They, the Muslims, knew the art and could defeat with success any attempt of the British to impose any unwanted constitution on them.

Mr *Gazder*, seconding the resolution, characterised it as revolutionary. It was clear that no nation got freedom by merely asking for it. He exhorted the Muslims to get ready to make sacrifices, for it was only by sacrifices that they would achieve their goal. The Muslims were not going to beg for their freedom.

PUNJAB PREMIER'S SUPPORT

The *Punjab Premier*, amid loud cheers, rose to support the resolution. He said his last statement, made at the meeting of the Council of the All-India Muslim League, was before the public. He assured them that the Punjab Muslims were with their brothers of the other Provinces and if any obstacles were put either by the British or the Congress in the way of the legitimate and reasonable demands of the Muslims, the Punjab Muslims would not lag behind others in making sacrifices. He reminded them that the Lahore resolution of the League was passed in the land of the five rivers Their right of self-determination was not unjust, and he assured the Hindus and Sikhs and other minorities that they need have no fear of the usurpations of their rights and claims.

Mr. *Abdul Hamid Khan* (Madras) further supported the resolution. The first part of the resolution dealt with the period of negotiations during which the Muslim League made its demand from the Government and the Congress. The Congress summarily rejected their demand, and made the claim to speak for the whole of India. The Congress denied the Muslims right of self-determination. The British had changed their tune after they had put the Congress in jail. They had not shown any response to the Muslim demand. On the other hand, recent indications had created apprehensions among the Muslims that some form of federal constitution was under contemplation for India.

Mr. *Abdul Matin Chaudhri* (Assam Minister) further supported the resolution. He said the Congress movement of August last was not only against the British but was also against the Muslims of India, whom the Congress wanted to dominate. The Muslims kept aloof from the Congress movement. The resolution demanded of Muslims to stand on their feet. It declared Muslim opposition to any imposed constitution and he assured the session that they would have the full support of Assam Muslims.

Sardar Aurangzeb Khan (N. W.F.) further supporting the resolution, said that the Muslims were a separate nation and were entitled to their homelands. The Muslims were for free India and free Pakistan. It was their birthright and they shall have it. The cup of Muslim patience had overflown and the result was the resolution. They, the Muslims, should lose no time and like Turkey of to-day should organise themselves in every village and town to face the danger.

Moulvi *Latifur Rahman* (Bihar), supporting the resolution, said that their religion was the bond which kept them together. He assured the audience of the full support of Bihar Muslims to their efforts to win Pakistan.

Maulana Akram Khan, President, Bengal Muslim League, gave full support to the resolution on behalf of the Muslims of his province He said that the time for begging for Pakistan had passed by. The time for grim determination and organisation of the Muslims had arrived in order to achieve their goal of Pakistan If, according to the Koran, one was killed for his ideal, he became a "Shahid", a martyr. He said that the colouring of the map into Pakistan and Hindustan would soon disappear, as every country belonged to the Muslims, because every country belonged to God."

Sir *A. K. Dehlavi* from Bombay said that there was no need of a speech on behalf of the Bombay Presidency from which the Qaide-Azam came. He said the Muslims did not envisage "non-violent non-co-operation" to fight the imposition of a form of constitution detrimental to their interest, but would adopt methods which had been employed in the past for winning freedom.

Qazi Isa Khan (Baluchistan), said that the resolution did not imply a reiteration of the Pakistan demand but it was a further step towards their goal. The resolution demanded solid work. It was an ultimatum to the British Government because the Muslims knew that their non-Muslim brethren were powerless to give anything to them. The power was held by the British and the ultimatum was, therefore, directed to the British. He appealed to Muslims to be ready to fight and die for their ideal. He had full confidence in the capacity of Muslims. He derided H. E. the Viceroy's reference to "India's geographical unity" and Mr. Amery's reference to the days when Akbar ruled and said Muslims would be only too pleased to be restored to the position they held in Akbar's days. He said their hand of friendship was extended for co-operation with the British on the basis of equality, but they were not prepared to have any humiliating pact. To say that the masses of India were with the British Government was a lie. He described the Muslim Members of the Viceroy's Executive Council as Quislings and not representatives of Muslims in any sense

Nawab Sir. *Mohd Yusuf* (United Provinces) said the resolution was the pith of Mr. *Jinnah's* presidential address. The Muslims wanted the right of self-determination to be conceded to them and they would oppose all constitutions which denied this. *Syed Rauf Shah* (Central Provinces) said a living nation was not afraid of death and attainment of Pakistan by the help of the others was "tantamount to going to hell." *Begum Aizaz Rassul*, supporting the resolution, remarked that it seemed when all Provinces were exhausted, it was the turn of the women. In other words, the women came last of all.

Nawabzada Liaqat Ali, interjecting, said "No. Women were dominating every Province" *Begum Rassul* assured that Muslim women were alive to their share of responsibility and were ready to make all sacrifices They would resist any imposition of a constitution which went against the interests of Muslims and would assist the men as Muslim women used to help men in times of crisis in the early days of Islamic history

The *Raja of Mahmudabad* said that for the Muslims the means justified the end and not *vice-versa*. Sacrifice was incumbent on Muslims, when they saw that Islam was in danger. As the President of the Muslim Students' Federation he exhorted the youth to get ready for sacrifices

The resolution was carried with acclamation.

ARAB INDEPENDENCE

The following resolution was then put from the chair and adopted :—

"This session of the All-India Muslim League views with great concern and alarm the new Zionist propaganda and move in U S A which is putting pressure on the U. S. A Government for exercising its influence with the British Government firstly to remove all present restrictions on Jewish immigration in Palestine and secondly to adopt the policy of converting Palestine into a Jewish State. In the opinion of this session the aim of this new Zionist move is to make Jewish majority in Palestine a *fait accompli* by opening her doors to the Jewish war refugees on the ground of war emergency and prosecution of the Jews in Europe.

"This session condemns this new move as a deliberate attempt to perpetuate a wrong on the Arab and Islamic world at a time when the Arab National Higher Committee of Palestine stands disowned and the Arab nationalists are at present almost defenceless against organised Jewry and high finance in the world.

"This session reiterating its demands for the fulfilment of Arab national demands for Arab independence in Palestine and Syria, solemnly warns the British Government against any step or move which may prove detrimental to Arab national interests and declares that such a policy will be bitterly resented by the whole Arab and Islamic world as an outrage on democracy and justice and inalienable Arab rights to their homelands."

NEW POWERS FOR PRESIDENT

Mian Bashir Ahmad proposed, and *Khan Bakht Jamal* seconded, and Maulana *Jamal Ilyas* supported the resolution empowering the President, Mr *Jinnah*, till the next session of the League, to take every step or action as he may consider necessary in furtherance of and relating to the objects of the Muslim League, as he deems proper, provided they are consistent with the principles, policy and goal of the League or any resolutions expressly passed by the session of the All-India Muslim League The resolution was unanimously carried.

MR JINNAH'S REMARKS

Mr. *Jinnah*, in adjourning the session, declared that there was no map of Pakistan to which the Muslim League was committed directly or indirectly. They were attempts by individuals to which the League was not committed.

Similarly there was no scheme of Pakistan to which the League was committed directly or indirectly in any way whatsoever except the Lahore Resolution. Mr. *Jinnah* said · "I know many attempts are being made by our opponents to father upon us some scheme or map and 'hang the dog after giving it a bad name'. I will say give up these futile attempts "

With the approval of the House, Mr. *Jinnah* announced that the next session of the League will be held in Sind during Christmas.

Mr Jinnah said that the Delhi session was a historic session held in a historic city and had passed a resolution, which was a turning point in their history. He was glad to say that the session had attracted the biggest audience so far at any session of the League.

The All India Momin Conference

Eighth Session—New Delhi—26th. to 28th. April 1943

Presidential Address

The eighth session of the All-India Momin Conference was held in the Queen's Gardens, New Delhi on the 26th. April 1943. Over 15,000 persons including 1,500 delegates and 800 Ansar volunteers attended. Those present included Mr. *Abdul Qaiyum Ansari*, Mr *A. Sayeed*, Mr. *A A. Mohmed Noon*, M.L.C. (Bihar), Mr. *Reyazuddin Ahmed*, Mr. *Zahir-ul-Huq*, Mr. *Nizam-ud-Din*, *Haji Abdul Kadir* and *Kasim Latafat*.

The flag-hoisting ceremony was performed in the evening by Mr. *Abdul Mohmed Noon* who asked the audience to respect their flag and unite under the banner to protect the rights of the Momins.

Mr. *Zahir ud-din*, President, in the course of his address said —

"The solution of the Indian problem should be the just care of the United Nations. Prestige may dilate, but statesmanship demands that the old notions must be discarded and a fresh attempt made to gratify the national aspirations of India." The President refuted the claim of the Muslim League to represent the entire Muslim community. He called it "wrong", 'mischievous' and "misleading". He claimed that four and a half crores of Momins were definitely not with the Muslim League and their Pakistan scheme. Speaking against the Pakistan scheme, Mr. *Zahir-ud-din* said: "If Pakistan is attained by the Muslim League, it will prove detrimental to the interests of the Muslims The Muslim minorities in Hindu India will become like Moplahs and Hurs and I am confident that the Pakistans will not come to the aid of the Muslims in minority Provinces."

"India must define her attitude towards the war It is true that there has been a favourable response towards the British Government's call for co-operation in the war effort but this response does not indicate the spirit to win or die, which would otherwise mobilise all the forces of Indian nationalism on the side of the Allies and sweep away the entire strength of the Axis powers and wreck the entire war machine which has challenged civilization"

Mr. *Zahir-ud-din* added. "The present policy of inaction and indecision is becoming increasingly unpalatable to a large majority of those who are keenly conscious of the Government's failure to end the deadlock in the country. The policy of sitting on the fence exhibits bankruptcy of statesmanship and their attitude to Mahatma Gandhi's release exposed their false political facade in entirety. This political disguise should now go They should declare their faith in co-operation, unconditional and unfettered Even the policy of the Congress is nothing but one of frustration and desperation We want that the Government should enable Congress leadership to review the present situation in the light of recent events and thus make room for rapprochment."

Concluding, the President condemned the attitude of the Government of South Africa regarding the colour bar and said: 'It is one of the blackest spots in history. It is a wonder that the Bill is being passed by the South Africa Government at a time when the Allies have declared to the whole world that they are fighting for freedom, fair-play and justice. The British Government should hang down its head in shame and cease to talk of a British Commonwealth of Free Nations. South Africa must take note that India will never forget these wrongs done to her."

Resolutions—2nd. Day—New Delhi—27th. April 1943

On the next day, the 27th April, the Subjects Committee met and discussed resolutions.

A condolence resolution on the death of *Begum Azad* was adopted Mr. *Zahirudin*, while moving the resolution from the chair, expressed regret at the attitude of the Government in not allowing *Maulana Azad* to see his wife before her death.

Pakistan Condemned

By another resolution the Conference reiterated its claim to represent four and a half crores of Momins. According to the Conference no other party or organisation had any right to represent the Momins. Therefore no constitutional or political agreement would be accepted by the Momins which did not have the support of the All-India Momin Conference.

Mr. *Taj-ud-din* condemned the Pakistan scheme of the Muslim League and said that India was indivisible and was one nation. To divide India would mean disaster for the country. A majority of Muslims, namely, the Momin Conference, the Azad Muslim Conference and other organisations represented over eight crores of Muslims who were definitely against Pakistan and would fight tooth and nail if such a scheme ever came into force.

The Momin Conference was of the view that the primary members of the Momin Conference should not be allowed to become members of any other political organisation.

Resolutions—3rd. Day—New Delhi—28th April 1943

COMPLETE INDEPENDENCE OF INDIA

The Conference concluded to-day at 1 a. m. after passing a number of resolutions. The main resolution of the session which was moved by Mr. *A. Syed*, runs as follows :

"Since the present phase of the war has created immense complications, regarding the political problem in India, baffling its real solution, and every political organisation is in the paramount interest of the country, trying to address itself to find an earliest possible solution and in view of the past traditional policies as also the present ideologies of each political body, these political parties have assumed an attitude of arrogant obduracy, with the result that the Indian problem has reached a state of stalemate and has become static, the Working Committee of the All-India Momin Conference feel, in the circumstances and in the best interest of all concerned, that they should make their contribution to the solution of the Indian tangle and are of the opinion that the best way to resolve this stalemate lies in maintaining the political unity and integrity of India in its future constitution, which should aim at the combination of practically independent provincial units having residuary powers under one centre which should be only vested with such powers as all the provincial units would, without impairing their individual independence, unanimously entrust to it.

"It further resolves that the complete independence of India is the goal of the Conference and demands of the Government a proclamation that soon after the end of the war India would be given complete independence."

INDIAN INTEREST IN SOUTH AFRICA

By another resolution, the Conference strongly urged the Government of India to recall their High Commissioner from South Africa as an initial measure of protest against the high-handed and intolerable action against Indians. It further urged the Government to resort to retaliatory measures against the South African Nationals in the same maner and on the same scale as the discriminatory legislation which had been enacted against the Indians by the South African Government.

The resolution was moved by Mr. *Abdul Qayum Ansari*.

RELEASE OF POLITICAL PRISONERS

By the third resolution, the Conference expressed the view that the Government of India should make a bold declaration and release all the political prisoners and the detenus forthwith and set up a national government at the centre, represented by various political parties, thereby mobilising public opinion and the resources of the country to its full capacity.

The Conference gave full powers to its Working Committee to co-operate with any political party or organisation if and when any occasion arose.

"SWARAJ CANNOT WAIT"

Explaining the objectives of the All-India Momin Conference, Mr. *Sheikh Mohamed Zahiruddin*, President, in a talk to press representatives, said : "We believe that Hindu-Muslim unity can wait but not Swaraj. The amelioration of 45 millions of Momins (Muslim weavers) in India, who are in the same position in the Muslim community as the depressed classes are among Hindus, is only possible under Swaraj." One reason why he believed Swaraj would bring betterment of their condition was that under Swaraj there would be adult suffrage and with adult suffrage they could have adequate representation and voice in the legislatures.

Mr. *Zahiruddin* did not believe that the Muslim League had either mass appeal or cared very much for the common people or had sympathy for any programme of uplift of the underdog. He left the League on this issue. When

later, friends urged him to bring about a rapprochment between the League and the Momin Conference, he wrote a letter to Mr. *Jinnah* enquiring whether the League had any intention of a change in its attitude towards the masses. He received no reply.

Apart from the difference in the attitude towards the common people, the Momin Conference strongly opposed Pakistan. For one thing he was convinced that under Pakistan the difficulties of Muslims in Hindu provinces would be intensified.

This session of the Momin Conference, Mr. *Zahiruddin* continued, decided to sever all connection with the Congress as well as with the League. One reason was they were anxious to give no semblance of justification for the charge that Momins were working with the Congress to divide the Muslim community. The Momin Conference was nevertheless in agreement with the Congress in its ideal of complete independence for India and could co-operate with any political body which had the same ideals.

The positive political aim of the Conference, Mr. *Zahiruddin* said, had been declared to be as follows : The political unity and integrity of India to be maintained ; residuary powers to be given to the Provinces ; the Centre to have such powers as are entrusted to it by the Provinces by unanimous agreement. The Conference had some 500 committees in districts and villages, particularly in the U. P. and Bihar, where the bulk of the community was concentrated. The immediate objective of the Conference was to agitate for the betterment of the social and other conditions of the Momins. He expressed keen disappointment with the absence of a Momin representative on the Fact Finding Committee with regard to the handloom industry, although as weavers their interest in the committee's work was obviously intimate.

Mr. *Zahiruddin* alleged that obstacles were placed in the way of the present session of the Conference by the Muslim League enthusiasts who he said, went to the length of sending fake telegrams to the delegates, telling them that the session had been postponed or that epidemics had broken out here. However they saw through the game and came to the session, which was a success. Some 4,000 people had been waiting in Delhi from April 23 for the Conference, and of these, some had to leave, because they could not be away from their places for more than three or four days.

Working Committee—Cawnpore—19th. to 21st. June 1943

Jinnah's Attitude Condemned

The Working Committee of the All India Momin Conference met at Cawnpore on the 19th, 20th and 21st June, 1943. The Committee deplored the attitude and action of Mr. *Jinnah* in connection with *Mahatma Gandhi's* letter and regarded it as a challenge to the spirit and tradition of Islamic chivalry and love of freedom and as a blot on the good and fair name of the Muslim League and in a way of the whole Muslim nation. Further, the committee felt that this attitude had put back the hands of the clock of the country's efforts for an early settlement of the Indian problem.

National Government Urged

The Committee declared that with a view to accelerate the war effort and ensure complete and willing co-operation of the country therein the Government should release all political prisoners and focus attention on the formation of a national Government at the Centre representing all important elements of Indian national life.

The Committee nominated a sub-committee including the President, *Sheikh Zahir-ud-Din* and the General Secretary to tour independent native States and study and report on the conditions and requirements of their Momin subjects.

Co-operation in War Effort

The Government of India was requested to nominate a representative of the Momin Conference on the Textile Advisory Board to be shortly established by the Government. The Committee resolved to wait in a deputation on the Commerce Member and His Excellency the Viceroy with a view to discuss how best the resources of the Momin Ansari community could be harnessed to the war effort. The Committee deplored the indifference of the Central Government in not utilising so far the resources of the Momin community in manpower, skilled and unskilled labour.

The All India Majlis-i-Ahrar

Council Meeting—Saharanpur—29th. April 1943

NEED FOR PEACE AND MUTUAL CONFIDENCE

The council of the All-India Majlis-i-Ahrar after prolonged discussion at Saharanpur on the 29th. April 1943 adopted a resolution expressing the view that the complicated problem of Indian politics could be solved only through peace and mutual confidence between the people inhabiting this country The council appealed to the protagonists of the schemes of Akhand Bharat, Pakistan and Azad Punjab, to proceed on lines of mutual goodwill and understanding and expressed the opinion that if any party believed that it could establish any such scheme with the British aid, should not ignore the fact that any scheme set up under the auspices of the British would lead to the country's perpetual enslavement. The Majlis-i-Ahrar therefore, had no interest in any scheme, the success of which depended on the assistance of the British.

The resolution further stated that the Majlis-i-Ahrar was not prepared to ignore the fact that friendly negotiations and peaceful atmosphere were conditions precedent to the final decision whether one or more centres were to be established in India or whether its provinces were to retain their present boundaries. The Majlis-i Ahrar considered all provocative propaganda already done or being done by any party was fatal to the interests of the future of India or the establishment of Akhand Bharat or Pakistan or Azad Punjab It, therefore appealed to the protagonists of these schemes to refrain from speeches, writings and other types of propaganda likely to poison the atmosphere in the country

OFFICE BEARERS

The council elected the following office-bearers :—*Shaikh Hasam-ud-Din* of Amritsar president; *Maulana Mohd Ahmad Kazmi*, and *Maulana Ghulam Ghaus*, vice-presidents and *Maulana Mazhar Ali Azhar* M L A (Punjab), general secretary

The U.P. Majlis-i-Ahrah

Annual Session—Saharanpur—27th. April 1943

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

Presiding over the annual session of the provincial Majlis-i-Ahrar U. P., held at Saharanpur on the 27th. April 1943 *Maulana Ghulam Ghaus* declared that complete independence of India was the goal of the Majlis-i-Ahrar. He said that his party was prepared to cooperate with any other party whose object was the same as that of the Ahrars.

Speaking about Pakistan, the president said that if Hindus tried to establish Hindu 'raj' in India, Muslims would be compelled to establish Muslim raj' which they would achieve with unity and strength. The Ahrars, he continued, were eager to live in cooperation with other communities as their ideal was equality of man, but neither were they prepared to relinquish their rights, nor ready to deprive others of their legitimate rights.

Explaining the difference between the policy of the Muslim League and that of his party, the president said that the Muslim League's aim was 'to divide first and then take', while the Ahrars' principle was 'to take first and then divide'

Concluding the president criticised the Congress policy He said if the Congress was anxious to settle amicably the question of Muslim rights, why did *Mahatma Gandhi* hesitate to approach other Muslim organisations in the country when Mr. *Jinnah* had refused to negotiate. That was one of the reasons, added the president, why Ahrars did not follow the Congress programme.

The Punjab Majlis-i Ahrar

Presidential Address—Lyallpur—31st. March 1943

"The Ahrars are not satisfied with the present conception of Pakistan They do not want a geographical division of India Their conception of Pakistan is a form of Government based on the law of Shariat, "Hakumat-I-Illahia", which means a constitution based on equality and fraternity", declared *Nawabzada*

Mahmood Ali of the U. P. while presiding over the Provincial Ahrar Conference held at Lyallpur on the 31st. March 1943.

He proceeded : "The question of Indian independence is also our first concern and we will not like the issue of independence to be obstructed by any other cry".

Maulana Mazhar Ali Azhar, M. L. A., condemned the cries of Akhand Hindustan, Pakistan and Azad Punjab and said that those cries were based on hatred and contempt for one another. So long as the British Government was there, he added, those cries had no meaning and it was the will of the Government which would finally prevail.

The Conference passed a few resolutions. The main resolution about Pakistan was discussed at great length in the Subjects Committee, but as there was great divergence of views on the issue, it was decided to postpone the decision" till the session of the All India Ahrar Conference.

The All India Akali Conference

4th. Session—Bhowanigarh—14th. March 1943

Presidential Address

'Great men are apt to make great mistakes and great men have made great mistakes. What other remarks can an onlooker pass upon the incidents of the last year Neither the Government nor the Congress wanted victory of Japan ; yet the incidents of last summer did not contribute to the defeat of Japan," observed *Master Tara Singh*, in the course of his presidential Address, delivered at the 4th All India Akali Conference held at Bhowanigrah on the 14th. March 1943.

The President further said : "If the British Government was sincere last year, nothing can change its attitude towards our freedom. Why cannot the British Government give India what it was prepared to give last year ? Let not the Government create an impression that it gives freedom only under threat. There is no threat at present from inside or outside and now is the time for the Government to prove its sincerity and make a great offer. Of course the Cripps proposal of Pakistan should not be repeated. It will only create fresh heart-burning and fresh controversy His proposal of establishing a National Government immediately without commitment to any permanent solution of communal problem after the war, should be carried. I know the Cripps-Congress negotiations broke on the right of veto to be given to His Excellency the Viceroy Certainly there can be found some via media, provided great men are now prepared to make great corrections. There is no doubt that the British Government cannot part with such power just at present as it may tell upon war efforts. Successful prosecution of war is the primary concern not only of the Indian people also. When we agree upon fundamentals, it is not at all difficult to agree upon minor points. I may point out here that release of political prisoners, accompanied by establishment of a National Government, will clear the whole atmosphere in India at the psychological moment."

Referring to Azad Punjab he said : "By the creation of Azad Punjab not only Sikhs and the Hindus of the Azad Punjab will get rid of the present Pakistan, but the Sikhs and the Hindus living in the portion of the Punjab which will be cut off from the present Punjab will also be in a better position. According to my calculations the Sikh and Hindu population in that portion will be about 5 per cent and 12 per cent. They will get weightage on the principle upon which it is given to the minorities in other provinces. This means that the Sikhs will get 15 per cent seats in the legislature and the Hindus at least 25 per cent. This makes their total 40 per cent, while at present the Sikhs and the Hindus both together have only 47 per cent representation in the Legislative Assembly. This 40 per cent will not include any Hindu Jat or Achhut. The common economic and cultural interest of these 40 per cent will create cohesion amongst them and so they will be in a better position to safeguard their interests than they are in the present Punjab where 47 percent Sikh and Hindu representatives consist of so many conflicting elements. The mentality of the Jats and Achhuts who in the present Punjab always support the Muslims in order to gain some advantage,

will change in the Azad Punjab; for they have no natural sympathy for the Muslims. By this device of changing the boundaries of the Punjab, we can take out overwhelming majority of the Hindus and the Sikhs from Muslim domination, while at the same time improving appreciably the position of the Sikhs and the Hindus who remain in the other portion of the Punjab."

If any Hindu gentleman convinces me that the scheme is disadvantageous to the Hindus, I would give it up. But I have no doubt that the scheme is advantageous to both the Hindus and the Sikhs.

A. I. Akhand Hindusthan Conference

Annual Session--Lahore—6th. June 1943

Presidential Address

"I can make absolutely no distinction between Pakistan and Azad Punjab. Both are schemes for the vivisection of India and both cut at the roots of its unity and integrity One is irresistibly driven to the conclusion that the safety of the Hindus and the Sikhs of the Punjab lies in uniting together and becoming determined not to let Muslim communal raj be established in the Punjab in any form." Thus observed *Sardar Kharak Singh* in the course of his presidential address at the All-India Akhand Hindustan Conference which opened at the Minto Park, Lahore on the 6th. June 1943.

S Pritam Singh Bhatia, Chairman, Reception Committee, extending a welcome to all those present at the conference criticised what he described as the weak leadership of the Akalis which is unfortunately misleading the Panth" He pointed out that one seat on the Aurangzeb Ministry was the price which had been paid "for selling the Sikhs and for political dishonesty." He maintained that even though the Sikhs had a different religion it was foolish to contend that they had nothing to do with the Hindus with whom they had common ties of social and political relations.

Sardar Kharak Singh in his address, which was read by someone else said:

'It is indeed extremely painful that at the critical post-war era India would not be free to play her full part Great Britain claims to be a champion of democracy and freedom for small nations but it is not ready to set India free. According to the statement of the Secreatry of State for India himself, more than 35,000 Indians were either imprisoned or held under internment in March last. This clearly shows what the future intentions of British Government about India are. But nevertheless there is no dearth of Indians who are ready to co-operate with the Government Sir Homy Mody, Mr Aney and Mr. Sirkar had hardly laid down their offices as Executive Councillors of the Viceroy, in protest against the repressive policy of the Government before. Dr. *Khare, Sir Aziz-ul Huq* and *Sir Ashok Kumar* have come in to take their places Even now the Muslim League is busy in forming ministries in the provinces where a complete deadlock existed. Such a ministry has been set up in the N. W. F P. also. It is very regrettable that even a Sikh has been found ready to join that ministry and provide an occasion to others to say that the Sikhs who were so loud in their opposition of Pakistan are now joining hands with its protagonists to facilitate its establishment.

"I have never been enamoured of this so-called provincial autonomy To me it looks like a farce. That is why I have always been opposed to office acceptance. In my opinion the legislative assemblies and ministerships can have little sense until we are independent. I really cannot understand the mentality of those who seem to consider that the salvation of their country or community lies in these institutions alone. I will not make here any comment about those who conscientiously hold the above opinion. But the action of those who enter the Assemblies with the declared object of wrecking the Ministries, and on a seat being offered to them in the cabinet begin co-operating with it quietly, cannot but be considered as most dangerous. And yet it is this kind of people who pass as leaders of the Panth. They carried on what appeared like a most ruthless campaign to wreck the Sikander Ministry but when they were given a seat in his cabinet their opinion about it changed. These people have no principle at all. They consider that all is

fair in politics. Quite recently you must have noticed how they have been issuing mutually contradictory statements regarding their activities in connection with the formation of the Frontier ministry and how at the end they have joined the ministry, their "fundamental differences" with the Muslim League notwithstanding. Sardar Ajit Singh claims to be a representative of the minorities and a protector of their rights and says that if any injustice is done to the minorities, he will withdraw. It recalls to one's mind how exactly similar statements were used to be made by Sardar Baldev Singh on his joining the ministry. He said that all restrictions on the use of *Jhatka* would be removed, Gurmukhi and Hindi would be treated at par with Urdu and Sikhs would get their full 20 per cent share in the services. A recent case of not allowing *Jhatka* meat even in a preponderatingly Hindu Sikh district of Karnal and the supersession by a junior Mussalman of the seniormost and otherwise a most deserving Sikh candidate for the Directorship of Agriculture are alone sufficient to show that absolutely no change has come in the communal policy of the Punjab Government. May I ask Sardar Baldev Singh what he has done in protest against this grave injustice to the Sikhs and if he is incapable of doing anything, why he is clinging to his post? I believe Sardar Ajit Singh will also protect the rights of the minorities similarly.

"So far as I have been able to say I can make absolutely no distinction between Pakistan and Azad Punjab. Both are the schemes for vivisection of India and both cut at the roots of its unity and integrity. The supporters of the Azad Punjab scheme say that they have put forward this scheme to wreck the demand for Pakistan but so far as I can see they have by espousing this scheme strengthened the hands of the supporters of Pakistan. It is quite possible that by taking advantage of this scheme the British imperialists may transfer the present Ambala Division to Delhi or U. P. and thereby the percentage of the Muslims may increase from 54 per cent to 62 or 70 per cent in the Punjab and thus a Muslim 'Raj' may be established in the Punjab It is said that the Congress and Hindu Mahasabha leaders had become ready to concede Pakistan and therefore no other alternative was left except to demand re-distribution of the Punjab so as to save as much territory as possible from being included in Pakistan. As far as it is known neither the Congress nor the Hindu Mahasabha have conceded Pakistan but, be it as it may, I want to declare from this platform once again that the Sikhs will resist Pakistan with all their might to the last man and if Master Tara Singh and his party join hands with Mr. Jinnah in this nefarious business of the vivisection of India the brave Sikhs will fight both Mr. *Jinnah* and Master *Tara Singh*

"From a careful study of Pakistan and Azad Punjab schemes one is irresistibly driven to the conclusion that the safety of the Hindus and Sikhs of the Punjab lies in uniting together and becoming determined not to let Muslim communal 'raj' be established in the Punjab in any form. These schemes are no solutions of the problems of the minorities. Hindus and Sikhs have no need to despair if they are united It is not an easy task for a majority community of just 54 per cent to "rule over minorities constituting 46 per cent of the population if the minorities are ruled. I have so much love and respect for my Muslim brethren as for the Hindus. I am not for a war with Muslims but I am definitely for a settlement with them but the settlement must be on a basis which is equitable and honourable for both. If Muslims cannot compromise with the Hindus except on a basis of equality with them, how can they expect Sikhs to compromise with Muslims on any other basis? The method which has been adopted in the Frontier of dividing and demoralizing the minorities is one which must create distrust and hatred. It has struck the 'Panth' with resentment and I take the opportunity of declaring that Sardar *Ajit Singh* does not represent anybody except himself. I must also declare that the Central Akali Dal which has the support of the entire nationalist element amongst the Sikhs will always stand for independence and unity. Our slogan is 'a united and an independent India' and in this we will lead the whole of the country at any cost".

In the end Sardar *Kharak Singh* referred to the death of ex-Maharaja *Gurcharan Singh* of Nabha who died in internment and the dastardly murder of of Mr *Allah Bakhsh* whose death, he said, was indeed a great national loss.

Akali Conference—Resolutions—Lahore— 7th. June 1943

Azad Punjab Scheme Supported & Condemned

Two conferences of the Sikhs, hardly at a stone's throw from each other were held in the Minto Park on the occasion of the Jor Mela—the day of Guru

Arjun Dev's martyrdom. They passed resolutions which were contradictory to each other. The Akali Conference was presided over by *Gyani Sher Singh*. The conference passed a resolution supporting the Azad Punjab scheme of the Akali Party and the Akhand Hindustan Conference adopted a resolution condemning both the Azad Punjab Scheme as also Pakistan demand. It will be interesting to know that both these resolutions were passed unanimously without a single dissenting voice in both the conferences where enthusiasm and numbers were equal. When these resolutions were adopted at both the conferences loud shouts of "Sat Sri Akal" were raised.

The Akhand Hindustan Conference passed two other resolutions. By one of these, it called upon Sardar Baldev Singh to resign as it was of the view that no good had resulted from the Sikander-Baldev Singh Pact or as the resolution stated Unionist-Akali Pact.

The third resolution condemned the action of S. *Ajit Singh* in having joined the Mulim League Ministry in the N. W. F. Province

The Akali conference passed three resolutions in less than three minutes.

The resolutions were read and seconded without any speeches. Besides the main Azad Punjab resolution of this conference, one condemned those Sikhs who had participated in the Lyallpur Hindu Conference By the third resolution the conference condemned the attitude of the Hindu Press and requested the Government of India to grant permission to the Akalis to start their own daily newspaper. By an amendment which was incorporated in the resolution the Government was asked to warn the Hindu Press not to write against the Sikh leaders because it might lead to a breach of the peace.

Master *Tara Singh*, who made a comparatively moderate speech, declared that the Sikhs had a very minor quarrel with the Hindus but with the Mussalmans their quarrel was based on political grounds, for the Sikhs could not agree to Pakistan in its present shape as it would mean their slavery and the establishment of Muslim Raj for ever.

To the Hindus, Master Tara Singh said that in order that their quarrel might end, the Hindus should in the first instance cease to ask the Sikhs to declare that they were Hindus. Secondly, they should not maintain, as had been done, that it were the Hindus who could make Sikh leaders. Masterjee said that the Sikhs did not want to be absorbed by the Hindus, nor did he want the Sikhs to remain under the permanent slavery of the Muslims. Masterjee declared unhesitatingly that the terms of the Sikander-Baldev Singh Pact had not been honoured fully. Master Tara Singh seemed to have grown hopeless about the achievement of 'Swaraj' as he had lost hope of achieving Hindu-Muslim unity. He therefore asserted that under such circumstances the "Khalsa Raj" would be the only alternative which, however, he said would be maintained by the support and with the goodwill of the two communities.

Central Akali Dal—Akhand Hindusthan Conference

Resolutions—Roomi—19th and 20th June 1943

Under the auspices of the Central Akali Dal an Akhand Hindustan Conference was held on 19th and 20th June at Roomi, a place of historical importance in Ludhiana District *Baba Kharak Singh* presided The President, who arrived here accompanied by S. Labh Singh Narang, and Bawa Sohan Singh on the 19th, was garlanded and accorded a warm reception af Jagraon Railway Station by the prominent citizens and members of the Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee.

On the 19th and 20th a grand conference was held which was attended by thousands of Sikh people. The Chairman, Reception Committee, General *Sham Singh Roomi* and the President, *Baba Kharak Singh*, delivered their addresses. The conference strongly condemned the vivisection of the Punjab and India and warned the public against the activities of the Master group to carry out the Pakistan Scheme. Amongst the speakers were S. Labh Singh Narang, Bawa Sohan Singh, Rais, Giani Puran Singh and S. Ajaib Singh The following resolutions were adopted :—

1. This conference considers the Pakistan and Azad Punjab Schemes as highly detrimental to the Panth and country and strongly condemns it. India is 'Akhand' and shall remain so.

2. As no condition of the Sikander-Baldev Singh Pact has been fulfilled, the conference demanded from S. Baldev Singh to resign from the Ministership.

3. The conference urges the Government of India to release political prisoners

including S. Sardul Singh Caveesher and Master Mota Singh who have been interned without any trial.

The Shromani Akali Dal

Committee Meetings—Amritsar—4th. & 5th. June 1943

AZAD PUNJAB TERRITORIES FIXED

An important meeting of the Executive of the Shromani Akali Dal was held at Amritsar on the 4th. June 1943, for three hours in its office under the presidentship of Master *Tara Singh.*

The meeting discussed the Azad Punjab scheme and after some discussion fixed the territories of Azad Punjab which included the divisions of Ambala, Jullunder and Lahore and the districts of Lyallpur, Montgomery and a part of Multan.

The meeting also considered the attitude of the Hindu papers towards the Akalis and decided to start a Sikh daily to counteract the propaganda of the Hindu papers. The Executive decided to suspend the District Akali Jatha, Lyallpur in view of its opposition to S. A. D. and form a new one.

On the next day, the 5th. June, the Working Committee of the Shromani Akali Dal issued the following statement about the Azad Punjab scheme :—

"The Shromani Akali Dal have received enquiries from various places about its notion of the Azad Punjab and its boundaries. In this connection, the Shromani Akali Dal hereby declares that in the Azad Punjab the boundaries shall be fixed after taking into consideration the population, property, land revenue and historical traditions of each of the communities. An independent and impartial commission alone can finally decide the demarcation of boundaries. Further, the Shromani Akali Dal is of opinion that if the new demarcations are effected on the above-mentioned principles then the Azad Punjab shall comprise of Ambala, Jullundur, Lahore Divisions and out of the Multan Division Lyallpur District some portion of Montgomery and Multan districts. The Shromani Akali Dal shall make its demand of these demarcations and shall fight for the same."

The All India Sikh Youth Conference

Annual Session—Lahore—30th. & 31st. January 1943

Presidential Address

A call to the Sikh youths to join the military in as large numbers as possible was made by *Sardar Bahadur Ujjal Singh*, M.L.A., presiding over the All-India Sikh Youth Conference held at Lahore on the 30th. January 1943

He said that if they loved their country they should be prepared to risk their lives for the protection, integrity and honour of their homeland. The war was being fought at our gates on the eastern side. People in Calcutta and other towns in Bengal had already had a little taste of the horrors of war. Many young men had already joined the army and taken to military careers. There was no nobler profession during war and also in peace time than the profession of a soldier. Military training even though for a short time would make them physically fit and would teach them discipline. With a spirit of violence pervading the whole world India alone could not rely upon non-violence.

Discussing the political situation in the country, Sardar Bahadur Ujjal Singh recalled the events following Lucknow Pact of 1916 and said that out of sheer disgust and desperation, opinion was gaining ground in an important section of the Sikh community that unless the Punjab was redistributed into two provinces, so that the predominantly Muslim areas were separated to form either a separate province or joined with N. W. F. P. there could be no future for the minorities in the Punjab. The propaganda in favour of Pakistan by the Muslim League, the provision in the Cripps proposals giving provinces the option to join or not to join the Indian Union and the uncertainty of the view of responsible British statesmen regarding Pakistan in spite of the authoritative and weighty opinion of H. E. the Viceroy in his Calcutta speech regarding the unity of India, had led an important

section of the Sikh community to adopt the cry of "Azad Punjab". He wished that a happier name had been selected for the slogan, but the genesis of it lay in the fact that they seemed to have lost all hope of receiving justice from the community in power in the Punjab. The originators of the cry of "Azad Punjab" did not wish to have an independent province as the name indicated outside the Union of India. They only wanted separation of the original Punjab from the western districts annexed to it by Maharaja Ranjit Singh just as Sind was separated from Bombay or Orissa from Bihar. He was personally of the view that this propaganda in favour of "Azad Punjab" should not be carried too far, lest they should be lost in the maze of internal controversy and forget the real issue of of swaraj for the whole of India. They should not rule out of the possibility of the majority community in the Punjab giving the Sikhs their rightful place

Concluding, Sardar Bahadur Ujjal Singh emphasised that it was high time that they should all rise above party strife and communal rivalry and with united action first try to win freedom. They should have enough time to deal with one another if any party persisted in unreasonableness. He exhorted the Sikhs to act upon the high ideals of their great *gurus* and casting away petty bickerings stand together in the service of the country and community.

Before the conference commenced, *Master Tara Singh*, President of the Shromani Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee and the Akali Dal, performing the flag hoisting ceremony, stressed the necessity of maintaining internal peace in these critical times.

Resolutions—2nd Day—Lahore—31st. January 1943

Referendum on "Azad Punjab" Move

A decision to take a referendum on the question of redistribution of the boundaries of the Punjab with a view to establishing "Azad Punjab", was taken at the Conference which concluded on the next day, the 31st. January. The Conference was addressed among others by Dr. *B. S. Moonje*, Dr. *Sir Gokulchand Narang*, *Master Tarasingh* and *Giani Shersing*.

The main resolution of the Conference which was moved by Master Tarasingh's Party and strongly opposed by a section of the Conference representing the Rawalpindi division stated—

"In view of the fact that the working of the provincial constitution based on the communal award has proved detrimental to the interests of the Sikhs and Hindus in the Punjab that they see no hope of improvement so long as the reigns of Government remain in the hands of a permanent statutory Muslim majority; that efforts are being made to make their position still worse by the movement of Pakistan; and that the Sikhs have declared their resolve not to tolerate this attack on their culture and position, this Conference expresses its opinion that the Sikh position can only be re-established by readjusting the boundaries of the Punjab by the transfer of the predominantly Muslim districts to N. W. F. P. and appeals to the Sikh youths to support this demand. This Conference urges that the Sikh and Hindu minorities in these separated districts, annexed with N. W. F. P., be granted the same weightage and safeguards as are provided for Muslim minorities in C. P. and Madras"

There was a heated discussion on the resolution for over four hours. The opponents of the resolution characterised this move as a new stunt started by the Government to break the solidarity of the Sikh community while the supporters emphasised that it was a counterblast to the Pakistan scheme The opponents moved an amendment to the effect that a referendum be taken and if two-third Sikhs of the Punjab voted for the redistribution of boundaries then the demand should be pressed otherwise it should be dropped.

The amended resolution was passed by a majority of votes.

Formation of National Govt. Urged

The other resolutions passed by the conference urged the formation of a National Government on the basis of coalition of all parties and communities, the immediate release of political prisoners; reservation of five per cent appointments in the Central and All-India services for Sikhs Another resolution urged upon the Maharajas of all Sikh States, particularly those of Kapurthala and Jind, to take immediate and effective steps to restore the Sikh character of their respective States by (a) appointing Sikh Prime Minister. (b) fixing special rights for the Sikhs in the services; (c) recognising Punjabi as the official and court language in the States and making its teaching compulsory in the State schools; (d) enacting Sikh Gurdwaras Acts with a view to handing over the management of Sikh Gurdwaras to

the Sikh public of the State ; (e) observing all the Sikh ceremonials and rules of conduct in their own Royal houses.

Addressing the conference, Dr. *Moonjee* declared that the Hindus and Sikhs would shed every ounce of their blood to oppose the Pakistan scheme which, he believed, was the creation of the British Government. The Punjab, he said, should not be afraid of Pakistan. The Punjab was the sword arm of India while Bengal, which was also affected by the Pakistan scheme, was the brain. He was sure that when both Punjab and Bengal would rise against the Pakistan scheme, it would die its own death. Concluding he appealed to the Sikhs and Hindus of the Punjab to join together to oppose Pakistan.

Master *Tarasingh*, in the course of a brief speech, said that there seemed to have been some misunderstanding about their demand for the redistribution of the boundaries of the Punjab. As a matter of fact he and his party were strongly in favour of the formation of a National Government, but the proposal for the "Azad Punjab" was a move to cripple the Pakistan scheme He assured the opponents of the resolution of the "Azad Punjab" that he was prepared to accept any amendment to the scheme for the redistribution of boundaries.

The All India Nationalist League

Working Committee—New Delhi—13th February 1943

Release of Mahatma Gandhi Urged

The Working Committee of the All-India Nationalist League, held at New Delhi on the 13th. February 1943, Mr. *Jamnadas Mehta* presiding, passed a resolution expressing concern at the correspondence between the Viceroy and Mahatma *Gandhi* which culminated in the fast. The resolution expresses the fear that, in view of his age and the duration of the fast, the danger of serious results to his health and life cannot be minimised, and it should be the duty of every one to explore every method by which his life can be saved.

"While there has been an improvement in the situation," proceeds the resolution, "Mahatma *Gandhi* has himself reaffirmed his faith in non-violent action and repudiated the disturbances of the last six months. The Committee, therefore, earnestly suggests his unconditional release to give Mahatma *Gandhi* an opportunity to survey the situation *de novo* as he himself has stated in his correspondence with the Viceroy, and feels confident that as a result of his review, he will use all his undoubted influence towards checking disorder and violence which have already done so much harm to the country."

The Committee affirms its support to the Mahasabha in all legitimate steps to resist the disruption of the country and expresses gratitude to the Viceroy for his recognition of the fundamental unity of India. The committee "has noted a welcome change in Mr. *Jinnah's* outlook as can be seen from his recent utterances and assures him that any settlement of India's political problem consistent with India's national solidarity that he and the Muslim League might suggest will receive the most careful consideration of nationalist India." The committee notes "with particular disapproval the Government's policy in refusing the demand for a National Government by denying the representative character of each political party or group by turn, and yet not taking into their counsel at least those groups that are willing to run a National Government to-day."

The Committee expresses serious anxiety at the shortage of food and condemns the dearness allowance given to Government employees as meagre and inadequate. It urges the establishment of an evacuees commission to deal with the problems of evacuation.

Working Committee—New Delhi—21st. April 1943

Pakistan Condemned

The Working Committee of the All-India Nationalist League, held at New Delhi on the 21st. April 1943, with Mr. *Jamnadas Mehta* in the chair, passed a resolution replying to Mr. *Jinnah's* speech at the Muslim League annual session and to the proceedings of the session. "Both", declares the resolution, "displayed a disregard

of democracy and nationalism in this country, which the Muslim League seems determined to destroy and substitute in their place a vivisected India on the basis of religious fanaticism and a political ideology of the Middle Ages wholly unsuited to the present times. The tone of the deliberations has been highly provocative and intemperate and plays into the hands of the enemies of India's freedom. Mr *Jinnah's* speech in particular is a vain, ignorant and malicious diatribe on the Hindus in particular and has been rendered possible because of the pandering by the Government of the League's methods of intimidation and bullying.

"In the name of the Indian nation, this meeting declares that the country will never tolerate the proposed Pakistan which will divide the nation into two hostile camps, warring on each other for all time. The encouragement which the Government has given to the League is clearly in pursuit of its unabashed policy of divide and rule. This meeting earnestly warns its Muslim fellow-countrymen against falling into this imperialist trap and thereby leading this country into a disaster which will be ruinous alike to Hindus, Muslims and other citizens. As against this suicidal policy of Pakistan, this meeting earnestly invites the attention of Indian Muslims to the speeches and writings of the Turkish Press Delegation which recently visited this country under the leadership of Mr. *Atay* and commends the patriotic example of the delegation to all Muslims in India."

SOLUTION OF PRESENT DEADLOCK

The Committee declares that the only way out of the present impasse is the simultaneous withdrawal by the Congress of the resolution of August 8 last and the release of the Congress leaders by the Government. The Committee also says it is open to the Government of India and the Secretary of State even in these deplorable circumstances to prove their *bonafides* by installing in office those parties in the country who are pledged to the support of the war and who though not so vocal as the Congress and the Muslim League, constitute an overwhelming majority of the people of India.

Working Committee—New Delhi—27th. April 1943

BENGAL MINISTERIAL TANGLE

The Working Committee of the All-India Nationalist League, which met at New Delhi on the 27th. April 1943, adopted a resolution on the Bengal situation in which it asserted that the Governor had acted in utter disregard of constitutional propriety and that "his sole object in taking over the powers and passing the budget was to make it easier for the contemplated Nazimuddin Ministery to remain in office without calling a meeting of the Legislature until the next budget and enabling that Ministry in the meantime to demoralise the Legislature within the next twelve months". The resolution condemned "the utterly reactionary composition" of the new Ministry.

The Punjab Provincial Women's Conference

Annual Session—Lahore—21st June 1943

"By refusing to their relatives interviews with the Congress prisoners and the detenus, the Government of the Punjab had set up a new record in the history of repression. It is most condemnable that even mothers put behind the bars, in the name of the Defence of India, were not permitted to see their children of tender age who had been weeping in vain to have a glimpse of their Mamas."—Thus observed *Shrimati Premvati Thapar*, Secretary, Punjab Branch of the All India Women's Conference, while speaking at a conference held under the auspices of the Punjab Branch in the Fateh Chand College, Lahore on the 21st. June 1943 on a resolution, asking that mothers at least should be allowed to interview their children of tender age.

Shrimati Rameshuri Nehru presided over the conference.

Among those present at the conference were Mrs. *Ram Saran Das*, Mrs. *Anand Kumar*, Mrs. *Rai*, Mrs. *Buch*, Mrs. *Maharaj Krishan Kapur*, *Shrimati Premvati Thapar*, Mrs. *B. L. Rallia Ram*, Mrs. *Situ Suri*, Mrs. *Singh*, Mrs. *Nazir*, Mrs. *Bhim Sain Sachar*, Mrs. *Chatrath*, Mrs. *Sabberwal*, Mrs. *Mukand Lal Puri*, Mrs.

Anand, Mrs. *Chopra*, Mrs. *Godbole* and Mrs. *Perin Romesh Chandra*, besides members of the staff of the Mahila Mahavidyalya, Sir Ganga Ram School and the Fateh Chand College.

Mrs. Rameshuri Nehru's Speech

In opening the conference *Shrimati Rameshuri Nehru* referred to the "upheaval in the country which had resulted in the imprisonment of Mrs. *Vijaya Lakhshmi Pandit*, President of the All-India Women's Conference, of the president-elect Mrs. *Kamala Chhatopadhya*, *Raj Kumari Amrit Kour* and many other prominent women workers."

Those circumstances resulted in making both the provincial as also the central organisation inactive and neither could have their annual conferences.

They were now in a little better circumstance, because they were able to get together. It, has, therefore, been decided to infuse new life into the provincial organisation, in which young blood had come in.

The new provincial committee of 35, which was elected to-day, among others includes *Begum Iftikhar-ud Din*, *Khadija Minhaj*, Mrs. *Gauba*, Mrs. *Bedi*, *Begum Almas*, Mrs. *Kunti Bhandari*, *Wazir Begum*, *Baji Rashida Latif Begum*, Mrs. *Perin Romesh Chandra*, Mrs. *B. L. Ralli*a *Ram*, Mr. *Soni*, *Sm. Rameshuri Nehru*, *Kanwarani Duleep Singh* and Mrs *Wattal*.

Resolutions—End Present Deadlock

Mrs *L. C. Jain* moved the first resolution "deploring the state of political deadlock in the country" and demanding the release of *Mahatma Gandhi* and other leaders "to start negotiation with them with a view to ending the present deadlock."

The resolution expressed the view that "that was the only course of action which would lead to the achievement of the ideal of the Allied Nation." All the people and organisations were appealed to, to "pool their efforts to secure the release of *Gandhijee* and other leaders as a preliminary to the formation of a National Government."

Mrs. *Jain* reviewed the political developments in the country ever since the Cripps jugglery failed. She maintained that the whole country was at the back of the demand for the release of *Mahatma Gandhi*.

Mrs. *Perin Romesh Chander*, who seconded the resolution, urged the British Government to release the leaders without delay, as she maintained that only the jail gates stood in the way of unity and agreement among the leaders of the various parties.

Shrimati Rameshuri Nehru, while commenting on the resolution, regretted the present attitude of the British imperialists towards India.

She asserted that the responsibility of the disturbances did not lie on the shoulders of the Congress. The present deadlock was due to the attitude of the British Government and their representatives in India. She added that when history would be written it would reveal the shocking story of repression in India. She had no doubt that not only the whole of India, but every right thinking person in all parts of the world, was at the back of the demand for the release of *Gandhijee* and other Congress leaders.

The resolution was adopted unanimously.

Food Situation in the Country

Miss *Puran Mehta* moved the second resolution "drawing the attention of the Government to the gravity of the food situation in the country, the scarcity of food and clothing and the abnormal rise in prices" which was "causing intolerable hardships particularly to the poor population of the towns."

The resolution also appealed to the "big zamindars and to the millowners of the province to do their duty in giving relief to the poor by providing them with grains and cloth at rates that are within their means." The resolution expressed concern at the closing of atta depots in Lahore and asked the Government to secure sufficient foodstuffs for the poor.

The mover criticised the "unmethodical ways of the Government' and said that it was a pity that they in the Punjab, which was the home of wheat, were crying for "atta".

Begum Almas seconded the resolution, which was passed unanimously.

Right to Interview Children

Mrs. *Acharya Ram Dev* moved the following resolution :

"This conference feels that the cancellation of the right of political prisoners to interview their relatives and friends is indefensible on any grounds whatsoever.

It is a negation of the code for the treatment of political prisoners, recognized by all civilized countries. It is particularly harsh to refuse to mothers the right to periodical interviews with their childern. We request the government to revise their policy in this matter and even if they persist in refusing to recognize the general right of all political prisoners to interview their friends and relatives, at least to permit such interviews in the case of mothers having children of tender age."

Shrimati *Premvati Thapar*, in seconding the resolution, said that it was the height of injustice that interviews were not allowed to Congress detenus and prisoners. Even the non-official jail visitors, who were permitted to see murderers in jail, were not allowed to see the Congress detenus.

Shrimati *Rameshuri Nehru*, while commending the resolution to the meeting, said that no words could be strong enough to condemn the attitude of the Government sufficiently in disallowing interviews to or with the Congress prisoners This was unknown in any civilised country.

The resolution was passed.

HINDU INTESTATE SUCCESSION BILL

Mrs. *Ram Saran Das* then moved the following resolution :

"This conference appeals to the Hindu public and to the members of Central Assembly to support the Hindu Intestate Succession Bill which has been referred to a Select Committee by the Central Legislature. This Bill far from being contrary to the tenets of Hindu Law is a correct exposition and interpretation of its spirit and of the real intention of its framers."

The mover of the resolution, who is the wife of the well-known Sanatanist leader R. B. *Ram Saran Das* who is the General President of the Punjab Sanatan Dharam Pratinidhi Sabha, said that there was no reason why girls should not be given equal rights and a share in the patrimony.

Miss *Sabherwal*, seconding the resolution, maintained that the Bill was in no way against the Hindu Dharma and its scriptures.

The resolution was passed unanimously.

Shrimati *Rameshuri Nehru* appealed to the women to send a large number of representations to the legislative department of the Central Legislature and the Select Committee supporting the Bill.

CHILDREN'S AID SOCIETY

Mrs. *Rai* moved the following resolution :

"This conference supports the demand of the Children's Aid Socity for the enactment of a Children's Act for the province. Such an Act is long overdue and the world war should not be made a pretext for the refusal of protection to thousands of unfortunate children in this province. We are of the opinion that legislation for their protection is the only way to put an end to the exploitation of children."

Mrs. *Rai* said that the children of to-day would be the citizens of to-morrow. It was therefore their duty to see that the children were brought up properly and in a healthy atmosphere. It was the duty of each one of them not to look after their own children, but also to see that no child went astray and fell into undesirable hands.

Mrs. *Maharaj Kishen Kapur* seconded the resolution, which was passed.

DEARNESS ALLOWANCE

Shrimati *Snehlata* moved the last resolution demanding Rs. 15 as dearness allowance for every woman teacher in all schools drawing upto Rs. 150 P. M.

The mover demanded that the status of women teachers should be raised.

The resolution was passed.

Shrimati *Rameshuri Nehru* in her closing speech expressed the hope that the new committee would carry on the work with great enthusiasm.

PUNJAB BRANCH'S ACTIVITIES

Shrimati *Premvati Thapar*, secretary of the Punjab Branch, while presenting the report of the work of the Punjab Branch said that their activities were all round and of a varied nature. The Punjab Branch was doing its utmost to raise the status of women and children and preparing them to be better citizens. They were engaged in social reform work and their members were running the Lahore Women's Rescue Home, Children's Aid Society, Mangal Sabha, Istri Sahaik School, Harijan Sewak Sangh, Hospital Sewak

Sangh, Hospital Welfare Society and some of them helped the women prisoners in jails and looked after them in the mental hospital. The women, she said, had faith in the unity of the people of India and in the integrity of India herself. Hindustan was their country and they did not believe in vivisecting it into separate parts.

The Communist Party of India Congress

1st. Congress Session—Bombay—23rd. May 1943

Mr Dange's Opening Speech

The first Congress of the Communist Party of India was formally inaugurated on the 23rd. May 1943 at the Kamgar Maidan, Bombay, before a large number of workers and nearly three-hundred delegates to the party convention who had come from all parts of India. Placards were displayed in various languages containing slogans appealing to the people to unite to defeat the Axis powers and to grow more food and stressing the need for communal unity and demanding the release of Congress leaders.

Mr. *Bankim Mukherji*, President of the All-India Kisan Sabha, hoisted the communist flag. Explaining the significance of the flag, Mr. *Mukherji* said that apart from symbolising the solidarity of the working class it was under the Red Banner that the Russian soldiers gallantly fought and threw back the Nazi invaders. He warned the workers not to be complascent about the war but to give their best efforts for the defeat of the Axis powers.

Mr. *S. A. Dange*, founder member of the Communist Party of India, explaining the significance of the party Congress declared that the Communist Party which started with five members fifteen years ago had to-day over 15,000 members besides vast number of workers who follow the lead of the Communist Party. With its fundamental policy opposed to Fascism and Nazism, the Communist Party was quick to realise the grave danger to the entire working class and to freedom by the onslaught of the totalitarian powers. The Communist Party of India still remained a bulwark against Imperialism and for the purpose of crushing the Axis menace and for the attainment of independence they wanted the establishment of a national government in India Congress-League unity, he said, was of paramount importance and the party would strain its most for the consummation of such unity. Mr *Dange* added that the immediate task of the party was to carry on an agitation successfully for the release of Congress leaders from the jails.

Warning against sabotage and other internal strife, Mr. *Dange* said that many people doubted the wisdom of the Communist Party's stand especially after the arrests of Mahatma Gandhi and other Congress leaders on August 9. In spite of the calumny heaped on the party members, they stood resolute and warned the people not to fall prey to the provocations offered on all hands. That their advice and policy was essentially sound was borne out from the correspondence exchanged between Mahatma Gandhi and the Viceroy recently in which the former stated that acts of sabotage had not had the sanction of the Congress.

Messages of greetings from the Communist Parties of Canada, England and South Africa were read at the meeting.

Disbandment of Communist International

Mr. *P. C Joshi*, General Secretary of the Communist Party of India issued the following statement :—

The Communist Party of India fully supports the proposal of the Executive Committee of the Communist International which frees the communist parties in the different countries from the obligations arising from the statutes and decisions of the various Congress of the Communist International. This proposal is a powerful blow against all reactionary elements who are using the existence of the world communist centre in Moscow as an excuse for their machinations against the Soviet Union and to prevent the closest co-operation between the United Nations, especially between Britain, America and the U. S. S. R., at this critical and decisive moment in the war against the Fascist Axis.

The E. C. C. I. has issued a clarion call to all communist parties to concen-

trate all their effort to unite the working class and the people in their respective countries for the supreme task of striking together against fascist imperialists in the final battles which are due to open now after the clearing of North Africa, burning patriotism, self-sacrificing effort for the mobilisation of the people for the holy war of liberation of the peoples from the menace of fascism—this is the acid test of international communism to-day.

By knocking the bottom of the prejudices against the Comintern the proposal will make the broadest national unity possible in such country and pave the way for the closed joint action between the members of the United Nations in dealing the final death blow against fascist imperialism for the freedom of all the people of the world and lay the basis for the victory of world socialism on a vaster plane than ever before.

Party Convention—Bombay—26th. May 1943

Mr. P. C. Joshi's Address

Exhorting the delegates to intensify their efforts on the food and production fronts and to wean away people from committing acts of sabotage and hindering war efforts, Mr. *P. C. Joshi*, General Secretary of the Communist Party of India, in an address to the Party Convention at Bombay on the 26th. May 1943 emphasised that only if they made all those campaigns go with a bang would they be able to do anything practical to solve the national crisis. "Everything else is empty phrases", he said, adding, "there is no other short-cut to National Government, no other way out of the ditch in which our country is."

The Party Convention proper began this morning in the auditorium of the R. M. Bhatt School, Parel. The hall was tastefully decorated with Red flags and portraits of prominent Communists throughout the world were hung on the walls. On either side of the dais were hung two big portraits of *Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru* and Mr. *M. A. Jinnah* against the background of the Congress and Muslim League flags respectively.

As the present Party Congress is the first of its kind since the Communists as a party started their activities in India, Mr. *Joshi* gave an elaborate review of how the party gradually grew up in strength and came to occupy its present position. "We have grown from a tiny group ten years ago to a major political organisation that can stand its own ground among the Indian people on the basis of its own political policy, on the strength of what appeal it makes to our patriotic people. In the dark horizon that is India to-day, the existence and growth of our party is the silver-lining. We have grown as no other party has grown in the past. From a hunted underground organisation, we have become a major political party."

Discussing the war, Mr. *Joshi* said, "The dilemma of the Congress patriot is, 'How can it be a people's war for us when the British are sitting on top of us?' From where did it arise? They fiddled with two abstract categories imperialism and Fascism. They did not see world imperialism as one system which is finally cracking up right under our eyes. They saw our people apart from the peoples of the world." Mr. *Joshi* asserted that if they regarded it as the war of British Imperialists, they would pass helpless from British imperialists to Japanese fascists. The path to freedom he said, lay through successful defence of India, which demanded the uniting of her people in an alliance with the peoples of the world to fight this war as the patriotic war for all.

Cripps Mission

Referring to the Cripps' Mission, Mr. *Joshi* said that the Congress stand was, "Give us National Government and we will defend the country." The League said: "Give us self-determination and we will help you to defend the country with or without the Congress." "Imperialist reactionaries had won and called off the negotiations", said Mr *Joshi*. "They used the promise of future freedom to calm the peoples of the United Nations. They used the Indian disunity to deny power to the League or the Congress. Neither the Congress nor the League took the initiative to forge a united front to face Sir Stafford Cripps, blow up the imperialist game and jointly rouse the people for national defence. Both looked to the imperialist government for power. Neither trusted the other and both lost."

Reviewing the events that led up to the passing of the August resolution by the Congress and the subsequent happenings, Mr. *Joshi* said that by the August resolution the Congress, for the first time, declared in clear and unambiguous terms that the world stood divided into two camps and India's place was with the United Nations. The Congress declared its willingness to participate in the war on the

basis of a National Government and had asked for a settlement but unfortunately neither *Mahatma Gandhi* nor *Pandit Nehru* took a step towards national unity which alone could isolate imperialist reaction and be the basis of unity with the United Nations Thus the advance in policy—declaration of willingness to defend India in alliance with the United Nations—was negatived by the threat of blowing up the defence of India in case the British imperialists did not agree to hand over power. "What was the basis of this apparent contradiction ?" asked Mr. Joshi. "How do they evolve a practical slogan that negates their own desired policy ? Because they do not regard national defence as a paramount duty. Because they think defending India, as it is, is defending their slavery."

Condemning the Government's action in arresting Congress leaders, Mr. *Joshi* said that the Government's action threw many patriots into the arms of the "fifth column" and destroyed the people's morale. Forces were let loose out of which only the Japanese invader could gain.

Gandhiji's Stand

Dealing with events leading up to Mahatma Gandhi's fast, Mr. *Joshi* said that Mahatma Gandhi's letters to the Viceroy had great political significance. Their positive content was repudiation of sabotage and anarchy, willingness for settlement and anxiety over the food crisis. It told Congressmen that sabotage was not Congress policy and his letters became a powerful lever in the hands of the Communists to wean away honest Congressmen from the 'fifth column." The general outlook of a patriot to-day, Mr. *Joshi* added, was that he sat at home or in jail demoralised. But as long as they held this outlook, they would once again fall victim to the "fifth column" at any stage, through the food end or with invasion.

Japan, he said, had entered the war for the domination of Asia. India was the biggest and easiest prize for her. She must either get India or see India being used as a base to wipe her out. The worse the situation for the Axis in the west, the more desperate the Japanese must become in the East and strike hardest at the weakest spot.

After referring to the campaigns carried on by the Communist Pariy for the release of Mahatma Gandhi and other Congress leaders, Mr. *Joshi* stressed the importance of bringing about Congress-League unity. "Hunger had done it better than anything else Formulation of demands was not enough because they were patent. What was needed was a positive and widest building of unity to intervene in the immediate situation. To abuse the bureaucrat to place the patriot is to go the way the patriot himself went and out of which it is our task to rescue him. Verbal exposure of the bureaucracy is Satyagraha and not Bolshevism. It is to parade our helplessness before the bureaucracy and inability to win the people in support of party policy."

Referring to the campaign for the release of the Congress leaders, Mr. *Joshi* said that keeping up an agitation as a general anti-repression campaign would be playing into the hands of the bureaucracy and not really working to get the leaders out. To get Mahatma Gandhi out they should appeal to all to stop sabotage and explain that every bomb thrown was a bomb thrown at the leaders

India's Deffnce

Discussing the role of the Indian army, Mr. *Joshi* said that it was important to popularise vigorously the role of all Allied armies and above all the Indian army The turn in the war meant a change in the role of the British and Indian armies They must be popularised as armies of Indian defence and not looked upon or treated as armies of occupation. It did not matter what the motive of the British rulers was in defening India. What would happen to post-war India depended upon whether the existing soldiers could hold the front now or not and what the Indian patriots did on the home front.

Concluding, Mr. *Joshi* said : "It is a grave and menacing situation. Every step that we take towards national unity is one step towards solving the national crisis. Every blow that we strike against the "fifth column" is a blow struck with the Red Army and every inch that we make the British bureaucrats move brings the day of our free and equal alliance with the British people nearer. Only if we act to solve the crisis within our country will others be able to help us. The more we hold up the rear, the more we unite the rear with the front, the sooner will be dispelled the lies spread by the imperialist propagandists about the Congress and the situation in India and their own worth as the defenders of India

and the organisers of our war-effort. India's defence is primarily the responsibility of Indian patriots. It is also that of the United Nations The more we discharge our own duty to our Motherland, the easier we get the aid of the rest of the freedom-loving peoples and humanity to fight for our freedom and the world's freedom."

Resolutions—Tributes To Martyrs

A resolution paying tributes to the sacrifices made in the cause of Communists by the Indian Communists was next passed. Mr. *Sohan Singh Bakhna* 82-years old delegate from the Punjab and founder of the Ghadr Party, moved the resolution.

Resolutions—Bombay—31st. May 1943

Formation of National Government

"India's fate and freedom is indissolubly linked with the fight for world freedom. This is no longer a fine phrase but a grim reality which emerges ever more clearly out of the gruelling experiences of our own people during the last 18 months as well as from the happenings during the last two years of the war of liberation now being fought in five continents," says a lengthy resolution adopted at the first Congress of the Communist Party to-day.

The resolution gives an elaborate review of the war situation, the Indian political deadlock and outlines new slogans for the future conduct of the Communist Party. The resolution emphasises the need for building up Trade Unions, Kisan Sabhas, students' and women's organisations for the prosecution of campaigns for growing more food, acceleration of production, national unity and getting the release of Congress prisoners.

The resolution calls upon all the Communists in the country to carry on a vigorous campaign to bring about national unity for national defence and for the establishment of a National Government. It exhorts the Communists to work against sabotage and "Fifth Column" activities and to join the Civil Defence services in the country. Party members are particularly asked to carry on a campaign to popularise the role of the Indian and Allied armies as defenders of India. "In the threatened areas," the resolution says, "Communists must offer organised co-operation of the people through their mass organisation, and party units, to the British or Indian troops for offensive as well as defensive preparation."

In regard to the campaign for the release of imprisoned leaders, the resolution says "The key slogan which we place in the forefront before all is "End the deadlock." We want the release of national leaders for making a settlement possible for their participation in the National Government for national defence In uniting Congressmen for the release campaign, we must rally them against 'Fifth Column" and for accepting the right of self-determination for Muslim and other nationalities In winning the support of the League patriots to this campaign, we must explain how the release of Congress leaders and Congress-League unity alone is the way of winning self-determination and no other."

On the food situation, the resolution urges the Party members to carry on active propaganda for the prevention of food riots and against hoarding. It recommends the formation of "food committees" composed of all sections and parties in it, prevention of rioting and exposure of hoarders, securing of a fair prices to the Kisan, public control of all stocks, smooth working of rationing in towns and regular supply of stocks to honest traders and food committees in rural areas"

In an appeal to the working class to produce more for the defence of the Motherland, the resolution says: "It is the patriotic duty of the worker to strengthen defence by taking the initiative for organising more production and better transport, and against stoppage of work irrespective of what the boss or the bureaucrat does. Communists should take a bold and open stand against strikes, as they injure the defence of the country by holding up production."

Emphasis is also laid on the need for consolidating the advances made by the Party hitherto and for further expansion of the Party on firm and sound lines.

The resolution pays a tribute to the Red Army's achievements and adds: "Our people must unite to defend the Motherland shoulder to shoulder with the peoples of the United Nations. That alone leads to freedom. Refusal to see this leads to the disastrous illusion of freedom through Hitler or the Japs. It leads straight to the other camp and to Fascist enslavement."

RIGHT OF SECESSION FOR NATIONALITIES

Laying down the main principles of the Communist policy on the Pakistan issue, the following resolution was adopted by the Party :—

To build the United National Front of the peoples of the various communities and Nationalities that inhabit India, for the defence and freedom of our country, it is necessary to dispel the mutual distrust and suspicion that exists among them. This is a remnant of memories of past historical oppression and of present social inequalities arising out of the feudal imperialist exploitation. For this purpose, the basic rights of the communities and nationalities must be made an essential part of the programme of the United National Front.

The programme of the U. N. F. must declare that in free India, there will be perfect equality between nationalities and communities that live together in India. There will be no oppression of one nationality by another. There will be no inequalities or disabilities based on caste or community. To ensure this, the national movement must recognise the following rights as part of its programme for national unity.

(A) Every section of the Indian people which has a contiguous territory as its homeland, common historical tradition, common language, culture, psychological make-up and common economic life would be recognised as a distinct nationality, with the right to exist as an autonomous State within the free Indian Union or Federation and will have the right to secede from it if it may so desire. This means that the territories which are homelands of such nationalities and which to-day are split up by the artificial boundaries of the present British provinces and of the so-called "Indian States", would be re-united and restored to them in free India. Thus the free India of to-morrow would be a federation or union of autonomous States of the various nationalities, such as, the Pathans, Western Punjabis (dominantly Muslims), Sikhs, Sindhis, Hindusthanis, Rajasthanis, Gujeratis, Bengalis, Assamese, Beharis, Oriyas, Andhras, Tamils, Maharashtrians, the people of Kerala, etc,

(B) If there are interspersed minorities in the new States, thus formed, their rights regarding their culture, language, education, etc., would be guaranteed by statute and their infringement would be punishable by law.

(C) All disabilities, privileges and discriminations based on caste, race, or community (such as untouchability and allied wrongs) would be abolished by statute and their infringement would be punishable by law.

Such a declaration of rights inasmuch as it concedes to every nationality as defined above, and therefore, to nationalities having the Muslim faith, the right of autonomous state existence and of secession, can form the basis for unity between the National Congress and the League. For, this would give to the Muslims, wherever they are in an overwhelming majority in a contiguous territory, which is their homeland, the right to form their autonomous States and even to separate if they so desire. In the case of Muslims of the Eastern and Northern districts of Bengal where they form an overwhelming majority, they may form themselves into an autonomous region, or may form a separate State. Such a declaration, therefore, concedes the just essence of the Pakistan demand and has nothing in common with the separatist theory of dividing India into two nations on the basis of religions.

But the recognition of the right of separation in this form need not, necessarily, lead to actual separation. On the other hand, by dispelling the mutual suspicions, it brings about unity of action to-day and lays the basis for a greater unity in the free India of to-morrow National unity, forged on the basis of such a declaration and strengthened in the course of joint struggle in the defence of our Motherland, is bound to convince the peoples of all Indian nationalities of the urgent need to stick together and to form a free Indian Union or Federation in which each national State would be a free and equal member with the right to secede. They will thus see this as the only path of protecting the freedom and democracy achieved and building, on that secure basis, a greater and greater unity of India than our country has ever seen.

In spite of the apparent conflict and seemingly insoluble difficulties, the burning desire for unity is taking a firmer hold of the people who to-day follow the Congress or the League. Under the stress of the growing menace of Fascist invasion and of the present national crisis, the leadership of two organisations also have moved closer together and in the direction of the very solution given in this resolution. There is no room, whatsoever, for defeatism on the question of unity. The Communist Party calls upon all patriots to join hands with it in popularising the principles laid down herein, and thus speed up the realisation Congress-League

unity, which is to-day the only path of national salvation for our Motherland in the hour of her gravest peril.

ELECTION OF OFFICE-BEARERS

The Congress concluded its session late at night. Mr. P. C. Joshi was declared elected General Secretary of the Party and the following were elected members of the Central Committee :

Messrs. G. Adhikari, B. T. Ranadive, A. K. Ghose, S. V. Ghate, R. D. Bharadwaj, S. G. Sardesai, S. A. Dange, N. C. Krishnan, P. Sundarayya, E. M. S. Namboodridad, Somnath Lahiri, D. S. Vaidya, Biswanath Mukherji, Sajjad Zaheer, Ranen Sen, Bhowani Sen, Iqbal Singh, S. S. Batliwala, Arun Bose, Manzer Rizvi, and Mohan Kumaramangalam.

The All India Christian Conference

25th. Session--New Delhi—19th. and 20th. March 1943

Presidential Address

"I feel even at this late stage that a small conference of Hindu, Muslim, Indian Christian, Sikh and Parsi leaders should be convened to deal with the present political situation, for there cannot be peace in India or full co-operation in the war effort while thousands of our fellow countrymen are in detention and sabotage continues," said *Raja Sir Maharaj Singh*, delivering his presidential address at the 25th session of the All-India Conference of Indian Christians, which commenced at New Delhi on the 19th. March 1943.

He added : "Merely to fold one's hands and tell the various political parties to come to an agreement is not consonant either with the duty or the dignity of the Government in power in India or elsewhere But we, Indians, cannot blame only the Government for the unhappy plight in which India is placed. We also must share the responsibility and try to secure Hindu-Muslim unity, for without some agreement between the Congress and the Muslim League, there would be no lasting solution of the problem of India "

TRIBUTE TO NON-PARTY LEADERS

Sir Maharaj Singh paid a tribute to Sir *Tej Bahadur Sapru* and Mr. *C. Rajagopalachari* "for doing their utmost to bring about a better feeling between the Government and non-official Indians on the one side and Hindus and Muslims on the other," and said that the various non-party political conferences had done much good in spite of apparent failure, and he hoped that they would be continued.

Sir Maharaj Singh asserted that his community was not behind any other in its burning desire for a self-governing India in the immediate future, and while they were Christians and proud to be such so far as faith was concerned, in all other matters, they were Indians first and Indians last. He maintained that the minorities question was a world problem and would necessarily be one of the crucial difficulties crying for solution at the next Peace Conference While the Indian Christians were bound to sympathise with Muslims, who formed the second largest religious community in India, in their desire for the fullest protection of minority rights, he was of the view that no final decision could or should reasonably be expected at present on questions like Pakistan He appealed to Hindus and Muslims to postpone any final arrangement or decision on one side or the other till peace had been restored. He considered talks of 'fighting" for or against Pakistan highly injurious. Indeed, they were suicidal, for the only fighting that one could visualise was communal rioting on a large scale and intensified ill-feeling.

Referring to *Mahatma Gandhi's* fast, *Sir Maharaj Singh* expressed his belief that the Mahatma's unconditional release would have been in the interests of the Government, for as a free man "he would no doubt have condemned sabotage and other acts of violence and might also have seen his way to a re-examination of the Indian political situation "

CLAIMS OF INDIAN CHRISTIANS

He complained that as the largest group among the small minorities, the claims of Indian Christians in the past for a fair share of appointments had not met with

adequate consideration. He said : "There is a strong feeling among us that the Executive Council of the Governor-General, which at present is a composite body representing different creeds, groups and interests, should contain an Indian Christian representative "

Concluding, he said : "Our community has not only increased in numbers but firmly believe that we have risen in the estimation of our fellow countrymen. We are now a recognised section of the population of India and will be increasingly so in the future. Difficulties and disappointments will, without doubt, lie in our path. Against one difficulty, I must particularly warn you and that is unnecessary disunion and internal dissensions, but with confidence in ourselves and with trust in Providence, our progress is assured."

Sir Frederick James, M. L. A. (Central), in a brief greeting address to the Conference, hoped that the Conference would do its best to perform the task of peace-makers for which it was peculiarly fitted.

Pandit H. N. Kunzru, Member, Council of State, who also addressed the Conference, said it was heartening to find the Indian Christian community striving for unity, when threats of divisions were overwhelming the country, and to think that Indian Christians were ready to place their country above communal considerations He was glad they had taken their part in the national movement for securing a self-governing and self-reliant India.

In his address, *R. B. S. L Ralliaram*, Chairman of the Reception Committee, offered felicitations to Sir Maharaj Singh on his appointment as the Prime Minister of Kashmir. The outgoing President, Mr. *Ram Chandra Roy*, related his efforts to bring about unity among Hindus and Muslims and said although the results were not so encouraging, he was convinced that perseverance and persistence in this matter would ultimately bear fruit.

Resolutions—2nd Day—New Delhi—20th. March 1943

Round Table Conference Suggested

The demand that a round table conference should be convened immediately in India to reach an agreed solution of important constitutional problems was put forward by the Conference to-day, when a number of resolutions on the political situation in the country were passed

The Conference called upon the British Government to make a clear declaration as soon as possible that India would attain full freedom within two years after the cessation of hostilities Meanwhile, it appealed to the leaders of the principal parties and communities in India to come to an agreed solution on the communal problem, failing which the question might be referred for decision to an international tribunal.

Release Of Gandhiji Urged

The Conference congratulated Mahatma Gandhi on the successful termination of his fast. In the hope and belief that he would condemn violence and use his influence against it and would assist in solving the present political impasse, the Conference expressed the opinion that the Government should release Mahatma Gandhi unconditionally without further delay

A resolution deploring and condemning acts of violence and excesses committed in repressing violence was also passed.

The Conference, by another resolution, reaffirmed its adherence to the cause of the Allied Nations against the Axis Powers. In order to enlist the full co-operation of the people of India in the war efforts, it demanded the immediate formation of composite governments at the Centre and in the Provinces consisting of non-officials only with the sole exception of the Commander-in-Chief and urged that such composite governments should include representatives of Indian Christians. The community regarded with deep concern the non-inclusion of an Indian Christian in the Viceroy's Executive Council.

Giving unqualified support to the ideal of a free and independent India in a world brotherhood of nations, the Conference considered that after the war all empire ideologies should be eliminated as a menace to the future of world peace

The Conference pledged support to all efforts made by the Non-Party Leaders' Conference to find a way out of the present impasse and directed its office to ensure that Indian Christians were adequately represented on all such gatherings

Condolence resolution on the death of Dr. D. X. De Souza, and Dr. S. K. Datta were also passed.

The Conference reaffirmed its previous resolutions on Mission and Church

properties in India and gave expression to its deep concern over the policy of some Missions regarding the sale of properties.

A Committee, consisting of seven members, was appointed to consider the new draft marriage bill for Christian marriages in India and report the same to the Executive Committee.

The Conference elected the Executive as well as the Council of the All India Conference of Indian Christians for the next year and fixed the next venue of the session at Hyderabad (Deccan) failing which it was decided that the Conference should be arranged to be held in Bombay.

The All India Harijan Conference

Ninth Session—Amritsar—11th and 12th. April 1943

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

Advice to the depressed classes not to isolate themselves from the Hindus but co-operate with them for their social, religious and political uplift was given by Mr. *H J Khandekar* in his presidential address to the ninth All India Harijan Conference held at Amritsar on the 11th. April 1943

Referring to the Pakistan demand, he pointed out that the Muslims were the sons of the soil and as such were entitled to their due, but they should give up the idea of Pakistan, which was nothing but an obstacle in the way of Swaraj. Dealing with the condition of the depressed classes, Mr *Khandekar* said: "The Hindus and their leaders talk much about the uplift and betterment of the depressed classes, but they do very little. Untouchability is an awful ghost and a dark spot on Hindu society, it has ruined and does not allow us to prosper in any way". He added that the result of this religious and social boycott by the caste Hindus was that lakhs of members of the depressed classes embraced other religions.

The President made a strong plea for adequate representation of the depressed classes in the services, the local bodies and the Legislature and criticised the Punjab Land Alienation Act which debarred them from becoming landlords.

RESOLUTIONS

A resolution mourning the death of Mr. *Mahadev Desai*, *Begum Azad* and Pt. *Ramakant Malaviya* was moved from the chair and was passed all standing.

Mr. *Prithvi Singh Azad*, General Secretary of the All-India Depressed Classes League Conference, moved a resolution which expressed regret that despite the repeated and united demand of the Indian people for the independence of the country, India had not been made free. The resolution described as absolutely baseless the Government statement that the depressed classes were opposed to the demand for the independence of the country and asked for immediate complete independence of India The resolution was seconded by Mr Yamna Rai of Bihar.

The resolution, demanding the release of Mahatma Gandhi and other National leaders for the solution of the Indian deadlock and the establishment of an all-parties Government at the centre with due representation to the depressed classes was moved by Mr. *G. L. Aghnibho*, of Bombay, who, in a short speech, criticised the policy of drift followed by the Government. Mr. *Matte* of C P. seconded the resolution.

Moving a resolution on the unity of India, Mr *Chet Ram*, M.L.A., of Allahabad, condemned the Pakistan, the Azad Punjab and other separatist schemes aiming at the vivisection of the country. The resolution was seconded by B. *Dular Chand Ram* of Bengal.

Principal *Ramdas* moved a resolution, which said that they were a part and parcel of the Hindu community and demanded equal rights for the Harijans from the Hindus and appealed to the Government that the Harijans should be in Government services in proportion to their population. Mr. *Satya Paul* seconded the resolution.

Another resolution urged the State rulers to co-opt the representatives of the Harijans on the State Assemblies or Advisory Councils and give land for cultivation to the depressed classes.

Resolutions—2nd. Day—Amritsar—12th. April 1943

The Conference concluded its deliberations to-day. Half a dozen more resolutions were passed.

The first resolution condemned the Government of India Act 1935 for having given weightage to the Muslims at the expense of the Depressed Classes and demanded of the Government to give them their share in proportion to their population failing which the Depressed Classes would oppose any future constitution of India.

The second resolution urged the Congress and the Hindu Mahasabha to give the Depressed Classes equal status and recognise their social, political and religious rights and demanded of the Government to end untouchability through an Act.

Other resolutions called upon the Depressed Classes to seek the help of the Hindus in matters of their welfare, demanded of the Government the recognition of the rights of the criminal tribes, appealed to the local bodies to increase the emoluments of the sweepers and lastly urged the Government to arrange for the education of the Depressed Classes, open industrial schools for them and award them stipends.

Mr. *R. B. Matte* of Bihar, Mr. *Agnibhoj* of Bombay, Mr. *Yamnalal* of Bihar, Mr. *Dular Chand Ram* of Bengal, Mr. *Satgapal Bikhshu* of Delhi and Mr. *Chet Ram* M.L.A. of Allahabad spoke on the resolutions.

Mr. *Prithvi Singh Azad* presented the annual report and thanked the delegates The Conference decided to hold the next session in Bihar.

At the annual elections held last night Mr *Jagjiwan Ram*, M.L.A. was elected President and Mr. *H. J. Khandekar* was appointed Working President. A Working Committee of 21 was formed.

The All India Kisan Conference

Resolutions—Bhakna—4th. April 1943

Political Situation in the Country

The All-India Kisan Conference was held at Bhakna in the Punjab on the 4th. April 1943 Mr. *Bankim Mukherjee*, M.L.A. (Bengal), presided The gathering at the conference thinned down to-day as a large number of the visitors went away to Tarn Taran and Amritsar for the 'holy dip' on the "Amavas Day". The proceedings were preceded by a Kavi Darbar with Mr *Feroz Din Mansoor* in the chair.

Among those who sat on the 'dais' was Lady Shafi. There were seated around the presidential chair about 40 delegates who had come from other provinces.

The proceedings which were conducted in Punjabi, Hindustani and English were marked by enthusiasm, which was exhibited in abundance, for the "Reds" and the Chinese comrades who were fighting their battles. Repeated slogans of "Red Army Zindabad" and 'Chinese Comrades Zindabad" were raised as speaker after speaker referred to what each one of them described as the "most heroic deeds" of Reds or the Chinese.

The one common theme of all the speakers was that the communists had saved the people, any way of the Punjab, from going astray after August 9 last. Great stress was laid by almost every speaker on the most dire necessity of preparing the country to fight the "Japanese brutes", "Fascism" and "Hitlerism." The suggested remedy for India's ills at present was also common to all speakers; they demanded the release of *Gandhiji* and other leaders and the establishment of a National Government Stress was also laid on the need of Congress-League unity.

The resolutions adopted at the conference were of unusual length and the main resolution on the political situation and a few others covered a number of foolscap single space closely typed pages

The main resolution on the political situation in the country, fastened the responsibility for precipitating the crisis and imperilling the defence and the freedom of the country on the head of the Imperialist bureaucracy. Continuing, the resolution said that the Government measures only worsened the situation. "The bureaucracy can be fought only by the unity of the Hindu and Muslim masses,

through which alone Congress-League unity can be achieved and a National Government for National defence formed," added the resolution.

Referring to the Gandhi-Linlithgow correspondence the resolution stated that *Gandhiji* took a clear initiative for settlement and for the solution of the crisis but the British Government spurned this offer for an honourable settlement and showed to what lengths it was prepared to go in its desperate determination to cling to power. In the end the resolution warned the Government to turn away from the "disastrous and impossible attempt to crush the Congress and the Indian people." It warned the British Government that the attitude of Mr. *Amery* and *Major Attlee* demanding abject humiliation from Congress leaders could only lead to untold sufferings to people and jeopardise the cause of freedom and victory over Fascism. The Viceroy's refusal to negotiate with non-party leaders for a settlement of the Indian deadlock was condemned. The resolution demanded the release of *Gandhiji* and other Congress leaders so that unity could be achieved between the Congress and the Muslim League and the entire nation rallied for realising a National Government. The resolution set before the kisans the task of "uniting in winning *Gandhiji's* release, joining hands to stop sabotage and smash the fifth column, uniting to solve the food crisis and organising a unity campaign in the rural areas to promote unity between the Hindu and the Muslim masses."

A fervent appeal to the Trade Unions and the Muslim masses and the League patriots to join the movement was made.

By the first resolution the conference conveyed "Red Salute" and greetings to the Army and expressed its most sincere appreciation of the heroic deeds of the Russian Army.

Swami Sahjanand, moving the resolution, said that the Red Army had saved not only Stalingrad, but the whole of the world. The world was proud of the heroic deeds of the Reds and even their worst critics in England and America were their most vocal admirers. The world to-day had realised that its salvation lay in clasping the hand of the Red Army and clinging fast to the Soviet friendship. The *Swami* felt certain that Russia, China and other Allied countries were bound to win. But what gladdened the *Swami's* heart most was that not only had the Red Army won and saved India and the world, but as the result of its victories the supremacy of communism had been established and the Soviet ideal had succeeded. Proceeding the *Swami* demanded the launching of the Second Front without any further delay to crush Hitlerism. He pleaded that in India also they must forge a united demand before they would ever be able to compel Mr. *Churchill*, Mr. *Amery* or *Lord Linlithgow* to change their attitude. He asked them to remember how Mr *Churchill* changed his attitude towards Russia. Mere memorandums would be of no avail.

S. Acchar Singh Chhima, while seconding the resolution, said : "Not only would Russia win, but *Hitler* will be slain" The victory of the Red Army would mean the death-knell of Imperialism, and the establishment of Mazdoor and Kisan Raj all the world over, including India. But that was possible only if they would stop the Japanese aggression and defend their own country.

The resolution was adopted amidst shouts of "Red Army Zindabad."

GREETINGS TO CHINESE

Mr *Bhagat Singh Bilga* moved the second resolution, conveying greetings to the Chinese armies to whom he paid high tributes for their acts of heroism and said that it was because of the brave Chinese that Japan's designs failed He felt that Japan's grave would be dug in China.

Mr. *Deshpande* (C P.) seconded the resolution and said that they wanted to assure China of India's friendship. He wanted the establishment of a National Government in India which would enable them to render effective help to China.

Mr. *Keral* (Andhra) moved a resolution regarding 4 'Kayyur Comrades' who were sentenced to death. The mover conveyed a message of the 4 condemned Kisan workers. *S. Deleep Singh* seconded the resolution which was passed.

POLITICAL SITUATION IN INDIA

Sardar Teja Singh Swatantra, moving the main resolution on the political situation, said that the credit for saving India from external aggression and internal disturbances and riots, which would have resulted in an unknown upheaval, went to the workers and Kisans who gave the right lead and remained calm and composed. He repeated his story of a prisoner (India) in chains with a policeman (British ruler) both faced with a leopard (Japan) and said that India should not

out of disgust, because Britain would not free her, try to throw herself into the clutches of Japan. Sabotage, he said, was like smashing the means of saving their country while the Kisans and Mazdoors were busy organising to help China and Russia and to ward off danger of Japanese aggression. He appealed for unity among all communities in order to put an end to the activities of the fifth columnists.

Mr *Bokhari* (Sind), seconding the resolution, said that though the Kisans and Communists were called "British," it had been amply proved that their policy of preparing the country against Japanese aggression and of preaching against sabotage, preaching unity between the Congress and the League and demanding release of *Gandhiji* and other leaders was the right policy. They stood fast to that policy and their demands.

Mr. *Prolekar* (Maharastra) who moved the resolution on the food situation, said that the Kisans and the Mazdoors in other parts of the country were not getting food and other necessities of life Citing his own example he said, that it was after 9 months that he had seen a wheat chapati and eaten it on coming to the Punjab. He held the Government responsible for the present state of affairs.

Mr. *Karam Singh Mann* seconding the resolution referred to the food situation in other parts of India and the Punjab which was the home of wheat. This situation was due not to any lesser growth of food—which had increased—or hoarding by Kisans but was due to hoarding by the capitalists who were doing so for profiteering The need for easing the food situation had been felt by Mahatma *Gandhi*. The Punjab Kisans were willing to solve that problem. The difficulty was that the "Unionist Lords" who possessed over 200 million maunds of wheat did not want that wheat to be exported from the Punjab so that they might earn the highest profits. The resolution was passed

S Jagjit Singh moved a resolution regarding "grow more-food." He said it was a pity that in an agricultural country like India they were feeling the paucity of food. The Kisans could certainly help to ease the situation by growing more food. Mr *Prasad Rao* (Andhra) seconded the resolution which was passed.

ARMY OF WORKERS

Swami Sahjanand moved a resolution regarding the organisation of Kisan Sabha. He said the time had come when they must have whole time and even paid workers and a complete and well-organised organisation. One-anna membership of 12 lakh Kisans would give to the All-India Kisan Sabha at the rate of one pie per member as its share about Rs 12,000 by which they could employ about 50 graduates to do research and organisation work for them The present day politics and Government were influenced not by mere slogans, but by organisation and preparations of files and for that purpose they required an army of workers.

Comrade *Abdulla Rasul*, seconding the resolution said that they should make the Kisan Sabha their own. The resolution was passed. A resolution moved from the chair demanded the release of Sj *Jagjit Singh* and Sj. *Bhagat Singh* who were lying ill in jail.

Sardar *Sohan Singh Josh*, M L. A. moved a resolution, condemning the "policy of repression" in India and particularly in the Punjab and in Kerala where the Kisan Sabha was still banned. The resolution specially referred to the continued ban on the holding of meetings, restrictions on the press, internments and detentions of Kisan workers, lathi charge and imposition of collective fines. etc. The mover mentioned several instances of alleged police excesses in Chuhr Chak and Jagraon. It was, he said, essential to put an end to those "excesses" in order to prevent the people turning fifth columnists. He added: "We are proud and we can raise our head with pride that the Punjab did not go on the wrong and foolish path which misguided people had tried to carve for them during the last some months. The result was that we were saved from ruination and air bombardments." He said that he was willing to stand a surety for Dr. *Gopi Chand, Lala Bhim Sain Sachar* and other leaders that if they were released they would oppose sabotage. He asked why these communist friends in detention were not being released. Mr. *Sharma* (Bihar) seconded the resolution which was passed.

A resolution was moved by Mr. *Jamna Karjee* (Bihar) regarding the tenancy laws. It asked the tenants to mobilise, to take advantage of the existing laws and asked the Government to pass new laws and amend the present laws so as to give adequate relief and protection to the tenants.

Mr. *Harsh Dev Malaviya* seconded the resolution which was passed.

Some resolutions regarding the co-operative movement difficulties of Kisans in the Indian States, export of agricultural produce and cotton, etc., and asking

the fixing of minimum price of sugar cane and cotton in relation to the price of sugar and cloth were moved from the chair and passed.

In his concluding remarks Mr. *Bankim Mukherjee* said that it was a matter of satisfaction that they had discussed matters concerning all provinces. This was bound to give them a wider outlook He wanted to see the Soviet system of life in action in India which would revolutionise that viewpoint. By meeting together however they could understand and know each other He hoped that the organisational work, if completed, would give their Sabha strength. They had discussed political matters most at the conference and that was due to the present war conditions. The only remedy was the establishment of a National Government. The political organisations in the country having become helpless, it was for the Kisan Sabha to do the job because it was the only long sighted organisation with a broad outlook. What the Kisan Sabha was doing to-day would be adopted by other organisations to-morrow as the only right policy he said, and added that they would have the satisfaction of having given the proper lead in difficult times.

Mr. *Mookerjee* concluded "I can tell you that before the present year passes out we would liberate India from her long and old chains and we would have a National Government established in India'

The All India Ahrar Committee

Central Committee—Saharanpur—26th. April 1943.

STATEMENT OF POLICY ABOUT INDIAN SITUATION

The All India Ahrar Committee has given its best consideration to the Akhand Bharat, Pakistan, Azad Punjab and other schemes, and has in the meantime paid attention to the havoc wrought by the world war as well as to the difficult and dangerous conditions created in areas even far away from the war zones.

Inspite of all careful deliberations, this committee does not find itself inclined to change its previous conviction that the complicated problem of Indian politics can be solved only through peace and mutual confidence between the people inhabiting this country. Therefore this committee wishes to request all protagonists of these various schemes that no scheme of the nature of Akhand Bharat, Pakistan or Azad Punjab can succeed except through mutual confidence, and if any party believes that it can get any such scheme established with the British aid, it should not ignore the fact that any scheme set up under the auspices of the British bomber will compel us to live under British enslavement, and will work only so long as the chains of British slavery subsist

Samples of such Akhand Bharats, Pakistans and Azad Punjab, have already existed in various Indian States ever since the inception of British rule. Hence it is the duty of Indian politicians to see that in their hot headed advances they may not ultimately produce only a few more helpless and beleaguered States in the country Under the circumstances this committee wishes to place on record its policy in the following words:

1. Majlise Ahrare Islam has no heartfelt interest in any scheme whose success depends on paying homage to London or needs the help of the British bayonet.

2. Majlise Ahrare Islam is not prepared to ignore the fact that friendly negotiations and peaceful atmosphere are conditions precedent for help in the final decision whether one or more centres are to be established in India, or whether its provinces are to retain their present boundaries or undergo redistribution.

3. Majlise Ahrar considers all provocative propaganda already done, or being done, by any party, whatsoever, fatal to the interests of future India or the establishment of Akhand Bharat or Pakistan or Azad Punjab; and therefor the Majlis appeals to the protagonists of every scheme to refrain from speeches, writings and all other propaganda likely to poison the atmosphere in the country, and thus refrain from creating hurdles in their own path.

4. In view of the conditions prevailing in the country, Majlise Ahrar has already decided that at present it is incumbent on us to save the country from

internal disturbances of communal or economic type and therefore all energies should be concentrated on that work. Hence just as the Majlis is not in conflict with the Government it does not wish any conflict with any group or party on religions or political grounds; and just as it does not like any conflict with Hindus, Sikhs, Christians or others, it does not consider any internal conflict between the Muslims as justifiable.

5. Although Majlise Ahrar does not consider it advisable to demand any rights from the British Government at the present juncture and prefers to consign its fate to the hands of the Almighty, nevertheless it does not wish to stand in the way of any settlement between the Hindus and the Muslim League and the Congress. The Majlis does not feel any great interest in these settlements, yet it does not like to hinder those who wish to make any such efforts at the present time. Under the circumstances it does not consider it advisable to create ill-will among the Muslims by making separate effort for any communal settlement, and makes it clear beyond doubt, that whosoever wishes any settlement may negotiate with the Muslim League, or any other party he likes but he should not expect Majlise Ahrar to entangle itself in such affairs and create internectine warfare among the Muslims.

6. Majlise Ahrar wishes to make it quite explicit that it does not consider it a religious, real and final duty of the Muslims to create or defend any geographical, racial, linguistic or other boundaries, but that on the other hand, under all circumstances, following the path shown by God and his Prophet, living virtuously in the world, cooperating with virtue, establishing States based on virtue and encouraging virtue in this world is the divine purpose of human creation, and Majlise Ahrar desires the establishment of Godly States wherever possible in this world, so that it may be demonstrated to the world that by following the golden principles of Islam this world can be cured of its afflictions and the way can be paved for welfare in this world and the next.

In this connection Majlise Ahrar wants to point out that a Godly State does not mean the control of the Government of any State falling into the hands of a Muslim majority or Muslim individuals, rather on the other hand such autocracies or plutocracies which tried to achieve their selfish objectives in the name of Islam only soiled the brilliant face of Islam and gave the world reason to despise Islam. This Majlis cannot feel satisfied with making a fresh experiment of that nature and handing over the reigns of Government to any party or group which has little respect for the religion of God. So the Majlis appeals to the Muslims to realise their duties in this respect fully and immediately, not to give opportunity to irreligion and profanity to prosper in the name of Islam by shutting their eyes on the necessities of establishment of a godly State, and to preach and impress on all Muslims the duty to follow the commandments of God and His Prophet.

The Communal Concord Conference

Mr. Humayun Mirza's Address

The following is the text of the speech of Mr. *Humayun Mirza* delivered at the Communal Concord Conference convened at Dewas (Junior) on the 28th. February, 1948 :—

I rejoice to be visiting Dewas State on the gracious invitation of His Highness the Maharaja to preside on the auspicious occasion of the Communal Concord Conference. Ours is a wide country and most of us know but our own corner of it while, thanks to His Highness, I have been able to add another corner. It is a very great privilege to become thus acquainted with this progressive State.

The feeling of a noble Indian Ruler for his subjects is much more than ordinary kindness and compassion. In this attachment, whose roots reach far into the past, there is something of the deep devotion of kinship. With the gratitude that it awakens, it may be felt through all divisions of class and fortune, conciliating, uniting, a healing and beneficent influence, through the whole atmosphere of this State.

I would gladly speak to you of concord that should exist among the diverse communities whose home is this land—at least concord and amity, if not immediate

unity. Despite the grave internal incidents with which this country has been confronted, there is no room for doubt that between the ideals of the present Government and those of the popular leaders there are greater affinities than ever before. We well know the discreet line of policy which the Government of India have followed since the beginning of the present administration and we must believe that they will continue it until the conclusion of their period. This will give sufficient time to the leaders of all the communities to arrive at a settlement among themselves for effecting the reorganisation of the country and the establishment of a *regime* representative of all communities. The series of controversies with Britain and a certain effervescence observed within this country has spread a great distrust which in the judgment of sensible people, is not justified. It would be a disaster if at the end of the war, we still found ourselves without signs of adjusting our domestic affairs satisfactorily. Justly or unjustly, it is a fact that we have been losing all our prestige as a people capable of self-government. Our imprudences and our excesses have caused foreigners to judge us as without judgment and without true patriotism, our own intemperance in judging one another perhaps contributing no little to this lamentable result.

Our communal and social problems are to be among the greatest problems of the generation just moving on to the stage of action. The attitude of the various communities toward one another, and particularly of the two major communities toward each other will be the chief problem. Already, it is imperatively demanding a solution. Gradually, as the years have passed, a separation has been going on but never so rapidly as of late. Each has come to regard the other as an enemy, with no interests in common, conceiving rather that what is for the interests of one must necessarily be to the detriment of the other. It is indeed time to waken up to these facts and conditions, for they must be squarely met

Our big men to-day as of yore think of the country, and what they could make it and not what they could make *out* of it. The right sort of Indian isn't extinct by any means. And invisible among our four hundred millions there is a quiet legion, living untainted in the depths. Away down deep there's a cry of kinship in each one of us; and that the one nor the other hears it, has been as much the fault of the one as of the other We see that very well now. We must thrash out *together* the way to an understanding; an agreement is not in the least necessary. We could agree to differ, for that matter, with perfect cordiality, but an understanding we must reach. Of course, we have a family quarrel, but we are a family all the same, and a fine one, too. We know each other, we visit each other, we write letters, send presents We in short, have joined hands from one generation to another. There is a permanent something within us—a Greater Self—a permanent something, which has created all the religions all over the earth from the beginning, and of which Islam and Hinduism themselves are merely two of the present temples. "Wherever I look", once said Ramkrishna, who was one of the greatest religious teachers of our time, for he taught that every religion is true and a possible way of reaching God, "Wherever I look, I see men quarrelling in the name of religion—Hindus, Mohamedans, Brahmins, Vaishnavas and the rest. But they never reflect that he who is called Krishna is also called Siva, and bears the name of the Primal Energy, Jesus, and Allah—the same Rama with a thousand names." In this message is a means of ending those bitter feuds and quarrels which in the name of religion have been, and still are a curse to humankind.

Our life is full of discord, but by forbearance this same discord can be turned to harmony. It must be left to time and the impulse of educational influences to afford the opportunity for the subsidence of fundamental differences. Therefore, it is not so much a question of legislation or of education and right doing. Whatever India's political evolution—whether on linguistic bases or any other—the problem of minorities will remain The minority communities are the majority communities' sacred trust. The good of the whole depends upon the good of each, and the good of each makes the good of the whole. Let the majorities, then, attend to the safeguarding of the religion, language and culture of the minorities and let there be a proper representation of the minorities in the respective legislatures and services and the whole will take care of itself Let each individual, irrespective of caste or creed, minority or majority, work in harmony with every other in the various spheres of the activities of their Provinces and States and harmony will pervade the whole. The old theory of competition—that in order to have great advancement, great progress, we must have great competition to induce it—is as false as it is savage and detrimental in its nature. We are just reaching that point where the wiser men and women are beginning to

see its falsity. They are recognising the fact that not competition, but co-operation, reciprocity, is the great, the true power—to climb, not by attempting to drag, to keep down one's fellows, but by aiding them, and being in turn aided by them, thus combining, and so multiplying the power of all instead of wasting a large part one against the other. Each is but a part, a member, of the great civil body; and no member, let alone the entire body, can be perfectly at ease, when any other part is in disease. No one part of the community, no one part of the nation, can stand alone; all are dependent, interdependent. This is the uniform teaching of history from the remotest times in the past right through to the present. A most admirable illustration of this fact—if indeed the word "admirable" can be used in connection with a matter so deplorable—is our trouble to-day. We will all be wise in our time to learn from experiences of this terrific nature. That the the combination of the various communities is a matter of the greatest difficulty is reason rather for serious effort to overcome it, than for impatiently rejecting all overtures for a friendly settlement. The ordinary every day experiences of life show quite clearly that human intercourse is possible because of a similarity between the different minds. The capacity to understand a common language to engage in co-operation for the satisfaction of common needs these and a thousand other things reveal an essential likeness which transcends the elements of diversity and of opposition. Yet beyond these similarities, the very nature of many of the diversities is such that they are able to fit together to make a wider and richer whole. I believe that the key to India's salvation lies with our Indian Rulers. The Indian Ruler of to-day, whether he be of the same race as his people or not, is still regarded as their *Ma Bap* as he was thousands of years ago. His word is above dispute and his merest wish is a command. He is the sun of the local firmament, and his office is inseparable from his person: his features are familiar in every village, and it is his personal festivals, his birthdays and his wedding-days, that are the great holidays of the people, and lend colour and interest to their lives. Born to such leadership, we may look to them with confidence to continue to accord sympathy and support to the purposes of a conference such as this, convened on the initiative of His Highness Maharaja Shrimant Sadashiv Rao Khase Saheb Pawar of Dewas Junior.

The All India Jat Conference

31st. Session—Lahore—27th March 1943

Proceedings and Resolutions

A call to the Jats of India to organise themselves for the protection of their political and economic rights and as a martial race to make an all-out effort for the successful prosecution of the war was made by *Captain Naunihal Singh*, Member of the National a Defence Council, in the course of his presidential address at the annual session of the all-India Jat Conference which opened at Lahore on the 27th. March 1943.

The Conference concluded its session on the next day, the 28th. March in the afternoon after passing a series of resolutions including the one moved by Sir *Chhoturam* Revenue Minister, Punjab, calling upon the Jats to assemble on one platform irrespective of their religious faiths and to organise a central Jat organisation in the Punjab with branches in all districts.

Sir *Chhoturam* made an appeal for two lakhs of rupees to be utilised on the organisation of the Jat community to safe-guard their political and economic rights. In response to the appeal donations amounting to Rs. 12,000 were announced on the spot.

Another resolution moved by *Khan Bahadur Chaudhari Riasat Ali*, M.L.A., strongly urged the Government not to control the prices of food grains. It also adopted a resolution, moved by Mr. *Chaudhari Tikka Ram*, M.L.A., promising co-operation to other political organisations for the attainment of independence by all constitutional means.

Captain Naunihal Singh, member of the National Defence Council, in his concluding remarks, advised the Jats to maintain their glorious martial traditions by offering unstinted support in the successful prosecution of the war.

Mahatma Gandhi's Fast

India Government's Communique

Mahatma Gandhi undertook a fast of three weeks' duration from the **10th of February 1948.** A Government of India Press Communique issued in this connection said that it was to be a fast according to capacity and during it, *Mahatma Gandhi* proposed to add juices of citrus fruit to water to make the water drinkable, as his wish was not to fast to death but to survive the ordeal. *Gandhiji* intended originally to start his fast on February 9, but later changed the date to the 10th. The following is the full text of the communique:

"Mr. *Gandhi* has informed H.E. the Viceroy that he proposes to undertake a fast of three weeks' duration from February 10. It is to be a fast according to capacity, and during it Mr. *Gandhi* proposes to add juices of citrus fruit to water to make water drinkable, as his wish is not to fast to death but to survive the ordeal.

"The Government of India deplore the use of the weapon of fasting to achieve political ends. There can, in their judgment, be no justification for it, and Mr. *Gandhi* has himself admitted in the past that it contains an element of coercion.

"The Government of India can only express their regret that Mr. *Gandhi* should think it necessary to employ such a weapon on this occasion and should seek justification for it in anything which Government may have said or done in connexion with the movement initiated by him and his co-workers in the Congress Party.

"The Government of India have no intention on their part of allowing the fast to deflect their policy. Nor will they be responsible for its consequences on Mr. *Gandhi's* health. They cannot prevent Mr. *Gandhi* from fasting. It was their wish, however, that if he decided to do so, he should do so as a free man and under his own arrangements, so as to bring out clearly that the responsibility for any fast and its consequences rested exclusively with him

"They accordingly informed Mr. *Gandhi* that he would be released for the purpose and for the duration of the fast of which he had notified them, and with him any members of the Party living with him who may wish to accompany him. Mr. *Gandhi* in reply has expressed his readiness to abandon his intended fast if released, failing which he will fast in detention. In other words it is now clear that only his unconditional release could prevent him from fasting. This, the Government of India are not prepared to concede. Their position remains the same, that is to say, they are ready to set Mr. *Gandhi* at liberty for the purpose and duration of his fast. But if Mr. *Gandhi* is not prepared to take advantage of that fact and if he fasts while in detention, he does so solely on his own responsibility and at his own risk. He would be at liberty in that event to have his own medical attendants, and also to receive visits from friends with the permission of Government during its period.

Origin And Development Of Movement

"The Government of India propose to issue, in due course, a full statement on the origin and development of the movement which was initiated in August last, and the measures which Government have been compelled to adopt to deal with it, but they think this is a suitable occasion for a brief review of the events of the last few months.

"Mr. *Gandhi* in his correspondence with the Viceroy has repudiated all responsibility for the consequences which have flowed from the 'Quit India' demand which he and the Congress Party have put forward. This contention will not bear examination. Mr. *Gandhi's* own statement, before the movement was launched, envisaged anarchy as an alternative to the existing order and referred to the struggle 'as a fight to the finish,' in the course of which he would not 'hesitate to run any risk, however great' As much has been made of his offer to meet the Viceroy, it is necessary to point out that at a Press interview on July 14, after the Working Committee resolution was passed, Mr. *Gandhi* stated that there was no room left in the proposal for withdrawal or negotiation, there was no question of one more chance; after all it was an open rebellion which was to be as short and as swift as possible.

"His last message was 'do or die.' The speeches of those most closely

associated with Mr. *Gandhi* have been even more explicit, and have given a clear indication of what the Congress High Command had in mind in launching their attack—an attack which would, if realised, have most seriously imperilled the whole cause of the United Nations—against Government as by law established and against the agencies and services by which the life of the country was being conducted, in a period, be it noted, of exceptional stress and strain, and of grave danger to India from Japanese aggression.

CIRCULAR OF JULY 29

"The instructions issued by the various Congress organisations, contained in leaflets which were found to be freely circulating in almost every part of India and which, on the evidence, cannot all be disowned as unauthorised, gave specific directions as to the methods which were to be employed for bringing the administration to a stand-still.

"The circular of July 29 emanating from the Andhra Provincial Congress Committee is an instance in point It is noteworthy in this connexion that in widely separated areas all over the country identical methods of attacks on railways and other communications were employed, requiring the use of special implements and highly technical knowledge. Control rooms and block instruments in railway stations came in for special attention, and destruction of telegraph and telephone lines and equipment was carried out in a manner which denoted careful planning and close knowledge of their working. If these manifestations of rebellious activities are to be regarded as the result not of Congress teachings, but as a manifestation of the popular resentment against the arrest of Mr. *Gandhi* and the Congress leaders, the question may well be asked to which section of the public the tens of thousands of men engaged in these violent and subversive activities belonged. If it is claimed that it is not Congressmen who have been responsible, it would be extraordinary, to say the least, if the blame were to be laid on non-Congress elements. The country is, in effect, asked to believe that those who own allegiance to the Congress Party have behaved in an exemplary non-violent manner and that it is persons who are outside the Congress fold who have registered their resentment at the arrest of the leaders of a movement which they did not profess to follow

"A more direct answer to the argument is to be had in the fact that known Congressmen have been repeatedly found engaged in incitements to violence, or in prosecuting Congress activities which have led to grave disorders.

"That political parties and groups outside the Congress Party have no delusions on the subject may be judged from the categorical way in which they have dissociated themselves from the movement, and condemned the violence to which it has given rise. In particular, the Muslim League has, on more than one occasion, emphasised the character and intentions of the policy pursued by the Congress Party. As early as the 20th of August last, the Working Committee of the League expressed the view reiterated many times since, that by the slogan 'Quit India' what was really meant was supreme control of the government of the country by the Congress, and that the mass civil disobedience movement had resulted in lawlessness and considerable destruction of life and property.

"Other elements in the political life of the country have expressed themselves in a similar vein and if followers of the Congress persist in their contention that the resultant violence was no part of their policy or programme, they are doing so against the weight of overwhelming evidence.

"Mr *Gandhi* in his letter to the Viceroy has sought to fasten responsibility on the Goverment of India. The Government of India emphatically repudiate this suggestion. It is clearly preposterous to contend that it is they who are responsible for the violence of the last few months which so gravely disorganised the normal life of the country—and, incidentally, aggravated the difficulties of the food situation—at a time when the united energies of the people might have been devoted to the vital task of repelling the enemy and of striking a blow for the freedom of India, the Commonwealth and the world."

Linlithgow-Gandhi Correspondence

The following is the correspondence which passed between His Excellency the Viceroy and Mr. *Gandhi*. Mr. *Gandhi* agreed to the publication of his personal letters of December 31, 1942, and January 19. 1943.

MR. GANDHI'S LETTER TO VICEROY—*New Year's Eve, 1943*

Dear Lord Linlithgow,

This is a very personal letter. I have allowed many suns to set on a quarrel

I have harboured against you, but I must not allow the old year to expire without disburdening myself of what is rankling in my breast against you. I had thought we were friends and should still love to think so. However, what has happened since the 9th of August last makes me wonder whether you still regard me as a friend. I have perhaps not come in such close touch with any other occupant of your *gadi* as with you.

Your arrest of me, the communique you issued thereafter, your reply to Rajaji and the reasons given therefor, Mr. *Amery's* attack on me and much else I can catalogue to show that at some stage or other you must have suspected my *bona fides*. Mention of other Congressmen in the same connexion is by the way. I seem to be the *fons et origo* of all the evils imputed to the Congress. If I have not ceased to be your friend why did you not before taking drastic action, send for me, tell me of your suspicions and make yourself sure of your facts ? I am quite capable of seeing myself as others see me but in this case I have failed hopelessly. I find that all the statements made about me in Government quarters in this connexion contain palpable departures from truth. I have so much fallen from grace that I could not establish contact with a dying friend. I mean Prof. Bhansali who is fasting in regard to the Chimur affair, and I am expected to condemn the so-called violence of some people reputed to be Congressmen, although I have no data for such condemnation save the heavily censored reports of newspapers. I must own that I thoroughly distrust these reports. I could write much more but I must not lengthen my tale of woe. I am sure that what I have said is enough to enable you to fill in details.

Law Of Satyagraha

You know I returned to India from S. Africa at the end of 1914 with a mission which came to me in 1906 namely, to spread truth and non-violence among mankind in the place of violence and falsehood in all walks of life. The law of *satyagraha* knows no defeat. Prison is one of the many ways of spreading the message, but it has its limits. You have placed me in a palace where every reasonable creature comfort is ensured. I have freely partaken of the latter purely as a matter of duty, never as a pleasure, in the hope that some day those that have the power will realise that they have wronged innocent men. I have given myself 6 months. The period is drawing to a close, so is my patience. The law of *satyagraha*, as I know it, prescribes a remedy in such moments of trial. In a sentence it is 'crucify the flesh by fasting." That same law forbids its use except as a last resort. I do not want to use it if I can avoid it. This is the way to avoid it. Convince me of my error or errors and I shall make ample amends. You can send for me or send someone who knows your mind and carry conviction. There are many other ways if you have the will. May I expect an early reply ? May the New Year bring peace to us all.

I am, your sincere friend,
M. K. Gandhi.

The Viceroy's Reply —*January 13, 1943*

Thank you for your personal letter of December 31, which I have just received. I fully accept its personal character and I welcome its frankness. And my reply will be as you would wish it to be, as frank and as entirely personal as your letter itself.

I was glad to have your letter, for, to be as open with you as our previous relations justify, I have been profoundly depressed during recent months, first by the policy that was adopted by the Congress in August, secondly, because while that policy gave rise as it was obvious it must, throughout the country to violence and crime (I say nothing of the risks to India from outside aggression) no word of condemnation for that violence and crime should have come from you or from the Working Committee. When you were first at Poona I knew that you were not receiving newspapers, and I accepted that as explaining your silence. When arrangements were made that you and the Working Committee should have such newspapers as you desired I felt certain that the details those newspapers contained of what was happening would shock and distress you as much as it has us all, and that you would be anxious to make your condemnation of it categorical and widely known.

But that was not the case : and it has been a real disappointment to me, all the more when I think of these murders, the burning alive of police officials, the wrecking of trains, the destruction of property, the misleading of these young students which has done so much harm to India's good name, and to the Congress

Party. You may take it from me that the newspaper accounts you mention are well founded—I only wish they were not for the story is a bad one. I well know the immense weight of your great authority in the Congress movement and with the party and those who follow its lead and I wish I could feel, again speaking very frankly, that a heavy responsibility did not rest on you. (And unhappily, while the initial responsibility rests with the leaders, others have to bear the consequences, whether as law-breakers, with the results that that involves, or as the victims).

But if I am right in reading your letter to mean that in the light of what has happened you wish to retrace your steps and dissociate yourself from the policy of last summer you have only to let me know and I will at once consider the matter further, and if I have failed to understand your object you must not hesitate to let me know without delay in what respect I have done so and tell me what positive suggestion you wish to put to me. You know me well enough after these many years to believe that I shall be only too concerned to read with the same close attention as ever any message which I receive from you to give it the fullest weight, and to approach it with the deepest anxiety to understand your feeling and your motives.

MR. GANDHI'S SECOND LETTER—*January 19, 1943*

I received your kind letter of the 13th instant yesterday at 2-30 p m. I had almost despaired of ever hearing from you. Please excuse my impatience.

Your letter gladdens me to find that I have not lost caste with you.

My letter of 31st December was a growl against you. Yours is a counter-growl. It means that you maintain that you were right in arresting me and you were sorry for the omissions of which, in your opinion, I was guilty

The inference you draw from my letter is, I am afraid, not correct I have re-read your letter in the light of your interpretation but I have failed to find your meaning in it. I wanted to fast and should still want to, if nothing comes out of our correspondence and I have to be a helpless witness to what is going on in the country, including the privations of the millions owing to the universal scarcity stalking the land.

If I do not accept your interpretation of my letter, you want me to make a positive suggestion. This, I might be able to do, only if you put me among the members of the Working Committee of the Congress.

If I could be convinced of my error or worse of which you are evidently aware I should need to consult nobody so far as my own action is concerned, to make a full and open confession and make ample amends. But I have not any conviction of error. I wonder if you saw my letter to the Secretary to the Government of India, of 23rd September, 1942 I adhere to what I have said in it and in my letter to you of 14th August 1942.

Of course, I deplore the happenings which have taken place since 9th August last. But have I not laid the whole blame for them at the door of the Government of India ? Moreover, I could not express any opinion on events which I cannot influence or control and of which I have but a one sided account You are bound *prima facie* to accept the accuracy of reports that may be placed before you by your departmental heads. But you will not expect me to do so. Such reports have before now often proved fallible. It was for that reason that in my letter of 31st December I pleaded with you to convince me of the correctness of the information on which your conviction was based. You will, perhaps, appreciate my fundamental difficulty in making the statement you have expected me to make.

This, however, I can say from the housetop—that I am as confirmed a believer in non-violence as I have ever been You may not know that any violence on the part of Congress workers I have condemned openly and unequivocally. I have even done public penance more than once. I must not worry you with examples. The point I wish to make is that on every such occasion I was a free man.

This time, the retracing as I have submitted lies with the Government. You will forgive me for expressing an opinion challenging yours I am certain that nothing but good would have resulted if you had stayed your hand and granted me the interview which I had announced on the night of the 8th August I was to seek. But that was not to be. Here, may I remind you that the Government of India have before now owned their mistakes ? As for instance, in the Punjab when the late General Dyer was condemned ; in the United Provinces when a corner of a mosque in Cawnpore was restored ; and in Bengal when Partition was annulled. All these things were done in spite of great and previous mob violence.

To sum up:—

If you want me to act singly, convince me that I was wrong and I will make ample amends.

If you want me to make any proposal on behalf of the Congress you should put me among the Congress Working Committee members I do plead with you to make up your mind to end the impasse.

If I am obscure or have not answered your letter fully please point out the omissions and I shall make an attempt to give you satisfaction.

I have no mental reservation.

I find that my letters to you are sent through the Government of Bombay. This procedure must involve some loss of time. As time is of the essence in this matter, perhaps you will issue instructions that my letters to you may be sent directly by the Superintendent of this camp.

VICEROY ON CONGRESS & THE DISTURBANCES—*January 25, 1943*

Many thanks for your personal letter of the 19th January, which I have just received, and which I need not say I have read with close care and attention. But I am still, I fear, in the dark. I made clear to you in my last letter that, however reluctantly the course of events and my familiarity with what has been taking place has left me no choice but to regard the Congress movement, and you as its authorised and fully empowered spokesman at the time of the decision of last August, as responsible for the sad campaign of violence and crime, and revolutionary activity which has done so much harm, and so much injury to India's credit, since last August. I note what you say about non-violence. I am very glad to read your unequivocal condemnation of violence, and I am well aware of the importance which you have given to that article of your creed in the past but the events of these last months, and even the events that are happening today show that it has not met with the full support of certain, at any rate, of your followers, and the mere fact that they may have fallen short of an ideal which you have advocated is no answer to the relations of those who have lost their lives, and to those themselves who have lost their property or suffered severe injury as a result of violent activities on the part of Congress and its supporters And I cannot, I fear, accept as an answer your suggestion that "the whole blame" has been laid by you yourself at the door of the Government of India. We are dealing with facts in this matter and they have to be faced

And while, as I made clear in my last letter I am very anxious to have from you anything that you have to say or any specific proposition that you may have to make, the position remains that it is not the Government of India, but Congress and yourself, that are on their justification in this matter

If therefore you are anxious to inform me that you repudiate or dissociate yourself from the resolution of the 9th August and the policy which that resolution represents and; if you can give me appropriate assurances as regards the future, I shall, I need not say, be very ready to consider the matter further. It is of course very necessary to be clear on that point, and you will not, I know, take it amiss that I should make that clear in the plainest possible words.

I will ask the Governor of Bombay to arrange that any communication from you should be sent through him, which will, I trust, reduce delay in its transmission.

MR. GANDHI'S THIRD LETTER—*January 29, 1943*

I must thank you warmly for your prompt reply to my letter of 19th instant. I wish I could agree with you that your letter is clear. I am sure you do not wish to imply by clearness simply that you hold a particular opinion strongly. I have pleaded and would continue to plead, till the last breath, that you should at least make an attempt to convince me of the validity of the opinion you hold that the August Resolution of the Congress is responsible for the popular violence that broke out on August 9 last and after even though it broke out after the wholesale arrest of principal Congress workers. Was not the drastic and unwarranted action of the Government responsible for the reported violence?

You have not even said what part of the August Resolution is bad or offensive in your opinion. That Resolution is in no way a retraction by the Congress of its policy of non-violence. It is definitely against Fascism in every shape or form. It renders co-operation in the war effort under circumstances which alone can make effective and nationwide co-operation possible.

Is all this open to reproach? Objection may be raised to that clause of the Resolution which contemplated civil disobedience: but that itself cannot constitute

an objection since the principle of civil disobedience is impliedly conceded in what is known as the "Gandhi-Irwin Pact." Even that civil disobedience was not to be started before knowing the result of the meeting for which I was to seek from you an appointment.

Then, take the unproved, and in my opinion, unprovable, charges hurled against the Congress and me by so responsible a minister as the Secretary of State for India.

Surely I can say with safety that it is for Government to justify their action by solid evidence not by mere *ipse dixit*.

But you throw in my face the facts of murders by persons reputed to be Congressmen. I see the fact of murders as clearly, I hope, as you do. My answer is that the Government goaded the people to the point of madness They started leonine violence in the shape of the arrests already referred to. That violence is not any the less so because it is organised on a scale so gigantic that it displaces the Mosaic Law of truth for truth by that of 10,000 for 1--not to mention the corollary of the Mosaic Law, *i.e.*, of non-resistance as enunciated by Jesus Christ. I cannot interpret in any other manner the repressive measures of the all-powerful Government of India.

Add to this tale of woe the privations of the poor millions due to India-wide scarcity which I cannot help thinking might have been largely mitigated, if not altogether prevented, had there been a bonafide National Government responsible to a popularly elected assembly.

If then I cannot get soothing balm for my pain I must resort to the law prescribed for satyagrahis, namely, a fast according to capacity. I must commence after the early morning breakfast of February 8 a fast for 21 days ending on the morning of March 2. Usually, during my fasts I take water with the addition of of salts. But nowadays, my system refuses water. This time, therefore, I propose to add juices of citrus fruit to make water drinkable For my wish is not to fast unto death, but to survive the ordeal, if God so wills. This fast can be ended sooner by the Government giving the needed relief.

I am not marking this letter personal as I did the two previous ones. They were in no way confidential. They were a mere personal appeal

The Government have evidently ignored or overlooked the very material fact that the Congress by its August Resolution asked nothing for itself. All its demands were for the whole people. As you should be aware the Congress was willing and prepared for the Government inviting *Q. A. Jinnah* to form a National Government subject to such agreed adjustments as may be necessary for the duration of the war, such Government being responsible to a duly elected assembly. Being isolated from the Working Committee except Shrimati *Sarojini Devi*, I do not know its present mind. But the Committee is not likely to have changed its mind.

LORD LINLITHGOW'S REPLY—*February 5th. 1943.*

Many thanks for your letter of January 29, which I have just received I have read, as always, with great care and with every anxiety to follow your mind and to do full justice to your argument. But I fear that my view of the responsibility of Congress and of yourself personally for the lamentable disorders of last autumn remains unchaned.

2. In my last letter I said that my knowledge of the facts left me no choice but to regard the Congress movements and you as its authorized and fully empowered leader at the time of the decision of last August as responsible for the campaign of violence and crime that subsequently broke out. In reply, you have reiterated your request that I should attempt to convince you that my opinion is correct. I would readily have responded earlier to that request were it not that your letters have no indication, such as I should have been entitled to expect, that you sought the information with an open mind. In each of them you have expressed profound distrust of the published reports of the recent happenings, although in your last letter, on the basis of the same information, you have not hesitated to lay the whole blame for them on the Government of India. In the same letter, you have stated that I cannot expect you to accept the accuracy of the official reports on which I rely. It is not, therefore, clear to me how you expect or ever desire me to convince you of anything. But in fact, the Government of India have never made any secret of their reasons for holding the Congress and its leaders responsible for the deplorable acts of violence, sabotage and terrorism that have occured since the Congress Resolution of August 8 declared a "mass struggle" in

pport of its demands, appointed you as its leader and authorised all Congress-
en to act for themselves in the event of interference with the leadership of the
ovement.

CONCERTED PLAN

A body which passes a Resolution in such terms is hardly entitled to disclaim
sponsibility for any events that followed it. There is evidence that you and your
iends expected this policy to lead to violence and that you were prepared to
ndone it, and that the violence that ensued formed part of a concerted plan,
nceived long before the arrest of Congress leaders. The general nature of the
se against the Congress has been publicly stated by the Home Member, Govern-
ent of India, in his speech in the Central Legislative Assembly on September
last, and if you need further information I would refer you to it.

I enclose a complete copy in case the Press versions that you must have seen
are not sufficient. I need only add that all the mass of evidence that has since
me to light has confirmed the conclusions then reached. I have ample infor-
ation that the campaign of sabotage has been conducted under secret instructions,
rculated in the name of the All-India Congress Committee; that well-known
ongressmen have organised and freely taken part in acts of violence and murder;
id that, even now an underground Congress organisation exists in which, among
hers, the wife of a member of the Congress Working Committee plays a prominent
irt, and which is actively engaged in planning the bomb outrages and other acts
terrorism that have disgusted the whole country. If we do not act on all this
formation, or make it publicly known, it is because the time is not yet ripe,
it you may rest assured that the charges against the Congress will have to be
et sooner or later, and it will then be for you and your colleagues to clear
ourselves before the world if you can. And if, in the meanwhile you yourself,
y any action such as you now appear to be contemplating, attempt to find an
asy way out, the judgment will go against you by default.

GANDHI-IRWIN PACT

3. I have read with some surprise your statement that the principle of civil
isobedience is implicitly conceded in the Delhi settlement of March 5 1931, which
ou refer to as the "Gandhi-Irwin Pact" I have again looked at the document,
s basis was that civil disobedience would be "effectively discontinued" and that
ertain reciprocal action would be taken by Government It was inherent in such a
ocument that it should take notice .of the existence of civil disobedience. But I
an find nothing in it to suggest that civil disobedience was recognised as being
i any circumstances legitimate. And I cannot make it too plain that it is not
o regarded by my Government.

4. To accept the point of view which you put forward would be to concede that
ie authorised Government of the country, on which lies the responsibility for
aintaining peace and good order should allow subversive and revolutionary
iovements, described by you yourself as open rebellion, to take place unchallenged;
iat they should allow preparations for violence, for the interruption of commu-
ications, for attacks on innocent persons, for the murder of police officers and
thers to proceed unchecked. My Government and I are open indeed to the charge
iat we should have taken drastic action at an earlier stage against you and against
ie Congress leaders. But my anxiety and that of my Government, has throughout been
o give you, and to give the Congress organisation, every possible opportunity to with-
raw from the position which you have decided to take up Your statements of last June
nd July, the original resolution of the Working Committee of July 14, and your
eclaration on the same day that there was no room left for negotiations, and
hat after all, it was an open rebellion, are all of them grave and significant, even
without your final exhortation to "do or die." But with a patience that was
erhaps misplaced, it was decided to wait until the resolution of the All-India
Congress Committee made it clear that there could be no further toleration of the
Congress attitude if Government was to discharge its responsibility to the people
f India.

5. Let me in conclusion say how greatly I regret, having regard to your
iealth and your age, the decision that you tell me that you now have it in mind
o take. I hope and pray that wiser counsels may yet prevail with you. But the
lecision whether or not to undertake a fast with its attendant risks is clearly one
hat must be taken by you alone, and the responsibility for which and for its
consequences must rest on you alone. I trust sincerely that in the light of what I
have said you may think better of your resolution; and I would welcome a decision

on your part to think better of it, not only because of my own natural reluctance to see you wilfully risk your life, but because I regard the use of a fast for political purposes as a from of political blackmail (*Himsa*) for which there can be no moral justification, and understood from your own previous writings that this was also your view.

MR. GANDHI'S FOURTH LETTER—*February 7, 1943*

I have to thank you for your long reply dated February 5 last. I would take your last point first, namely, the contemplated fast which begins on February 9. Your letter, from a satyagrahi's standpoint, is an invitation to fast. No doubt the responsibility for the step, and its consequences will be solely mine. You have allowed an expression to slip from your pen for which I was unprepared. In the concluding sentence of the second paragraph you describe the step as an attempt "to find an easy way out." That you, as a friend, can impute such a base and cowardly motive to me passes comprehension. You have also described it as "a form of political blackmail." And you quote my previous writings on the subject against me. I abide by my writings. I hold that there is nothing inconsistent in them with the contemplated step. I wonder whether you have yourself read those writings.

I do claim that I have approached you with an open mind when I asked you to convince me of my error. "Profound distrust" of the published reports is in no way inconsistent with my having an open mind.

You say that there is evidence that I—I leave my friends out for the moment —"expected this policy to lead to violence," that I was 'prepared to condone it,' and that "the violence that ensued formed part of a concerted plan conceived long before the arrest of Congress leaders." I have seen no evidence in support of such a serious charge. You admit that part of the evidence has yet to be published. The speech of the Home Member, of which you have favoured me with a copy, may be taken as the opening speech of the prosecution counsel and nothing more. It contains unsupported imputations against Congressmen. Of course, he has described the violent outburst in graphic language; but he has not said why it took place when it did. You have condemned men and women before trying them and hearing their defence. Surely there is nothing wrong in my asking you to show me the evidence on which you hold them guilty. What you say in your letter carries no conviction. Proof should correspond to the canons of English jurisprudence.

If the wife of a member of the Working Committee is actively engaged in "planning the bomb outrages and other acts of terrorism," she should be tried before a court of law and punished if found guilty. The lady you refer to could only have done things attributed to her after the wholesale arrests of August 9 last, which I have dared to describe as leonine violence.

You say that the time is not yet ripe to publish the charges against the Congress. Have you ever thought of the possibility of their being found baseless when they are put before an impartial tribunal? Or that some of the condemned persons might have died in the meanwhile, or that some of the evidence that the living can produce might become unavailable?

PRINCIPLE OF CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

I reiterate the statement that the principle of civil disobedience implicitly conceded in the settlement of March 5,1931, arrived at between the then Viceroy on behalf of the Government of India and myself on behalf of the Congress. I hope you know that the principal Congressmen were discharged before that settlement was even thought of. Certain reparations were made to Congressmen under that settlement. Civil disobedience was discontinued on certain conditions being fulfilled by the Government. That by itself was in my opinion, an acknowledgment of its legitimacy, of course under given circumstances. It, therefore, seems somewhat strange to find you maintain that civil disobedience "cannot be recognised as being in any circumstances legitimate" by your Government. You ignore the practice of the British Government which has recognised this legitimacy under the name of "passive resistance."

Lastly you read into my letters a meaning which is wholly inconsistent with my declaration, in one of them, of adherence to unadulterated non-violence, for, you say in your letter under reply that "acceptance of my point of view would be to concede that the authorised Government of the country on which lies the responsibilities for maintaining peace and good order, should allow movements to take place that would admit preparations for violence, interruption of communications, for attacks on innocent persons, for murders of police officers and others to

proceed unchecked." I must be a strange friend of yours whom you believe to be capable of asking for recognition of such things as lawful.

I have not attempted an exhaustive reply to the views and statements attributed to me. This is not the place, nor the time, for such a reply. I have only picked out those things which in my opinion, demanded an immediate answer. You have left me no loophole for escaping the ordeal I have set before myself. I begin it on February 9 with the clearest possible conscience. Despite your description of it as "a form of political blackmail," it is on my part meant to be an appeal to the highest tribunal for justice which I have failed to secure from you. If I do not survive the ordeal, I shall go to the Judgment Seat with the fullest faith in my innocence Posterity will judge between you as representative of an all-powerful Government and me as a humble man who has tried to serve his country and humanity through it.

My last letter was written against time, and, therefore, a material paragraph went in as postscript. I now send herewith a fair copy typed by Pyarelal who has taken Mahadeo Desai's place. You will find the postscript paragraph restored to the place where it should have been.

Annexures

The following annexures containing Mr. *Gandhi's* letter to the Viceroy on August 14 last, the Viceroy's reply thereto, and Mr *Gandhi's* letter to the Secretary, Home Department Government of India, New Delhi, were released for publication with the Gandhi-Viceroy correspondence.

ANNEXURE 1—MR. GANDHI'S LETTER—*August 14, 1942*

Dear Lord Linlithgow,

The Government of India were wrong in precipitating the crisis. The Government Resolution justifying this step is full of distortions and misrepresentations. That you have the approval of your Indian colleagues can have no significance except this that in India you can always command such services. That co-operation is an additional justification for the demand of withdrawal irrespective of what people and parties may say.

The Government of India should have waited at least till the time I inaugurated mass action. I have publicly stated that I fully contemplated sending you a letter before taking concrete action. It was to be an appeal to you for an impartial examination of the Congress case. As you know the Congress has readily filled in every omission that has been discovered in the conception of its demand. So could I have dealt with every difficulty if you had given me the opportunity. The precipitate action of the Government leads one to think that they were afraid that the extreme caution and gradualness with which the Congress was moving towards direct action might make world opinion veer round to the Congress as it had already begun doing, and expose the hollowness of the grounds for the Government's rejection of the Congress demand. They should surely have waited for an authentic report of my speeches on Friday and on Saturday night after the passing of the resolution by the A.I.C.C. You would have found in them that I would not hastily begin action. You should have taken advantage of the interval foreshadowed in them, and explored every possibility of satisfying the Congress demand.

The Resolution says: "The Government of India have waited patiently in the hope that wiser counsels might prevail They have been disappointed in that hope" I suppose "wiser counsels" here means abandonment of its demand by the Congress. Why should the abandonment of the demand, legitimate at all times, be hoped for by a Government pledged to guarantee independence to India? Is it a challenge that could only be met by immediate repression instead of patient reasoning with the demanding party? I venture to suggest that it is a long draft upon the credulity of mankind to say that the acceptance of the demand would plunge India into confusion. Anyway the summary rejection of the demand has plunged the nation and the Government into confusion. The Congress was making every effort to identify India with the Allied cause.

THE GOVERNMENT RESOLUTION

The Government Resolution says: "The Governor-General in Council has been aware too for some days past of dangerous preparations by the Congress Party for unlawful and, in some cases, violent activities directed among other things to interruption of communications and public utility services, the organisation of strikes tampering with the loyalty of Government servants and interference with defence measures including recruitment."

This is a gross distortion of the reality. Violence was never contemplated at any stage. A definition of what could be included in nonviolent action has been interpreted in a sinister and subtle manner, as if the Congress was preparing for violent action. Everything was openly discussed among Congress circles for nothing was to be done secretly. And why is it tampering with your loyalty if I ask you to give up a job which is harming the British people?

Instead of publishing behind the backs of principal Congressmen the misleading paragraphs, the Government, immediately they came to know of the "preparations" should have brought to book the parties concerned with the preparations. That would have been the appropriate course By their unsupported allegations in the Resolution they have laid themselves open to the charge of unfair dealing.

The Congress movemont was intended to evoke in the people the measure of sacrifice sufficient to compel attention. It was intended to demonstrate what measure of popular support it had. Was it wise at this time of the day to seek to suppress a popular movement avowedly non-violent?

Congress Offer

The Government Resolution further says: "The Congress is not India's mouth piece. Yet in the interests of securing their own dominance and in pursuit of their totalitarian policy its leaders have constantly impeded the efforts made to bring India to full nationhood." It is a gross libel thus to accuse the oldest national organisation of India. This language lies ill in the mouth of a Government which has, as can be proved from published records, consistently thwarted every national effort for attaining freedom, and sought to suppress the Congress by hook or by crook.

The Government of India have not condescended to consider the Congress offer that if simultaneously with the declaration of the independence of India, they could not trust the Congress to form a stable provisional Government, they should ask the Muslim League to do so and that any national government formed by the League would be loyally accepted by the Congress. Such an offer is hardly consistent with the change of totalitarianism against the Congress.

Let me examine the Government offer. "It is that as soon as hostilities cease, India shall devise for herself with full freedom of decision and on a basis embracing all and not only a single party, the form of government which she regards as most suited to her conditions." Has this offer any reality about it? All parties have not agreed now. Will it be any more possible after the war? And if the parties have to act before independence is in their hands? Parties grow up like mushrooms, for without proving their representative character, the Government will welcome them as they have done in the past and if they, the parties, oppose the Congress and its activities, though they may do lip homage to independence, frustration is inherent in the Government offer. Hence the logical cry of withdrawal first. Only after the end of British power and a fundamental change in the political status of India from bondage to freedom, will the formation of a truly representative Government, whether provisional or permanent, be possible The living burial of the author of the demand has not resolved the deadlock, it has aggravated it.

Then the Resolution proceeds.—The suggestien put forward by the Congress Party that the millions of India, uncertain as to the future, are ready, despite the sad lessons of so many martyr countries, to throw themselves into the arms of the invaders is one that the Government of India cannot accept as a true representation of the feeling of the people of this great country." I do not know about the millions, but I can give my own evidence in support of the Congress statement.

Defence of India

It is open to the Government not to believe the Congress evidence. No Imperial Power likes to be told that it is in peril. It is because the Congress is anxious for Great Britain to avoid the fate that has overtaken other Imperial Powers that it asks her to shed imperialism voluntarily by declaring India independent. The Congress has not approached the movement with any but the friendliest motives. The Congress seeks to kill imperialism as much for the sake of the British people and humanity as for India. Notwithstanding assertions to the contrary I maintain that the Congress has no interests of its own, apart from that of the whole of India and the world.

The following passage from the peroration in the Resolution is interesting:—"But on them lies the task of defending India, of maintaining India's capacity to wage war, of safeguarding India's interests, of holding the balance between the different

sections of her people without fear or favour," All I can say is that it is a mockery of truth after the experience of Malaya, Singapore and Burma. It is sad to find the Government of India claiming to hold the "balance" between the parties for which it is itself demonstrably responsible.

THE DECLARED CAUSE

One thing more. The declared cause is common between the Government of India and us To put it in most concrete terms, it is the protection of the freedom of China and Russia. The Government of India think that the freedom of India is not necessary for winning the cause. I think exactly the opposite. I have taken Jawaharlal Nehru as my measuring rod. His personal contacts make him feel much more the misery of the impending ruin of China and Russia than I can—and may I say than even you can. In that misery he tried to forget his old quarrel with imperialism. He dreads much more than I do the success of Fascism and Nazism. I have argued with him for days together He fought against my position with a passion which I have no words to describe. But the logic of facts overwhelmed him. He yielded when he saw clearly that without the freedom of India that of the other two was in great jeopardy. Surely you are wrong in having imprisoned such a powerful friend and ally. If, notwithstanding the common cause, the Government's answer to the Congress demand is hasty repression, they will not wonder if I draw the inference that it was not so much the allied cause that weighed with the British Government as the unexpressed determination to cling to the possession of India as an indispensable part of imperial policy. This determination led to the rejection of the Congress demand and precipitated repression. The present mutual slaughter on a scale never before known to history is suffocating enough. But the slaughter of truth accompanying the butchery and enforced by the falsity of which the Resolution is reeking adds strength to the Congress position

It causes me deep pain to have to send you this long letter. But, however much I dislike your action I remain the same friend you have known me. I would still plead for reconsideration of the Government of India's whole policy. Do not disregard the pleading of one who claims to be a sincere friend of the British people. Heaven guide you !

ANNEXURE II

THE VICEROY'S REPLY—*August 22, 1942*

Thank you very much for your letter, dated August 14, which reached me only a day or two ago.

I have read, I need not say, what you have been good enough to say in your letter with very close attention, and I have given full weight to your views. But I fear in the result that it would not be possible for me either to accept the criticisms which you advance of the Resolution of the Governor-General in Council, or your request that the whole policy of the Government of India should be reconsidered.

ANNEXURE III

MR. GANDHI'S LETTER TO THE SECRETARY, GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

(HOME DEPARTMENT)—*September 23, 1942*

Sir, In spite of the chorus of approval sung by the Indian Councillors and others of the present Government policy in dealing with the Congress, I venture to assert that, had the Government but awaited my contemplated letter to H. E. the Viceroy and the result thereafter no calamity would have overtaken the country. The reported deplorable destruction would have most certainly been avoided.

In spite of all that has been said to the country I claim that the Congress policy still remains unequivocal non-violent. The wholesale arrest of the Congress leaders seems to have made the people wild with rage to the point of losing self-control I feel that the Government, not the Congress, are responsible for the destruction that has taken place. The only right course for the Government seems to me to be to realease the Congress leaders, withdraw all repressive measures and explore ways and means of conciliation. Surely the Government have ample resources to deal with any overt act of violence. Repression can only breed discontent and bitterness.

Since I am permitted to receive newspapers, I feel that I owe it to the Government to give my reaction to the sad happenings in the country. If the Government think that as a prisoner I have no right to address such communications, they have but to say so, and I will not repeat the mistake.

NOTE :—A formal acknowledgment was sent to this letter.

The text of certain letters, that passed between the Additional Secretary to the Government of India in the Home Department and Mr. *Gandhi*, is published to supplement the Viceroy-Gandhi correspondence. Here are the letters :

Sir Richard Tottenham's Letter, February, 7th. 1943

Dear Mr. *Gandhi*,

The Government of India have been informed by H. E the Viceroy of your intention as communicated to him of undertaking a fast for 21 days in certain circumstances. They have carefully considered the position and the conclusions that they have reached in the light of such consideration are set out in the statement of which a copy is enclosed, which they would propose, in the event of your maintaining your present intention, to release in due course to the Press.

The Government of India, as you will see from their statement, would be very reluctant to see you fast, and I am instructed to inform you that, as the statement makes clear, they would propose that, should you persist in your intention, you will be set at liberty for the purpose, and for the duration, of your fast as from the time of its commencement. During the period of your fast there will be no objection to your proceeding where you wish though the Government of India trust that you will be able to arrange for your accommodation away from the Aga Khan's Palace

Should you for any reason find yourself unable to take advantage of these arrangements, a decision which the Government of India would greatly regret, they will, of course, suitably amend the statement of which a copy is now enclosed before it issues. But they wish me to repeat, with all earnestness, their anxiety and their hope that the considerations which have carried so much weight with them will equally carry weight with you, and that you will not pursue your present tentative proposal. In that event no occasion will of course arise for the issue of any statement of any kind.

Yours sincerely,
R. TOTTENHAM.

MR GANDHI'S REPLY—*February, 8, 1943.*

Dear Sir Richard,

I have very carefully studied your letter. I am sorry to say that there is nothing in the correspondence which has taken place between His Excellency and myself or your letter to warrant a recalling of my intention to fast. I have mentioned in my letters to H. E. the conditions which can induce prevention or suspension of the step.

If the temporary release is offered for my convenience, I do not need it. I shall be quite content to take my fast as a detenu or prisoner. If it is for the convenience of the Government, I am sorry I am unable to suit them, much as I should like to do so. I can say this much, that I, as a prisoner, shall avoid, as far as is humanly possible, every cause of inconvenience to the Government save what is inherent in the fast itself.

The impending fast has not been conceived to be taken as a free man. Circumstances may arise, as they have done before now, when I may have to fast as a free man. If, therefore, I am released, there will be no fast in terms of my correspondence above-mentioned. I shall have to survey the situation *de novo* and decide what I should do. I have no desire to be released under false pretences.

In spite of all that has been said against me, I hope not to belie the vow of truth and non-violence which alone makes life livable for me. I say this if it is only for my own satisfaction It does me good to reiterate openly my faith when outer darkness surrounds me as it does just now.

I must not hustle Government into a decision on this letter. I understand that your letter has been dictated through the telephone. In order to give the Government enough time, I shall suspend the fast if necessary, to Wednesday next, 10th instant.

So far as the statement proposed to be issued by the Government is concerned, and of which you have favoured me with a copy, I can have no opinion. But, if I might have, I must say that if does me an injustice. The proper course would be to publish the full correspondence and let the public judge for themselves.

SIR RICHARD ON GOVT'S POSITION—*February, 9, 1943*

Dear Mr. Gandhi,

I am instructed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of February 8, 1943,

which has been laid before the Governor-General in Council. The Government of India noted your decision with great regret. Their position remains the same, that is to say, they are ready to set you at liberty for the purpose and duration of your fast. But, if you are not prepared to take advantage of that fact, and if you fast while in detention, you will do so solely on your own responsibility and at your own risk. In that event you will be at liberty to have your own medical attendants and also to receive visits from friends with the permission of the Government during its period. Suitable drafting alterations will be made in the statement which the Government of India would, in that event issue to the Press.

Resignation of Viceroy's Executive Members

The following joint statement was issued from New Delhi on the 18th February 1943 by Messrs. *M. S. Aney*, *N. R Sarker* and Sir *H. P. Mody* :

"Our resignations from H. E. the Governor-General's Council have been announced and all that we desire to do is to say by way of explanation that certain differences arose on what we regarded as a fundamental issue (the issue of the action to be taken on *Mahatma Gandhi's* fast) and we felt we could no longer retain our offices

"We wish to place on record our warm appreciation of the courtesy and consideration H. E. the Viceroy extended to us throughout the period during which we had the privilege of being associated with him in the Government of the country."

GOVERNMENT COMMUNIQUE

The following Press communique was issued on the previous day, the 17th. February 1943 :—The Hon. *Sir A. P. Mody* K B E, the Hon. Mr *N R. Sarker* and the Hon. Mr. *M. S. Aney* having tendered their resignation of the office of Member of the Governor-General's Executive Council, His Excellency the Governor-General has accepted their resignations.

The All Party Leaders' Conference

Opening Day—New Delhi—19th. February 1943

MR. RAJAGOPALACHARI'S ADDRESS

About two hundred leaders, Hindu, Muslim, Parsi and British, from all parts of the country, met at New Delhi on the 19th February 1943 to give expression, as Mr. *C. Rajagopalachariar* in his address of welcome said, "to the feeling in this country that Mahatma Gandhi should be enabled to end his fast."

Among those present at the conference were: Mr. *M. S. Aney*, Sir *Ardeshir Dalal*, Mr *J. R. D. Tata*, Mr *C. Rajagopalachari*, Mr. *Bhulabhai Desai*, Dr. *S. P. Mookerjee*, Sir *Maharaj Singh*, Mr. *K M. Munshi*, Dr *M. R. Jayakar*, Mr. *Abdul Qaiyum*, Sir *Jagdish Prasad*, Mr. *Allah Bux*, Mr *Arthur Moore*, Master *Tara Singh*, Sir *A. H. Ghaznavi*, Mr. *G. D Birla*, Sir *Shri Ram*, Mr. *G. L. Mehta* *Seth Walchand Hirachand*, Mr. *Kasturbhai Lalbhai*, Mr *N M. Joshi* Dr. *B S. Moonje*, Raja *Maheshwar Dyal*, Pandit *H N. Kunzru*, the Rev. *J Meckenzie*, Mr. *K. Srinivasan*, the *Maharajkumar* of Vizianagram. Mr. *K. S. Roy*, Dr. *P. N. Bannerjee*, Sardar *Sant Singh* Mrs. *Sarala Devi Chaudhurani*, Mr. *Zahiruddin*, *Khwaja Hassan Nizami*, Dr. *Shaukat Ansari*, Seth *R. K. Dalmia*, Mr. *K. C Neogy*, Mr. *N. C. Chatterjee*, Mr. *Shamdas P Gidwani*, and *Gyani Kartar Singh*.

Mr. *Rajagopalachariar's* opening address was amplified by loud-speakers and was listened to by 300 people, including boy and girl students who stood outside the tent in which the meeting was held.

"This gathering," said Mr. *Rajagopalachari*, "is a source of great consolation, if not strength, on the present grave occasion."

Mr. *Rajagopalachari* added: "Every heart would be gladdened if, by any means, Mahatmaji could be released and his fast could terminate. I do not think there can be any difference of opinion on that point, though there may be

difference of opinion as to the policies and programmes from time to time pursued by Mahatmaji or other people."

Putting himself the question what they had met for, Mr. *Rajagopalachari* said : "We have met, as far as I understand, in the spirit of the Scripture to which Mahatmaji is attached, that we should do whatever we can do, not minding the results or caring for the fruition of our labours." He added that they had gathered there to give expression to the feeling in this country that the Mahatma should be enabled to end his fast.

Release will Ease Situation

Referring to the correspondence, Mr. *Rajagopalachari* said that Mahatmaji had undertaken what he called a fast to capacity. He went in some matters by the minimum and in other matters by the maximum He had judged his capacity and taken the pledge to undergo a fast for 21 days. A twenty-one days' fast was a terribly over-estimated limit he had placed over himself, but having placed it, he was not in a position to revise it. The Government apprehended that releasing him would create difficulties. But Mr. *Rajagopalachari* declared, on behalf of the conveners, that the moment he was released, the work of the Government would be eased and would not be made difficult.

After dealing at length with the legal and other aspects of the documents published, Mr. *Rajagopalachari* said : "We ask that he should have the opportunity to review his position and give his advice to the country."

Committee Drafts Resolution

After the speech, the meeting set up a Committee to draft a resolution to be placed before the Conference on the next day. The members of the Committee included, Mr. *Rajagopalachariar*, *Pandit Kunzru*, *Mufti Kifayatullah*, *Khwaja Hassan Nizami*, *Sheikh Mohamed Zahiruddin*, Dr. *Moonjee*, Dr. *Shyama Prasad Mookerjee*, Mr. *Bhulabhai Desai*, Sir *Maharaj Singh*, Sir *A. H. Ghaznavi* and Mr. *Allah Bux*.

The drafting committee adopted a resolution urging the release of Mahatma *Gandhi*.

Second Day—New Delhi—20th. February 1943

Sir T. B. Sapru's Speech

The second day's proceedings of the Conference began with two minutes' silent prayer in which all present joined.

Sir *Tej Bahadur Sapru*, addressing the gathering, amid frequent cheers said : I am overwhelmed by the gravity of the occasion, and I feel sure that all of you are equally overwhelmed by it. I think I can say I have joined you all on this occasion in demanding the unconditional release of Mahatma *Gandhi* with a clear conscience (cheers). No one knows better than Mahatmaji himself that by conviction I have always opposed civil disobedience. I have no hesitation in saying that I much regretted the resolution passed at Bombay and no one has followed the course of events since then with greater regret than I. I have not hesitated to express my candid, frank and unambiguous opinion that it was to me a matter of the deepest regret that acts of sabotage should have taken place in this country. Sir *Tej Bahadur* had no doubt that while those gathered in the conference dissociated themselves from acts of rebels and while they made appeals to the Mahatma and his friends to do everything they could to restore an atmosphere of calm and peace, they also expected that if Mahatma *Gandhi* was released unconditionally that would be the first preliminary step towards reconciliation which was the immediate need of the country (cheers).

Mahatma *Gandhi* had been called a rebel, but, said Sir *Tej Bahadur*, there was a rebel called *Smuts* who was rendering the greatest possible service to the Empire. There was another rebel called *De Valera*, whom the British Government wanted to remain in the Empire.

"I believe," Sir *Tej Bahadur* declared, "that one lesson which is reinforced by British history is that the British Government has always settled with rebels rather than with loyalists" (more cheers and laughter). "I am not downhearted when Mahatma *Gandhi* is put down by the Home Member as a rebel. I still live in the hope that there will be a settlement with these rebels and when it takes place men like you and me will be ignored" (laughter).

Sir *Tej Bahadur* refuted the argument that the Government could not negotiate with *Gandhiji* because he was a "rebel."

Taking the audience back to the time of the Irish Treaty, Sir *Tej Bahadur* referred to the opinion recorded by Mr. *Churchill* suggesting that Mr. *Lloyd*

George erred in applying "tremendous onslaughts" without making "the fairest offer". The time had come when the British Government remembering their history and traditions and remembering also the change in the situation and the irrepressible urge for freedom in this country, should win over the rebels. "Those assembled here are actuated by only one motive and purpose, and that is that we must see to it that Mahatma Gandhi's life is saved."

Adherence to Non-Violence

"Here is a man whose appeal to the imagination of the country is beyond doubt, who is going to end his life. It is open to you to criticise it, but you cannot alter the fact And if it should materialise and if unfortunately he should die within the next twenty-four or forty-eight hours, I tell you, the task of reconciliation between the British nation and Hindus, I should like to say, the Indian nation, would become extremely difficult (cheers). The task of reconciliation not only between Hindus and Muslims but between the different sections of the country will become next to impossible.

"I have read the correspondence and the only interpretation I can place is that so far as Mahatma *Gandhi* is concerned, his adherence to the doctrine of non-violence is as great as it ever was" (renewed cheers)

It was plain after the Cripps failure and the Allahabad meeting of the A. I. C. C. that the situation was deteriorating If the Congress and Mahatma *Gandhi* were to be held responsible for the situation, no less were Government responsible

Sir *Tej Bahadur* went on: "I do not wish to deviate from the main issue and that is that we shall do the best we can under the circumstances to save his life in the hope and belief—in my case it is more than belief—that if he is released the task of reconciliation will be taken in hand by him

"We make on this occasion an appeal to the civilised conscience of Great Britain and the United Nations and we do say that if it is intended that this country shall settle down to constructive work, then it is absolutely necessary that Mahatma *Gandhi* should be released.

"Personally I am not in a very hopeful frame of mind because if Government intended to release him they would not have accepted the resignation of three members. But whatever may be the situation we have got our duty. We have got to show that we are anxious for reconciliation for settling down for constructive work and we are insistent that Mahatma *Gandhi* should be released at once". (Prolonged cheers)

Resolution

The Conference passed with acclamation the resolution moved by Dr. *M. R. Jayakar* giving expression to the desire that in the interest of the future of India and of international goodwill, Mahatma *Gandhi* should be released immediately and unconditionally. The following is the full text of the resolution:

"This conference representing different creeds, communities and interests in India, gives expression to the universal desire of this country that, in the interest of the future of India and of international goodwill, Mahatma *Gandhi* should be released immediately and unconditionally. This conference views with the gravest concern the serious situation that will arise if the Government fail to take timely action and prevent a catastrophe. This conference, therefore, urges the Government to release Mahatma *Gandhi* forthwith."

Mr. Jayakar's Address

Dr. *M. R. Jayakar*, moving the resolution, said his plea was that the release was essentially necessary in the interests of fairness and justice. This fast, Dr. *Jayakar* declared, was in Mahatma *Gandhi's* conception the last resource of expressing protest against frustration. Six months had passed since Mahatma *Gandhi* and Congressmen were arrested. What had Government done during this period to explain and justify their accusations against the Congress except repeating those charges?

Need for Campaign in Country

Dr. *Shyama Prasad Mookerjee* whole-heartedly associating himself with the resolution, felt that the demand for the unconditional release of *Gandhiji* should be made from a non-controversial plank so that his life may be spared. "Let Sir *Tej Bahadur Sapru* and Doctor *Jayakar* come out with us to lead public opinion in the country."

Sir Maharaj Singh (Indian Christian) whole-heartedly associated himself and his community with the resolution. He said, "I am not a believer in the ethics of fasting, but I urge that so far as it is humanly possible the valuable life of Mr. Gandhi should be saved. Sentiments and emotions are parts of human nature and all of us are moved to our innermost depths when a very great tragedy is about to befall us. Our duty is clear, we must do our best to save Mr. Gandhi's life." Sir Maharaj referred to the Linlithgow-Gandhi correspondence and particularly to Mr. Gandhi's declaration that he had unequivocally and publicly condemned violence on the part of Congressmen in the past, but that was when he was a free man. Sir Maharaj Singh was confident that given his freedom, Mr. Gandhi would have adopted a similar attitude towards the August disturbances. Sir Maharaja Singh was equally confident that the death of Mr. Gandhi under detention would leave a trail of racial bitterness which it would be difficult to remove.

Sir Haji Kassem Mitha, a member of the Council of State, from Bombay, supporting the resolution, referred to the fact that the Mahatma was revered by millions in India.

Master Tara Singh (Sikh leader) associated himself and his community with the resolution. Proceeding, he assured the conference that he was with them on any step they intended to take to implement their demand.

Dr. McKenzie, Principal, Wilson College, Bombay, said: "We, members of British Missionary societies, are in very close touch with the people of India. We take no part in politics. We are outside the sphere of political controversies. I, therefore, make no charge against anyone. Our interests in the conference is to preserve Mr. Gandhi's life and the restoration of goodwill in the country. As Christians, we hold that goodwill will be restored if Mr. Gandhi were alive. We are also concerned that this conference should not end here by merely passing a resolution, demanding the unconditional release of Mr. Gandhi. We cherish the hope that the conference will be the beginning of a new spirit in India, the beginning of a new movement to bring all parties and interests together in order to help India to reach that high position, which we all so much desire."

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru here read a letter from Dr. McKenzie in which he urged that everything should be done to save Mr. Gandhi's life. Simultaneously an appeal should be made to Mr. Gandhi to abandon his fast. The letter also urged the conference to condemn acts of violence, done in the name of Congress, and in violation of Mr. Gandhi's principles. Lastly, Dr. McKenzie suggested the convening of another conference to which people should come with open minds not committed to any principles and policies but with the sole intention of reaching an agreement on India's problems. Sir Tej Bahadur said that he fully shared the view expressed by Dr. McKenzie. He claimed that the conference should take the logical step of making an approach for a settlement. Sir Tej Bahadur also expressed himself opposed to waiting in a deputation on the Viceroy. They could only appeal to the Government by forwarding their resolution.

Sir Abdul Halim Ghaznavi, supporting the resolution, said, that there were people, who disagreed with Gandhiji in practical politics, but not one soul in India wanted him to die. If, after the release, the Government found that Gandhiji pursued his activities they could again take him into detention.

Srimati Sarala Devi Chaudhrani supported the resolution.

Mr. Allah Bux (ex-Premier of Sind) supported the resolution on the ground of justice and fairplay.

Mr. *N. M Joshi* supported the resolution in the name of the Trade Union Congress. He said that no single man had done so much for the poorer classes of this country than Mr. Gandhi. Mr. Joshi protested against the use of the word 'political blackmail.'

Maulana Ahmed Said, Secretary, Jamiat ul Ullama Hind, and Mr. Zahiruddin, President, Momin Conference, further supported the resolution.

Mr. *Abdul Qayum* (from the Frontier), supporting the resolution, asserted that he was voicing the feeling of Pathans of the Frontier province, particularly Khudai Khidmatgars. He wanted the Conference to devise methods for achieving their object.

Mr. *Humayun Kabir* (Calcutta) supported the resolution and said that the Bengal Assembly had backed the demand by passing a resolution almost unanimously.

Mr. *G. L. Mehta* (President, Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce),

supported the resolution. Referring to Mr. Churchill's remarks that the commercial community was behind the Congress, Mr. Mehta said that they were proud to be a part of the national movement. Their interest, he said, was on the side of law and order. They were convinced that Gandhiji was a force working for social justice and social harmony. That was why there were some of the biggest commercial magnates present at the conference to-day.

Mr. *Randive* (Communist), supporting the resolution, said that the release of Gandhiji would release forces for unity for national demand.

Pandit H. N. Kunzru said surely the people who had gathered at the conference and were demanding the release of Gandhiji were not supporters of violence. They made the demand because they believed that Gandhiji was the biggest national asset the like of whom was seen once in centuries. To save his life was to serve the interest of international goodwill. His death under detention would leave a trail of bitterness for years to come. He claimed that in the interests of elementary justice Mr. Gandhi must be released at once.

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru put the resolution to the vote of the conference, which unanimously adopted it. It was agreed that the resolution together with the names of the supporters should be sent to the Viceroy at once.

Mr *K. M. Munshi* proposed and Sardar Sant Singh seconded a vote of thanks to the chair, which was carried. The conference then adjourned.

Resolution sent to Mr. Churchill & Mr. Amery

The resolution was cabled to Mr. *Churchill* and Mr. *Amery* and a copy handed to Mr. *Phillips* at New Delhi.

VICEROY'S REPLY

The following reply was sent to *Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru* by the Private Secretary to the Viceroy.

Dear *Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru*,

His Excellency asks me to say that he has received and considered the resolution adopted by the Conference under your Chairmanship, of which you were good enough to send him a copy to-day. The attitude of the Government of India in the matter of Mr. *Gandhi's* fast is set out clearly and in detail in the communique which they issued on 10th February, a copy of which I enclose for convenience of reference. No new factor has emerged since that date, and as the Government of India's communique brings out clearly, the responsibility in connection with his fast rests solely with Mr *Gandhi*, with whom, and not with the Government the decision to bring it to an end must rest.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd) J. G. Laithwaite.

Leaders' communique to Premier

The Committee of the Leaders' Conference, after its meeting on **February 21**, telegraphed the following *communique* to Mr. *Winston Churchill* in London:

"Three hundred public men from different parts of India representing various committees, creeds and interests including Commerce and Industry Landed Interests, Workers, Communists, Hindus, Muslims, Christians, Sikhs, Parsis and British Missionaries met yesterday at New Delhi and unanimously passed a resolution urging immediate and unconditional release of *Mahatma Gandhi* whose condition is fast approaching a crisis. We fear that unless immediately released he will pass away.

FAST EXPLAINED

"We wish to explain to British public opinion that the Mahatma is fasting only to be able to review the situation as a free man and to advise the people accordingly and not on the issue of independence. We are convinced that the terms of his letter of September 23 recently published by Government, amount to an unequivocal disapproval on behalf of himself and the Congress of all acts of violence. The Chairman of the Conference, *Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru*, submitted the resolution to the Viceroy yesterday afternoon and immediately afterwards he received a reply from the Viceroy declining to interfere as no new factor had arisen to alter the previous decision and enclosing the official communication of February 10. We deeply deplore that the advice of so many representatives and responsible men should have been summarily turned down by the Viceroy.

"We firmly believe that if the Mahatma's life is spared a way will be opened to the promotion of peace and goodwill as surely as his death as a British prisoner

will intensify public embitterment. The charges brought by Government against the Mahatma do not rest upon an examination by any impartial tribunal or independent body of men. We firmly believe that much of the trouble which has arisen was preventible by timely action on the part of Government last summer and that the Mahatma should have been allowed to see the Viceroy to find a solution as he desired.

PLEA FOR RELEASE

"Millions of our countrymen feel that the responsibility for saving the Mahatma's life now rests only with the Government. We, therefore, urge that the Mahatma should be forthwith released. As under the existing Constitution the ultimate responsibility is of the British Parliament for the peace and tranquility of India we request that this cable may be brought to its notice in order that it may do justice in the matter. We are convinced that wise and liberal statesmanship will solve the Indo-British problem more speedily and effectively than stern repression."

The Rt Hon. Sir *Tej Bahadur Sapru*, Ex-Law Member, Government of India; *C Rajagopalachariar*, former Prime Minister, Madras; *Allah Buksh*, ex-Premier, Sind, and President of the Azad Muslim Conference; *N. C Chatterjee*, Working President, Bengal Hindu Mahashabha; *Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi*, M.L.A. (Central), President, Central National Mahomedan Association of India; Mrs. *Saraladebi Chaudhuri*, President, Women's Hindu-Muslim Unity Committee and General Secretary, Indian Women's Association; *Dr. Ashraf*, Socialist, *Dr. Shaukatullah Ansari*, General Secretary, All-India Independent Muslim Parties Federation; *B. T. Ranadive*, Central Committee, Communist Party of India. *S P. Mooker*[illegible], Working President, All-India Hindu Mahasabha, and Ex-Finance Minister, Bengal, Dr. *B. S Moonji*, General Secretary, All-India Hindu Mahasabha, Raja *Maheshwar Dayal Seth*, Ex-Minister, United Provinces, and President, Oudh Hindu Sabha; *Bhulabhai J Desai*, Leader of the Opposition in the Indian Legislative Assembly; *P. N. Banerjeg*, M.L.A. (Central), *H N Kunzru* Deputy Leader of the Progressive Party, Member of the Council of State and President, Servants of India Society; Mrs. *Hannah Sen*, Vice-President, All-India Women's Conference; *P. Subbarayan*, Member of the All-India Congress Committee, and Ex-Minister for Law, Madras; *J. R. D. Tata*, Chairman, Tata Sons; *N M. Joshi*, M.L.A. (Central), General Secretary, All India Trade Union Congress; Sir *Ardeshir R Dalal*, Managing Director, Tata Iron and Steel; *Sachhidananda Sinha*, Vice-Chancellor, Patna University; *G D. Mehta*, President of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry; *K*[illegible] *Sankar Ray*, Member, Bengal Legislative Assembly, *Mahammad Ahmed Kas*[illegible] M.L.A. (Central); *Sewa Singh Gill*, Zamindar; *Humayun Kabir* Vice President, Krishak Praja Parliamentary Party and Secretary, Hindu-Muslim Unity Association. The Rt. Hon Dr *M. R Jayakar*, Ex-Judge, Judicial Committee of the Privy Council; *K. M. Munshi*, former Home Minister, Bombay; *Sir Jagdish Prasad*, Ex-Member, Viceroy's Executive Council.

Premier's Reply

The following reply was sent by the Prime Minister to Sir *Tej Bahadur Sapru*, the President of the Conference:

"The Government of India decided last August that Mr Gandhi and other leaders of the Congress must be detained for reasons which have been fully explained and are well understood. The reasons for that decision have not ceased to exist and His Majesty's Government endorse the determination of the Government of India not to be deflected from their duty towards the peoples of India and of the United Nations by Mr *Gandhi's* attempt to secure his unconditional release by fasting.

"The first duty of the Government of India and of His Majesty's Government is to defend the soil of India from invasion by which it is still menaced, and to enable India to play her part in the general cause of the United Nations. There can be no justification for discriminating between Mr. Gandhi and other Congress leaders. The responsibility therefore rests entirely with Mr. *Gandhi* himself."

Amery Echoes the Premier

The Secretary of State for India, Mr. *Amery*, answering questions in the House of Commons, on the 25th February 1943, said that the British Government entirely agreed with the decision of the Government of India not to yield to Mr. Gandhi's efforts to enforce his unconditional release Mr. *Amery* said: The circumstances in which the Government of India found it necessary to detain the Congress leaders are well known. The correspondence between Mr. Gandhi and the Viceroy preceding Mr.

Gandhi's fast has been published. It contains no indication that Mr. Gandhi sees cause for regret in the outbreaks of murder, violence and sabotage which followed the authorisation in August last by the Congress Party of a mass struggle. By rejecting the offer of the Government of India to release him for the period of his fast and declaring that his fast would be unnecessary if he were released, Mr. Gandhi has also made it clear that the object of the fast is simply to enforce his unconditional release

The Government of India composed, when the decision was taken, of nine Indian and four European members, including the Viceroy, decided that they could not yield to this threat (cheers) His Majesty's Government are in entire agreement with their decision. India has a vital part to play in the general cause of the United Nations. She is still herself menaced by invasion. There can be no justification for the release of men who deliberately planned to paralyse India's defence at a most critical moment (cheers) and who have shown no sign of abandoning their criminal purpose, nor is there any reason in this respect for discrimination between Mr Gandhi and other Congress leaders. Subject to their general decision, the Government of India have wished to show Mr. Gandhi every consideration He has at the Aga Khan's Palace his own medical attendants as well as those provided by the Government and is allowed, subject to their advice and to Government's permission, to receive visitors."

There were protests and some interruption when Labourite, Mr. *Sorensen* asked for an early debate "in view of the very real concern in some parts of the Commons and the country."

Mr. *Amery* replied that was a question for the Leader of the House to deal with. Replying to a suggestion that the situation might be eased if Mr. Gandhi was placed among the interned leaders of the Congress Working Committee, Mr *Amery*, amid cheers said, "I leave that to the judgment of the Government of India.

Labourite, Mr *Shinwell* requested Mr. *Amery* to produce evidence supporting the implication in his statement that Mr. Gandhi was responsible for the outbreak of violence.

Mr *Amery* : A good deal has been produced, but fuller matter is *en route* from India and will be published on arrival.

There were cries of 'no' when Labourite Mr. *Kirkwood* suggested that Mr. Gandhi's unconditional release would be a sign of strength not weakness.

Mr *Mander* (Liberal) asked if Indian leaders had appealed to Mr. Gandhi to abandon his fast in public interest.

Mr. *Nicholson* (Conservative) said that the Government of India was earning universal respect by recognition of its primary duty—maintenance of conditions under which the masses of Indians could lead orderly normal lives. Mr *Amery* made no reply to these further points.

Mr. *Sorensen* questioned Mr. *Amery* regarding the letter stated to have been sent by Mr Gandhi to the Secretary of State.

Mr. *Amery* replied "The whole correspondence which passed between Mr. Gandhi and the Viceroy and the Government of India has been given to the Press. No letter was addressed to me by Mr. Gandhi The Government of India's statement of Congress responsibility for the disturbances will likewise be given full publicity as soon as it is received here "

Mr. *Sorensen* said that Mr. Gandhi had referred to such a letter and asked Mr. *Amery* to enquire why he never received it.

Mr. *Amery* : 'I have no doubt that if a letter had been addressed to me by Mr. Gandhi and sent to the Government of India, it would have reached me."

Later, the Leader of the Commons, Mr. *Eden* rejected a request by the Labour leader, Mr. *Greenwood*, for an early debate on India. Mr. *Eden* said . 'The Government's view is that in the present state of affairs respecting Mr. Gandhi's fast, a debate would serve no useful purpose, indeed rather the reverse. But, of course, we will review the situation as it develops."

Independent Labourite, Mr. *Maxton* asked if it would not be better to debate the situation before any tragedy happened rather than afterwards.

Mr. *Eden* : "I did carefully consider the reply I have given. It is Government's considered view that no useful purpose would be served by a debate at present."

The Mahatma breaks his Fast

Mahatma Gandhi broke his fast on the **3rd. March 1943** at 9-34 a m. I.S.T. (and 8-34 a.m. according to time maintained at the Aga Khan Palace). All the six doctors who

have been attending on him during his 21 days' fast were present. Beside the doctors only inmates of the detention camp were present.

It was a brief but impressive ceremony, performed with due solemnity and devotion, that preceded *Mahatma Gandhi's* breaking of the fast. *Mahatma Gandhi* was in a meditative mood and was lying on the cot in the room where he fasted.

The earliest to arrive at the Aga Khan Palace was Dr. *B. C. Roy* and at 9 a. m. the Surgeon-General to the Government of Bombay, Maj-Gen. *R. H. Candy*, Lt.-Col. *M. G. Bhandari* and Lt.-Col. *B. Z. Shah* drove in.

The inmates of the Palace sang *Mahatma Gandhi's* favourite hymn "Vaishnava Janatho" and two stanzas from Poet Tagore's "Gitanjali" "Lead Kindly Light" and the Quoran were also recited.

After prayers, those present observed a five minutes' silence With folded hands *Mahatma Gandhi* was seen to close his eyes and to be in meditation.

Prayers over Kasturba, wife of *Mahatma Gandhi*, handed him a glass containing six ounces of orange juice. He is reported to have taken twenty minutes to sip the juice.

Before sipping it, the *Mahatma*, in a feeble voice, thanked the doctors for the great care and attention which they bestowed on him and said that more than anything else it was their love and affection for him that must have saved his life. Further, he told those present, there must be something higher than the doctors' power that had saved him

Immediately after *Gandhiji* had sipped the juice, Mrs. *Sarojini Naidu*, who was dressed in a deep mauve silk saree, rustled into the room and served fruit juice to the doctors present. None in the room talked except Mrs *Naidu*, who insisted that the doctors should have another glass of juice.

Looking worn out and grave, the *Mahatma* reclined propped up by pillows on the bed.

Dr. B. C. Roy on the Fast

"Full control of the mind over the body and strong determination to live, for which he fought every inch of the ground—this was how *Gandhiji* could tide over the crisis that threatened his life at one stage of the fast", said Dr. *Bidhan Chandra Roy*, who attended on *Gandhiji*, in an exclusive interview to the 'United Press' prior to his leaving Poona on the 4th. March.

"*Gandhiji* helped his doctors so far as elimination is concerned", said Dr. *Roy*. "He tried to take as much water as possible—plain water and water mixed with salts or with sweet lime juice which also contains salts. In the world of to-day physical organs of body get more and more under the control of mind. Many of the physical functions like hunger and thirst and the different type of secretions and excretions are being brought more and more under the control of higher centres That is why the modern man is so complex as compared to the village man of older days"

"In the case of *Gandhiji*", Dr. *Roy* added, "partly as a result of the forces operating in all of us and partly as a result of self-discipline, by which he has deliberately brought the physical function under the control of his mind, the functions of the different organs of his body are being more and more directed by the central nervous system. Therefore, our forecasts proved to be erroneous. We could only depend upon the law of averages and could only give our opinion on the basis of what would happen to an average man under similar conditions".

Dr Roy on the significance of the Fast

"I do not know why Providence has saved me on this occasion. Possibly, it is because, He has some more mission for me to fulfil",—this was what *Mahatma Gandhi* said after the fast was over, revealed Dr. *B. C. Roy*, presiding at a meeting of the staff and students of the Calcutta University held at the Darbhanga Hall on the **7th March 1943** in observance of the Thanks-giving Day for the successful termination of *Mahatmaji's* fast.

After offering his heart-felt prayers to the Almighty for having saved *Mahatmaji's* life, Dr. *Roy* gave his impressions of "the *tapasya* (penance) of a great devotee" which he witnessed. "The whole fast", he said, "was in the nature of a religious ceremony. If you start from the beginning and go on to the end, you will perceive that the whole thing was conceived by him as part and parcel of a religious ceremony. He started by informing the Government that under certain conditions, he was prepared to undertake a fast, which he called a 'capacity fast'. I think the expression has not been properly understood by the people. The expression 'capacity fast' was used in contradiction to another expression which, he

used in 1932, namely, 'fast unto death'. In this instance he mentioned definitely that it was not his desire to die, but that he would fast for 21 days because that was in his opinion the period which he had to-day before himself as a period of *tapasya*."

Dr. *Roy* explained that *Mahatmaji* took citrus juice with water only to give his system sufficient opportunity of expelling all the waste that must have been generating in his body in a large quantity due to the fast. He said that that was the only way in which he could give himself and the doctors the opportunity of getting proper elimination of the waste products from the system.

"KEPT HIMSELF IN TUNE WITH INFINITY"

Continuing Dr. *Roy* said "*Mahatmaji* started his fast with prayer and he ended his fast with prayers and throughout the period, he had kept himself in tune with Infinity. Day in and day out, while he was being nursed by doctors and nurses, he was always in a state of communion with the Higher Power. I can assure you, and through you, all in the country, that the whole period of his fast, the way he fought Death, the manner in which, from hour to hour he waited patiently for the successful termination of the fast, were something of a privilege to witness. It was like watching a *yagna*, like watching a devotee at his prayers and after these prayers were over, I saw him shut his eyes, leaning against the doors, I dare say, to feel the presence of the Almighty nearer his heart and then he broke his fast."

Concluding, Dr *Roy* said. "*Mahatma Gandhi* has been saved for us. What were the forces that operated, none of us knew. We had issued a statement on one day that if the fast was not ended, it might be difficult to save him. That is what we felt, that is what we were apprehensive of. Every minute during that fateful evening, night and the next morning was important. But the tide turned and the Almighty willed otherwise, and we pray to God that he might live with us for many more years."

Release of Mahatma Gandhi

The All India Leaders' Statement

Bombay—9th. and 10th. March 1943

The All-India leaders, who had been meeting in Bombay on the **9th. & 10th March 1943** at the residence of Dr *M. R. Jayakar*, issued the following statement:

"We are of opinion that the deplorable events of the last few months require a reconsideration of their policy both by the Government and the Congress. The recent talks which some of us have had with *Gandhiji* lead us to believe that a move for reconciliation at the present juncture will bear fruit.

"It is our conviction that if *Gandhiji* is set at liberty, he will do his best to give guidance and assistance in the solution of the internal deadlock and that there need be no fear that there would be any danger to the successful prosecution of the war.

"The Viceroy may be approached on our behalf to permit a few representatives to meet *Gandhiji* to authoritatively ascertain his reaction to the recent events and to explore with him avenues for reconciliation "

The statement was signed by 36 leaders, including *Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru*, Mr. *M. R. Jayakar*, Mr. *Bhulabhai Desai*, Mr. *C. Rajagopalachari* and *Sir Jagdish Prasad*.

The following leaders were present at the meetings .—*Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru*, Dr. *M. R. Jayakar*, Mr. *C. Rajagopalachari*, Mr. *G D Birla*, *Sir Purushottamdas Thakurdas*, Mr. *Bhulabhai J. Desai*, Mr. *K. M. Munshi*, *Sir Ardeshir Dalal*, Mr *J R. D Tata*, Mr. *S. A. Brelvi*, Mr. *Walchand Hirachand*, *Sir Chunilal Bhaichand Metha*, *Sir Homi Modi*. Mr. *Devadas Gandhi*, *Master Tara Singh*, Mr. *S. Ramanathan*, Mr. *G L. Mehta*, Mr *Alla Bux*, *Sir Jagadish Prasad*. Mr. *Kasturibhai Lalbhai* and Dr. *Mackenzie*

Mr. *V. D. Savakar* was unable to be present but signified his assent to the statement issued. Besides, the following leaders who could

not be present in Bombay were in agreement with the statement and copies of the statement were posted to them to obtain their signatures.

Mr. *K. Srinivasan.* Mr. *C. R. Srinivasan,* Mr. *N. R. Sarker,* Dr. *Shyamaprasad Mukherjee,* Mr. *Thakkar, Raja Maheshwardayal Seth,* Dr. *P. Subbaroyan,* Pandit *Hridaynath Kanzru, Sir Abdul Halim Ghaznavi,* Mr. *N. M. Joshi,* Sardar *Sant Singh* and *M. S. Aney.*

Leaders' Memorandum to Viceroy

On the 1st. April 1943, it was announced that the Viceroy had declined to give facilities to Mr. Rajagopalachariar and other leaders for contact with Mahatma Gandhi under existing conditions. The Deputation asked His Excellency to accept their statement, with certain additions which they had incorporated in it, as officially presented to him, with a view to publication with the Viceroy's reply, and to dispense with their personal attendance. His Excellency readily agreed to this request.

The Leaders' Memorandum ran as follows :

"We are submitting this memorandum in accordance with His Excellency's desire that he should have a written statement precisely explaining what we wish to say to which His Excellency proposes to give a written reply. While we do so, we hope that the helpful spirit in which we approach this matter also animates His Excellency and that it is with a completely open mind that he will receive the deputation.

"We are glad that His Excellency has found the resolution of Bombay Conference of 9th and 10th March perfectly clear. We have therein expressed a desire that His Excellency should permit a few of us to meet Gandhiji, who is under detention, to ascertain authoritatively his reactions to the events which have happened since his arrest and to explore with him avenues for reconciliation. If His Excellency has no objection to this, we shall avail ourselves of the opportunity and discuss matters with Gandhi. We will then go to His Excellency again and place our proposals before him. In case His Excellency has any objections to following this course, we should like to be informed of the objections, so that we may try to answer them and for this purpose we desire an interview with His Excellency.

"We have carefully read the correspondence which has passed between His Excellency and Gandhiji and which has been published. We feel that Gandhiji has already expressed his disapproval of violence and sabotage, and we have no doubt that he will cast his influence on the side of internal harmony and reconcillation.

"The correspondence and statements published in connection with the fast have themselves discouraged the disturbances and the contemplated meeting with Gandhiji will, in our view, further the same object.

"GANDHIJI'S HELP ESSENTIAL FOR RESTORING GOODWILL"

"We feel that, though order might have been restored on the surface, every day that passes without a solution of the Indian problem intensifies the hostility between Britain and India, and renders any future solution more and more difficult to attain, until, we apprehend, it may become even impossible. We are convinced that Gandhiji's assistance is essential for the restoration of goodwill and for a solution of the problem even for the interim period, including an adjustment of Hindu-Muslim claims. On the other hand, unpleasant as it is, we cannot help feeling that, refusing to permit us to have contact with Gandhiji now would be equivalent to a determination on the part of Great Britain that there should be no attempt at a settlement of the problem and no reconciliation between Nationalist India and Britain. Whatever may be the immediate administrative convenience thereof, we hope that His Excellency will not take up this attitude. We feel that though there is no present danger of Axis aggression in India, the strained relation between Government and the people is fraught with grave evil and all that is possible should be done to replace it by a better feeling

"As the war is getting long drawn out, measures to solve the economic problems arising out of it, as well as plans for increasing the production of food and other essential articles and improving transport and distribution as well as measures of control, have to be evolved. Such measures can be organised and regulated only by a national administration or a Government that can reasonably claim to approach that character and is in a position to justify policies adopted from time to time although they may involve considerable hardships on all sections of people.

The situation is growing more and more serious every day and we feel that a Government commanding the loyal and affectionate co-operation of all the people can be constituted for the period of the war, only if we are permitted to talk with Gandhiji, consult him and obtain his support. The request that we make is intended to achieve this object. It cannot hurt the Government or the war effort in the least and in our view, is likely to lead to constructive results.

Viceroy's Reply to the Memorandum

The following is the text of His Excellency the Viceroy's reply :

"I am greatly obliged to you for the expression of your views which you have been kind enough to let me have and for giving me the opportunity of considering it in advance. The matter is one of great importance and I am anxious that there should be no misunderstanding in relation to it. I made clear, in my correspondence with Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, my readiness that your deputation should in their statement amplify or emphasise any particular points in the Bombay Resolution to which they attached importance and indicate the arguments on which they based their suggestions. I am indebted to you for the memorandum you have let me have, though it is with regret that I do not find in it any fresh argument in support of the suggestions which the Leaders' Conference has put forward and that I do not find that unequivocal condemnation of the Congress campaign of violence which the public and I are entitled to expect from you as representing that Conference.

"Let me, before I proceed to your specific proposals, mention, though in no spirit of criticism, that I observe from the list of signatories that the great Muslim community was practically unrepresented at the Conference of Leaders, and that that body contained no representative of the Scheduled Castes and no one in a position to speak for the Indian States. I observe also that the Leader of the Hindu Mahasabha dissociated himself from the resolution passed by the Conference, while organised parties, such as, the Muslim League, were not represented at its deliberations. I am however, I need not say, at all times glad to hear the views of persons prominent in the public life of this country on the political issue of the day, and to give all attention to any representations that they make to me.

"The specific proposal that you ask me to consider is that permission should be given for certain persons to meet Mr. Gandhi in detention to ascertain his reaction to the events that have happened since his arrest, and to explore with him avenues for reconciliation. You feel, you tell me, that Mr Gandhi has already expressed between him and me his disapproval of violence and sabotage, and you add that you have no doubt that he will cast his influence on the side of internal harmony and reconciliation. And you urge that if the permission for which you have asked is not given to you, the action of the Government will unquestionably be interpreted as meaning that they do not wish to see reconciliation.

THE AUGUST DISTURBANCES

"Let me remind you first, of the salient facts in the position. Mr. Gandhi and the leaders of the Congress Party, after a long preliminary campaign of incitement were finally placed under restraint last August. At the time when they were placed under restraint, Mr Gandhi had urged open rebellion, had adjured his followers to 'do or die'; had made it clear that there was 'no room left for withdrawal or negotiation', and had, both directly and indirectly, by his speeches and writings, contributed actively to foment that sad and disastrous series of events that disfigured the face of India during the autumn and winter of last year. He and the Congress Party had been given every opportunity to reconsider their position. My Government and I had exposed ourselves to the charge that we ought to have taken action against them much earlier and that we ought not to have allowed this campaign of violence and sabotage to develop. But our forbearance met with no reward, and we were left with no option in the interests of the security of India and her defence against Japan and against the other Axis Powers but to take the action that was taken last August.

"Unhappily, the arrest of the leaders did not prevent a shocking campaign of organised violence and crime for which preparations had been made before those arrests took place. The paper published by the Government of India clearly indicates the full responsibility of the Congress and of Mr Gandhi for that campaign. The encouragement which it gave, while it lasted, to the Axis Powers needs no emphasis Its effect on the war effort was severe. It resulted in most material damage to communications and to public and private property, and in the murder of many innocent persons, who had no concern with, or interest in, the political issues involved.

"Despite the fact that Mr. Gandhi and the Working Committee have had full access to reliable accounts in the Press since August last, there has never been any condemnation of those activities by them. They have not dissociated themselves from the resolution of last August from which so many of these evils flowed Mr. Gandhi's advice to 'do or die' still stands on record; and while order has been restored and the rebellion put down, no one can suggest that the country did not pass through a period of grave danger; and that while the Congress creed remains what it is, we would again be exposed to that danger if the Congress and its leaders are again given full liberty of action.

"NO WISH ON MR. GANDHI'S PART TO GO BACK"

"You mention that you have seen the correspondence that has passed between me and Mr. Gandhi. I would draw your attention to one most important point. I put it to Mr. Gandhi, in terms (for I thought that must be his intention) that if I was right in thinking that he wished to go back on the resolution of last August to condemn what had taken place and to give suitable assurances for the future I would be very ready to consider the matter further. His reply made it quite clear that I had misunderstood him and that that was not his wish, and matters stand at that point.

"Thereafter, during the time of Mr. Gandi's fast, there was the fullest opportunity for certain of his trusted friends to make contact with him and many indeed of those who were present at the conference in Bombay had the opportunity of seeing him. Mr. Gandhi, had he so wished, could then, as he could have during the time preceding his fast, or to-day, have repudiated the violence for which Congress was responsible, could have indicated his readiness to resile from the Congress resolution of August last, and could have given assurances for the future. But nothing whatever positive has emerged as a result of those contacts, any more than from the correspondence that passed between Mr. Gandhi and myself, and I have no reason to believe that Mr. Gandhi is any more ready now than he was at an earlier stage to repudiate the policy as the result of which the Congress leaders are at present under detention.

"Now, gentlemen, I have done my very best in the time that I have been in this country to try to improve relations and to try to get the parties together. and I do not think it can be suggested that I have been unsympathetic, or that I have not throughout been genuinely anxious to give all the help I can to the improvement of good relations and to the solution of India's political problems. If, therefore, in the present instance I am unable to accept your proposals, it is not from any lack of anxiety to see the atmosphere improved. But on me there rests a very definite and specific obligation, and the same obligation rests on my Government. It is the duty of both of us to ensure peace and good order in this country: to see that India is defended against Japanese and other Axis aggression; and to make certain that nothing is allowed to happen that would further the interests of the enemy, interfere with the war effort of the United Nations or create internal strife and tumult. So long as that is our obligation, so long as the Congress policy remains what it is, there can be no question of any alteration in our attitude towards the Congress.

"NO SUGGESTION OF CHANGE OF HEART"

"I have already pointed out that neither from Mr. Gandhi nor from the Congress is there, or has there been, any suggestion of a change of mind or heart. They had the opportunity and have the opportunity still to abandon that policy. With every respect for your good intentions and your anxiety to see a happy solution, I cannot agree to give special facilities such as you ask for contact with Mr Gandhi and the Congress leaders while conditions remain as I have described them.

"If, on the other hand, Mr. Gandhi is prepared to repudiate in full the Congress resolution of last August, to condemn equally those incitements to violence which are represented by his references to 'open rebellion', his advice to Congress followers to 'do or die', the statement that with the removal of the leaders the rank and the file must judge for themselves and the like; if, in addition, he and the Congress Party are prepared to give assurances acceptable to the Government for the future, the matter can be considered further. But till then, and while the Congress attitude remains unchanged, Government's first duty is to the people of India, and that duty it intends to discharge. It is not to be deflected from that duty by suggestions, ill-founded as I believe them to be, that by doing its duty it will add to bitterness and ill-feeling. I do not believe that to be the case. But

even if it were, that is the price that the Government must pay for discharging its responsibilities to the people of India, and I feel certain myself, that the people of India appreciate fully the dangerous and sinister character of the Congress campaign of last year—from which such great sections of them stood wholly aloof—and the threat which that campaign represented and would represent again if it were revived to the safety and tranquillity of this country.

"ESSENTIAL PRELIMINARY FOR A NATIONAL GOVT."

"I would add only one word more You speak of the importance of a National Government. I quite agree with you, and my endeavours during the time that I have been here have been devoted to forming at the Centre a Government as representative and as broadly based as can be found, in the present circumstances in India. But the fact that you suggest, that it is only if you are permitted to consult Mr. Gandhi that a genuine National Government can be formed, shows that, so far from realising the true character of a National Government, you contemplate that that Government should be nominated with the approval of a single political leader acting independently of other parties and other leaders in this country. Not on these lines is progress to be made. No National Government can properly be so described unless, as in the United Kingdom, it is fully representative of all parties and sections of the people based on their ready co-operation with the Government and with one another, united in the prosecution of the war for the objectives of the United Nations, of such a character that its establishment soothes instead of aggravating controversy The essential preliminary to that is that agreement between parties, communities and interests which I have been so anxious to foster, but to which the excessive claims and the totalitarian ambitions of the Congress and its leaders have been so consistent an obstacle in the past "

Leaders Urge Impartial Tribunal

To Investigate charges against the Congress

Sir Tej *Bahadur Sapru*, Dr. *M. R. Jayakar*, Dr. *Sachchidananda Sinha*, Sir *Chunilal B Mehta*, *Raja Maheshwar Dayal Seth* and Sir *Jagdish Prasad* issued a statement from New Delhi on the 22nd. May 1943 urging the appointment of an impartial tribunal to investigate the charges made against Congress Leaders now in detention. or in the alternative, the release of those leaders so as to review the situation and attempt a solution of the present deadlock. The statement runs as follows :

'OUR DEMAND IS FOR JUSTICE'

"His Excellency the Viceroy's recent refusal to permit any non-Congress leaders to interview *Mahatma Gandhi* and the speeches of Mr. *Amery* in the House of Commons can be reasonably interpreted as indicating that the British Government are resolved to keep *Mahatma Gandhi*, Pandit *Jawaharlal Nehru*, and other prominent leaders of the Congress in detention without trial for the duration of the war Even more significant is the denial to *Mr Phillips*, the Personal Representative of President Roosevelt of an opportunity to see *Mahatma Gandhi* We, ourselves, have regretted that the Congress should have passed the resolution which it did pass on the 8th of August 1942 at Bombay. We have also condemned the acts of violence and sabotage which took place a few months ago in this country. We wish to place beyond all doubt that we seek no concessions for *Mahatma Gandhi* and his chief associates. We are not petitioners on their behalf for clemency or tenderness. Our demand is for justice and no more and no less."

"Grave charges have been publicly made against *Mahatma Gandhi* and his colleagues and it has been suggested both in England and in India that the Congress leaders were pro-Japanese. To the best of our knowledge and belief there is no truth in this allegation. *Mahatma Gandhi's* pacifism, known all over the world, should not in our opinion, be interpreted as amounting to his sympathy with Japan or with any of the Axis Powers. The charges brought against *Mahatma Gandhi* are to be found in the published correspondence between the Viceroy and Mahatma Gandhi in Government communiques and pamphlets and in the pronouncements of the Secretary of State for India. It is somewhat remarkable that these charges have been made at a time when those who could meet them had no opportunity of rebutting them.

"It has been said that nothing was easier for Mahatma Gandhi than to repudiate acts of violence or acts of sabotage and to withdraw civil disobedience.

We feel that he has already repudiated the acts of violence, and it is our conviction that so far as he is concerned his adherence to the doctrine of non-violence is as strong to-day as it ever was For ourselves, we do not believe in civil disobedience either on principle or as a matter of expediency, but we are constrained to observe that matters were allowed to drift after the failure of the Cripps Mission and no attempt was made to avert a crisis by the exercise of imagination and constructive statesmanship.

A Body of Unchallengeable Impartiality Needed

Taking the situation as it is, we urge that the *ipse dixit* of the Executive Government should not be regarded as sufficient to justify the prolonged detention of the imprisoned leaders without impartial investigation. Let those *exparte* accusations be investigated by a tribunal of unchallengeable status and impartiality —a tribunal so constituted as to satisfy all reasonable men that it will carry on its investigation without fear or favour and that its decision will in no way be influenced by the published views of the Executive Government. We consider that the setting up of such a tribunal is in the highest interests of the Government itself

"*Madame Chiang Kai-shek* has recently stated in a public speech, in America that Pandit *Jawaharlal Nehru* should be set at liberty and that speech was made after the charges against him had been broadcast to the world. Can his continued detention be justified before world opinion if he is denied every opportunity of defending himself?

"If the objection to our demand is that such an investigation into the charges against Mahatma Gandhi and his co-workers is not feasible during the war, we should like to point out that in his letter to Mahatma Gandhi dated February 5. 1943, His Excellency the Viceroy said If we do not act on all this information or make it publicly known it is because the time is not yet ripe; but you may rest assured that the charges against the Congress will have to be met sooner or later and it will then be for you and your colleagues to clear yourselves before the world if you can'. To this Mahatma Gandhi replied in his letter dated February 7. 1943: 'You say that the time is not yet ripe to publish the charges against the Congress. Have you ever thought of the possibility of their being found baseless when they are put before an impartial tribunal or that some of the condemned persons might have died in the meanwhile or that some of the evidence that the living can produce might become unavailable?' It is clear, therefore, that so far back as the 5th of February, 1943 the possibility of these leaders having to clear themselves before the world was considered and maintained by His Excellency the Viceroy himself. We cannot see, therefore, any valid reason why that possibility should not be translated into a fact at this stage.

Govt. Must Seek Moral Basis For Its Actions

To the objection that the setting up of a Tribunal will lead to public excitement our reply is that the continued detention of these leaders had already caused and is causing grave dissatisfaction and a keen sense of injustice in the public mind. If Mahatma Gandhi and his colleagues are not allowed to meet the charges against them until after the war and are to be kept in prison till then the plain implication of this is that some of the most prominent Indian leaders will be kept in jail without trial for, may be, five years and some of them may even die during this long interval. Mr. *Amery's* tauntingly provocative description of such detention as 'inocuous isolation' has only increased public resentment. The Government may think that they are strong enough to ignore all such feelings and that they are the sole judges as to when and whom to arrest and detain without trial for an unlimited period Whatever may be said of such action on the part of a Government of the people, the same cannot apply to a Government carried on by an irremovable Executive irresponsible to the people of this country or to its legislature and in which the key positions are still in British hands. Whatever the legal position, the Government of India must, in the circumstances, seek a moral basis for its actions, and it is with that object in view that we suggest an investigation by an impartial tribunal.

Continuance of Status Quo Bodes Ill

"We should, in conclusion, like to point out that the Defence of India Act Rule, under which Mahatma *Gandhi* and his colleagues were arrested was pronounced last month by the Federal Court in an authoritative decision to be invalid. Instead of availing themselves of the opportunity to restore those men to freedom under the sanction of a decision by the highest judicial authority in India, we

regret that the Government of India have tried to legalise their action by a validating ordinance. No well-wisher of the country can contemplate, without grave concern, a continuance of the present state of things, which forebodes ill for the mutual relations between India and Britain. The sense of frustration is now deeper, if less vociferous."

"We sincerely hope that our suggestion that the imprisoned leaders may be given a chance of clearing themselves may be accepted. If Government, for any reason, are not prepared to set up an impartial tribunal, then justice, no less than expediency, demand that Mahatma *Gandhi* and his colleagues should be set at liberty so that they may apply themselves, as free men, as we expect that they will, to a review of the situation and to the solution of the present deadlock in consultation and co-operation with other important parties.

Gandhi wishes to see Jinnah

Government Turn Down Request

On the 26th. May the Government of India received a request from Mr. *Gandhi* to forward a short letter from himself to Mr. *Jinnah* expressing a wish to meet him, said a communique issued from New Delhi, which added :

"In accordance with their known policy in regard to correspondence or interviews with Mr. *Gandhi*, the Government of India have decided that this letter cannot be forwarded and have so informed Mr *Gandhi* and Mr. *Jinnah* They are not prepared to give facilities for political correspondence or contact to a person detained for promoting an illegal mass movement which he has not disavowed and thus gravely embarrassing India's war effort at a critical time. It rests with Mr. *Gandhi* to satisfy the Government of India that he can safely be allowed once more to participate in the public affairs of the country and until he does so the disabilities from which he suffers are of his own choice"

MR. JINNAH'S SPEECH RECALLED

In connection with *Gandhiji's* letter, political observers recall the words which Mr. *Jinnah* used in the course of his presidential address to the annual session of the Muslim League at Delhi last month.

Mr *Jinnah* had said "Nobody would welcome it more than myself if Mr. *Gandhi* is even now really willing to come to a settlement with the Muslim League on the basis of Pakistan Let me tell you that it will be the greatest day both for the Hindus and Mussalmans If he has made up his mind, what is there to prevent Mr. *Gandhi* from writing direct to me ? He is writing letters to the Viceroy Why does he not write to me direct ? Who is there that can prevent him from doing so ? I cannot believe for a single moment—strong as this Government may be in this country—you may say anything you like against this Government—I cannot believe that they will have the daring to stop such a letter, if it is sent to me It will be a very serious thing, indeed, if such a thing is done by the Government. But I do not see evidence of any kind of change of policy on the part of Mr. *Gandhi* or Congress or the Hindu leadership."

Mr. Jinnah's comment on Govt. communique

"This letter of Mr. *Gandhi* can only be construed as a move on his part to embroil the Muslim League to come into clash with the British Government solely for the purpose of helping his release so that he would be free to do what he pleases thereafter," said Mr. *M. A. Jinnah*, President of the All-India Muslim League in a statement issued on the 28th. May commenting on the Delhi communique. Mr. *Jinnah* adds :

"There is really no change of policy on the part of Mr. *Gandhi* and no genuine desire to meet the suggestion that I made in my speech during the sessions of the All-India Muslim League at Delhi. Although I have always been ready and willing to meet Mr. *Gandhi* or any other Hindu leader and shall be still glad to meet him, yet merely expressing his desire to meet me is not the kind of ephemeral letter that I suggested in my speech that Mr *Gandhi* should write, and which has been now stopped by the Government. I have received a communication from the Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, dated May 24 that Mr *Gandhi's* letter merely expresses a wish to meet me and this letter, the Government have decided, cannot be forwarded to me.

"My speech was directed to meet the appeals that were made to me and are now being made by Hindu leaders, that the Muslim League should do something

towards the solution of the deadlock and my suggestions about the kind of letter that Mr. *Gandhi* should write, were in response to those appeals, when I said that I myself saw no change of heart. There was no evidence of any change of policy on the part of Mr. *Gandhi* or Hindu leadership and I referred to the recent correspondence that had passed between Mr. *Gandhi* and the Viceroy, which on the contrary showed that Mr. *Gandhi* fully maintained his stand of the 8th of August, 1942. But nevertheless some of the responsible Hindu leaders pressed upon me that Mr. *Gandhi* has now realised that he has made a mistake and that he would be prepared to reconsider and retrace his steps if he were given an opportunity to do so and that he has changed his attitude towards Pakistan and would be willing to come to a settlement on the basis of Pakistan, but the British Government are preventing a Hindu-Muslim settlement by refusing people of position and standing permission to establish contact with him for this purpose. I therefore, suggested that if Mr. *Gandhi* were to write to me a letter indicating that he was prepared to retrace his steps and abandon his policy and programme culminating in the resolution of the A. I. C C of the 8th August, and was even now willing to come to a settlement with the Muslim League on the basis of Pakistan, we were willing to bury the past and forget it I still believe that the Government will not dare to stop such a letter if it came from Mr. *Gandhi*."

"I regret that the Congress press as usual is indulging in cheap gibes and slogans based on the publication of isolated passages from my speech and even those are mutilated and important words are eliminated from them. This may serve as misleading and inimical propaganda but is not calculated to create the friendly atmosphere which is essential In my opinion, the Press and those who are indulging in various thoughtless statements are doing great disservice."

Mr Jinnah's Statement on letter Reiterated

The position he had taken up following the refusal of the Government of India to forward to him Mr *Gandhi's* letter was referred to at a press conference at Karachi on the 4th. June 1 43 by Mr *Jinnah*

Mr. *Jinnah* said that, ever since the Congress resolution of 8th August last, he had repeatedly stated that the Congress decision was not a rebellion against the British Government only, but an internecine war, a declaration of war against the Muslim League and Muslim India, and that unless the Congress dropped its pistol, there was no chance of a settlement. "What is the Congress resolution of 8th August ?" asked Mr. *Jinnah*, and said, "It lays down a demand for immediate Independence, that a National Provisional Government should be set up and a Federal All-India Constitution should be framed, that the British Government should quit India and the National Government would frame the constitution; and that if the demand was not conceded, civil disobedience was to be launched. If such a demand was accepted, it would be deceptive of the Muslim demand for Pakistan." Reading passages from his address before the Muslim League in April, Mr. *Jinnah* maintained that the letter sent by Mr *Gandhi* was not the kind of letter he had envisaged when he had stated that the Government would not have "the daring to stop such a letter" and that the position would be very serious indeed if they did so. Mr. *Jinnah* complained that his April speech had been twisted so completely by a section of the Press and by some statements issued thereafter as to make one feel that "the organised Hindu press will not give a fair chance or a fair deal to any one who does not surrender completely to the wishes of the Congress and of Mr. *Gandhi*" "If you want to black it out, you may do so," said Mr. *Jinnah*, 'but my position is as clear as daylight."

At least two Hindu, continued Mr. *Jinnah*, had the frankness to appreciate his point of view. They were Mr. *P. C. Joshi*, General Secretary of the All-India Communist Party, who had pointed out that Mr. *Gandhi's* letter had left a loophole by not indicating whether he was going to meet the Muslim League point of view, and Mr. *C. Rajagopalachari* who, in his recent statement, had conceded that his (Mr. *Jinnah's*) offer had not been accepted and therefore ordinarily it would lapse—although with due respect to Mr *Rajagopalachari*, Mr. *Jinnah* did not see the distinction the letter had drawn between national and other affairs.

Replying to a questioner who suggested that Mr. *Jinnah* could not have known the full contents of Mr. *Gandhi's* letter, Mr. *Jinnah* said that apparently Mr. *Gandhi* had merely expressed a desire to meet him and nothing more. "At present, I have no reason to doubt this information," said Mr. *Jinnah*.

Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce

Sixteenth-Session—New Delhi—27th. and 28th. March 1943

Presidential Address

The sixteenth annual session of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry commenced at New Delhi on the 27th. March 1943, with Mr. *G. L. Mehta*, President, in the chair. Those present included Mr. *C. Rajagopalachari*, Mr. *Tushar Kanti Ghosh*, Sir *Jeremy Raisman*, Sir *Edward Benthall*, Sir *Jogendra Singh*, Sir *J. P Srivastava*, Dr. *Ambedkar*, Mr. *C. E. Jones*, Mr. *N. R. Pillai*, Mr. *T. S. Pillay* and Sir *Theodore Gregory*.

"We must realise that a fundamental of economic progress is the condition of the mass of people," observed Mr. *G. L. Mehta* in his presidential speech. "Industrial expansion must," said Mr. *Mehta*, "be broadbased on the consuming capacity of the people and at the root of economic discontent are dire poverty, gross disparity in wealth and income, absence of security and the want of equality of opportunity. Unless a social system and an economic order can cure those evils and satisfy the elementary needs of men, it cannot long survive. Crores are being spent to-day on death and destruction, why are they not spent on life and on improving the living standard of the starving and underfed, ill clothed and ill-housed humanity? It is not a problem but an obligation to solve the economic maladies from which our country suffers." Mr. *Mehta* dealt with several important economic, financial and commercial questions which have been under the consideration of the Federation and the Indian commercial world during the year, and said that what they needed was to have a National Government at the Centre backed by public opinion which could pool its full weight in imperial and international counsels and adequately represent Indian feelings and interests at the Peace Conference.

Referring to the political background and the Cripps' negotiations, Mr *Mehta* stated that the principal reason of the deadlock was the reluctance of the British Government to transfer effective power to Indian hands, but given the good-will, trust and desire to achieve reconciliation, the question was capable of satisfactory solution. Even in the scheme of expansion of Executive Council, which was not at all adequate, the policy of distrust of India was evident. Mr. *Mehta* criticised strongly the appointment of a representative of the non-official British community as a member of the Council as being tantamount to recognition of the British community in India as a minority entitled to a separate seat. He dealt with the persistent endeavours being made by British commercial interests in India and in England to reverse the principle enunciated by Sir *Stafford Cripps*, that there would be no special protection for British capital or commercial interests in India, and said that there should be no limitations or restrictions on the powers and rights of the future Government of India to formulate and pursue measures and policies considered necessary for safeguarding Indian interests "Without the substance of economic and financial independence political freedom is a shadow."

Referring to the question of post-war reconstruction, Mr. *Mehta* said. "India along with other Asiatic countries, is not prepared to continue being regarded in terms of markets and concessions or as a source of raw materials and cheap labour." Powerful countries adopt the creed of economic internationalism when it suits their interest but resort to nationalism when convenient The irony of it is that while preaching virtues of internationalism to backward countries and inducing or compelling them to adopt it, they themselves practise nationalism. Moreover, international standards which might be set up by highly industrialised countries for the reconstruction of the post-war world would not necessarily be suitable or beneficial to countries like India which will have a vast scope for industrial and economic development. The criterion of international trade as a measure of economic betterment has its limitations and the maintenance of internal stability and of domestic equilibium is no less fundamental to the economic progress of a country than preservation of international trade." While welcoming the principle of a direct agreement with the U S. A. in respect of lease-lend, Mr. *Mehta* deplored the absence of adequate data regarding lease-lend or reciprocal aid despite request of Indian commercial bodies. "In deciding the question of reciprocal lease-land, it is essential to bear in mind that supplies to India have been made not merely with a view to overcome the deficiencies of India's defence but also to

strengthen the forces of the United Nations and use India as a base of operations. It is necessary for Indian opinion to see that the liabilities of India are not unduly widened by making India responsible for all lease-lend aid received for Burma-Malaya on Middle East campaigns. Reciprocal supplies and services provided by India in the interests of common defence should be impartially assured. The authorities should make ample reservation in concluding a direct agreement so as to safeguard India's fiscal autonomy. At the present stage of India's economic and industrial development as well as constitutional subordination, the Government should not make any commitments which might affect the financial, commercial and fiscal policies of India in the post-war period. It is not a question of India remaining isolated from any scheme of international economic reconstruction but one of safeguarding her vital interests and of co ordinating them in any plan of common benefits".

Dealing with the principle of equality of sacrifice, between several members of the United Nations, Mr. Mehta said "that equality of sacrifice cannot be demanded without an equality of status. We are asked to pay the piper but nowhere are we allowed to call the tune. Equality of sacrifice is proportionate to the capacity to pay and the ability to bear the burden. Incidentally, the benefits which would accrue as a result of this sacrifice should also in equity be taken into account. The national contribution of India must be set in relation to her national wealth and income as compared to the other members of the United Nations. A very large portion of India's national income consists of goods and services which are necessary for bare subsistence and do not provide a source of strength for any other purpose. On the other hand, any impartial examination of this question should also take into account factors which constitute India's concealed sacrifice and contribution to the war such as the utilisation of sterling balances in England at a nominal rate of interest to finance Britain's war efforts as well as the purchase of commodities in India at controlled prices."

Dealing with the question of defence expenditure, Mr. Mehta said, "the people of India do not desire to shirk the duty of defending their country or of sharing on equal and equitable basis the cost of such defence. Apart from the fact that the representatives of the Indian people have no control over the defence policy or over the armed forces which operate on behalf of India and no say in the foreign policy of the British Common-wealth, it need hardly be proved that the capacity of India to bear the burdens of war is strictly limited. It is also indisputable that an army in India has wider purposes than mere defence of India and is maintained to subserve imperial interests. The terms of the financial settlement are not free from ambiguity and the whole question depends upon their interpretation and application. India has to bear the burdens, obligations and responsibilities of a member of the British Empire and the United Nations while being denied the rights and powers of a self-governing country."

Referring to the question of utilisation of India's growing sterling balance, Mr. Mehta observed that India is not in a position either to determine the terms of payment or to safeguard her assets. The Government of India hold the view that this is mainly a post-war problem. But this assumption cannot be accepted because the question is of urgent importance. He emphasised the necessity of utilising the sterling assets for constructive and beneficent purposes during the war and for safeguarding its value and convertibility. Dominions have not postponed this question but have taken care to see that their immediate requirements are met and their vital interests adequately safeguarded in transactions relating to sterling by obtaining gold as well as transfer of British assets. Mr. Mehta criticised the constitution of the post-war Reconstruction Fund which would tend to restrict and delimit India's purchasing power outside the U. K. India should not only have the choice but also have the wherewithal to make her purchase of her capital goods in the cheapest and best markets of the world. The Government should not make any post-war commitments about India's sterling resources which would sterilise our sterling balances for purchases exclusively from the U. K. The Government have hitherto failed to take advantage of India's position as a creditor, in order to strengthen her financial structure and economic position. The problem of sterling securities originates in the Government of India having allowed foreign countries to make payments to us in sterling instead of gold securities or in our own currency. If borrowing is to be the Government's sheet-anchor during the period of emergency, the ballast that the ship of the State needs is the trust and goodwill of the people."

Coming to industrial development, Mr. Mehta said, "the war has revealed the

serious gaps in India's industrial structure and her dependence of imports of plant, etc., which have tended to limit the scope and pace of industrial advance and are likely to affect adversely the post-war competitive power of our industries. The absence of basic machine-making industries handicaps other industries. Several mineral products of India are being almost entirely exported in an unmanufactured state to foreign countries for years at comparatively low prices. If these mineral resources are not developed within the country, it is quite conceivable that they would be pooled and distributed among the industrially developed countries of the world after the war on some international plan of allocation of raw materials and minerals. While the United States are building four ships in a day, we have not built one single merchant vessel during the last four years of war. Similar unhelpful attitude was adopted in regard to the automobile industry. What weights with the authorities here and in England is not India's economic interests nor Britain's dire needs but the post-war effects of Indian industrial development on British manufactures and exports. The American Technical Mission which aroused great expectations does not seem to have led to any appreciable results"

Referring to the transport system of the country, Mr. Mehta said, "that although an integrated and co-ordinated transport policy for full and effective utilisation of all means of communications is essential for the economic development of the country, shipping, both coastal and inland as well as roads have in the past been neglected owing to bias for railways in transport policy. Nor were any efforts made during the 21 years which intervened between the last war and the present one to establish locomotive, ship-building and automobile industries in the country The principal cause of the strain on the railways can be traced to the neglect to maintain efficiency of rolling stock in the years before the war. During the 18 years the number of locomotives has declined annually. We have to depend for our railway equipment on other countries and have been obliged to part with locomotives, wagons and rails from our own slender supplies If the Indian shipping industry had been encouraged by the Government many of the difficulties experienced in regard to maritime trade and internal transport could have been mitigated"

Mr. *Mehta*, in his concluding remarks stressed that industrial development was, after all, a part of wider economic problem of the country and dwelt on the fundamental importance of agriculture and cottage industries. "No one who desires to see India economically powerful should discount the imperative need of a positive and constructive social policy. We have to see that in our industrial organisations efficiency of work is reconciled with security for the worker, that the desire for social betterment exists along with satisfaction of immediate social needs, that individual initiative fosters eccconomic progress" He said that in the task of economic and social reconstruction, the Federation would have an important and constructive contribution to make, and that it should strive to be the economic front of a healthy and broad-based nationalism.

Proceedings and Resolutions

TRANSFER OF POWER ESSENTIAL

The Federation then passed three resolutions put from the Chair on the political situation, India's participation in international conferences and the sale of Indian silver in England.

The first resolution expressed grave concern with the political situation in the country and reiterated the Federation's demand for the immediate and effective transfer of political power to a National Government The meeting urged the following steps: (1) an immediate declaration of Government's readiness to transfer effective political power to the people of this country, (2) release of political leaders unconditionally to enable them to review the political situation with a view to the establishment of a National Government in conjunction with other political parties.

INDIA AND POST-WAR CONFERENCE

The second resolution urged the Government of India, as at present constituted, to desist from entering into any agreement on behalf of India which involved acceptance of financial, fiscal or economic principles or policies as basis for post-war reconstruction and would commit the future Government in India in that respect. The Federation demanded that in any international conferences which are convened for arriving at such arrangement or agreement for common objects, delegates should consist wholly of representative Indians including representatives of the Indian commercial community and should in every instance be responsible to Indian public opinion and not function as nominees of His Majesty's Government.

SILVER SALES

The Federation strongly disapproved of the policy pursued by the Government of India in selling the accumulated stocks of Indian silver in the London market at a low price, which compared unfavourably with the price paid by the U. S. A. to Mexican sellers. It urged that with a view to conserving the bullion reserves, which were already comparatively slender, they should immediately stop the sales of Indian silver in London and in case of imperative necessity should sell it in India and fix the price of silver in consonance with the price obtaining in other silver markets.

The Federation adopted five more resolutions and was discussing the ninth when the session ajourned till the next day.

The resolutions discussed and adopted related *inter alia* to the allocation of defence expenditure, utilisation and safeguarding of Indian sterling balances.

ALLOCATION OF DEFENCE EXPENDITURE

The resolution relating to allocation of defence expenditure urged that India should be asked to bear only such expenditure as was undertaken strictly for her own defence purposes and that the "terms of settlement should not be widened to include items of expenditure under India's war measures which cannot equitably and legitimately be debitable to India." The Federation was opposed to the allocation of capital and recurring cost of air forces expansion on fifty-fifty basis.

The Federation asserted that "so long as the control of policy with regard to defence expenditure remained with an Executive not responsible to the Central Legislature, the public would not be satisfied with the mere assurance of the Finance Member that the allocation of war expenditure is open to audit and scrutiny on behalf of the Central Legislature and to investigation by its Public Accounts Committee. The resolution demanded the immediate publication by the Government of figures of all purchases made in this country by His Majesty's Government and other Allied Governments at controlled prices and the services rendered at concessions rates, in order to enable a proper assessment of this country's contribution to the Allied war effort and particularly to ascertain the magnitude of the invisible advantages accruing to His Majesty's Government and other Allied Governments out of such purchases.

The resolution was moved by Mr. *Devi Prasad Khaitan*, and supported by *Messrs. A. D. Shroff* and *A. R. Bhatt*

Mr *Khaitan* complained that India had been obstructed in the past in her industrial development, otherwise she would have been in a much better position to render assistance in the war effort. Referring to allocation of defence expenditure, Mr. *Khaitan* claimed that the Government could secure India's full assistance if they associated responsible Indians, who understood the subject, with the scrutiny of war expenditure.

UTILISATION OF STERLING BALANCES

Sir Chunilal B. Mehta moved the resolution relating to utilisation and safeguarding of Indian sterling balances. The resolution expressed dissatisfaction with the manner in which the whole question of utilisation and safeguarding of India's growing sterling balances was being dealt with by the Government of India. The Federation demanded that sterling balances should be utilised to repatriate British commercial investments in India and 'with regard to the balance of sterling credits the Government of India should secure an undertaking from the British Government that in case the value of the sterling during or after the war depreciates in terms of gold, the British Government shall compensate the Reserve Bank of India for all its sterling holding to the extent of such depreciation."

Sir Chunilal said that repatriation undertaken so far had not resulted in any deflation of currency in this country and the Finance Member had made not a reference to their demand for liquidating British interests in India by utilising the sterling balances. He claimed that theirs was not a political demand, but was based on justice and fair-play.

Sir *Padampat Singhania* and Mr. *B. M. Bhat* supported the resolution. Sir *Padampat* claimed that the Finance Member was not right when he said that India's sterling balances were growing because of Britain's free gift to India. He asserted that the balances represented a mere fringe of what India was actually contributing to war effort. India's roads and railways, for instance, were being used to capacity, and it would require a big replacement fund to put them in shape after the war.

POST-WAR RECONSTRUCTION

The resolution on post-war reconstruction emphasised that international plans and standards set up by highly industrialised countries for economic reconstruction would not be necessarily beneficial to India without important qualifications and reservations owing to the radically different conditions in which India is placed. In connection with schemes and proposals for the international regulation and distribution of raw materials of the world, the Federation made it clear that the producing country will have a prior claim on its products and it will be entirely free to determine the quantum of production of its own raw materials according to its own economic needs and requirements "India will insist on claiming the right and liberty to utilise her own raw materials in the first instance, and no extraneous influence should be permitted to impede the country's normal economic development to the detriment of her agriculture and industry".

The Federation also emphasised that India should have full autonomy to determine her post-war economic policy, primarily in accordance with her own national interest and to collaborate with other countries on suitable terms so as not to injure her own interests

Sir *Sri Ram*, moving the resolution, thought it was really inappropriate to a country like ours to speak of post-war reconstruction, because we had not really had any construction so far regarding our economy. He dwelt on a number of aspects of reconstruction in India of industry and agriculture and deprecated the "officially inspired rift" between the two. "We for our part", he said, "are quite willing and anxious to play our part in assisting in the task of world reconstruction but it is imperative that India's authentic voice should be heard at the Peace Conference and her leaders of commerce and industry and agriculture be given their proper place at the discussions regarding post-war reconstruction". He appealed for mutual help and patronage between farmers, manufacturers, bankers, insurance companies and men of science in a sound and speedy development of our economic standards.

Mr. *T. T. Krishnamachari* (South India Chamber) emphasised that without a change in our Government during the course of the war it would be impossible for us to resist the economic pressure enveloping us day after day He also laid stress on the sociological aspect of the reconstruction problem and declared that Indian industry should adopt a policy of controlled self-interest. He sharply criticised the textile industry for the 400 per cent increase in the price of the poor man's cloth and for the increase in yarn prices, which was likely to throw the handloom weaver in the south out of his employment He suspected that the recent interest in the Indian agriculturist shown by the European Group in the Assembly was a symptom of a move to get a grip on Indian agriculture similiar to the grip already established on Indian industry

FOOD SUPPLY

The resolution on food supply expressed anxiety at the present position regarding supply of foodstuffs, and declared that in order to ameliorate the serious situation with regard to supply of foodgrains, firstly all exports of foodgrains from the country should be entirely stopped ; secondly exports of essential foodgrains from the surplus provinces to the deficit ones should be facilitated, so that an equitable distribution of foodgrains in the country as a whole may be brought about : thirdly, the controlled prices should be fixed at a level which would bring out supplies , and fourthly, transport facilities should be arranged for the movement of essential foodgrains within the country. The resolution also urged that the distribution of foodgrains under control should be effected as far as possible only through the normal channels of trade.

Major-General E. Wood, Additional Secretary, Supply Department, who came by invitation, explained the food position and the steps the Government of India had planned to secure a uniform supply of foodgrains in the country throughout the year.

The resolution was proposed by Mr. *Haridas Madhabdas* and seconded by Mr. *J. C. Setalvad.*

Sir *Purshotamdas Thakurdas* said that as pointed out by General Wood, the Government of India were responsible for the Central Purchasing Scheme and transport of grains from surplus to deficit provinces. The main complaint in the country was against the system of distribution. He agreed with General Wood that ladies in Bombay were rendering very valuable services, but even these ladies complained that supplies had run out. Referring to the demand for the main-

tenance of the existing channels of trade, Sir Purshotamdas said that that should be taken to mean that "our interests should be safe or were safe." The trade, he said, was prepared to stand out if the Government wanted to make its own arrangements. The greater question was to make available foodgrains to everyone according to his needs. He insisted that everyone would not only get according to his needs but everyone should also get grains of the highest quality to which the people were accustomed. If the Government undertook the Central purchasing scheme they should also guarantee the requisite quality of foodgrains. "Proper quality of foodgrains would make the Food Department tolerable." Sir Purshotamdas was prepared to concede that people outside, who depended on India for their foodgrains, should be given their supplies, but such exports should be made good by His Majesty's Government from other sources and such replenishments to India should be given as high a priority as the exports from India were given.

Sir Purshotamdas stressed the need for a National Government even during the war and pointed out that a responsible Minister at the Centre would be able to understand the problem in its proper perspective.

Resolutions—Second Day—New Delhi—28th March 1943

The Federation discussed to-day, among other questions, Lease-Lend supplies and the activities of the United Kingdom Commercial Corporation.

The resolution on food supply discussed yesterday was passed this morning with one dissentient, Mr. *Narsing Rao* of the Andhra Chamber of Commerce, who took exception particularly to the demand made in it that controlled prices should be fixed at a level which would bring out supplies. He asked that the price should be fixed at a level which the wage-earner could afford and which would give the grower a reasonable profit. Mr. *Narsing Rao* also urged that requisitioning should be adopted in order to make the hoarder unhoard stocks and as a necessary preliminary to the introduction of rationing. Because of the omission of these points from the resolution he opposed it.

LEASE-LEND SUPPLIES

Mr. *A. D. Shroff*, Bombay, moved the resolution on Lease-Lend supplies. The resolution while appreciating the help extended by the U. S. A. for the defence of India under the Lease Lend procedure declared its belief that the terms of repayment of the aid received should be such that firstly India's reciprocal contribution should in no case exceed the extent of the aid in materials received for the purpose of her own actual defence requirements, and secondly that all reciprocal services, facilities and supplies given by India to the U. S. A. should be fully taken into account while making the final adjustments under Lease-Lend. The resolution further pointed out that Lease-Lend repayment was closely linked up with the wider questions of post-war planning in the sphere of international trade which were dealt with in the Atlantic Charter as well as in the Anglo-American Agreement of February 1942, and particularly in Article VII dealing with mutual reduction in tariff barriers in order to ensure freer international trade. The Federation was strongly of opinion that the Government of India should not enter into such international agreements without specific reservation so as to ensure India's fiscal autonomy and industrial development. The Federation also emphatically urged that in view of the far-reaching applications of any settlement regarding Lease-Lend supplies no final decision should be taken without fully consulting the Indian commercial community.

Mr. *Shroff* after referring to the complex character of the Lease-Lend apparatus, dealt with the possible manner of the settlement of Lease-Lend Account after the war. He said that although President Roosevelt might feel that the recipients of Lease-Lend aid should be let off in view of the help they gave in the war, American public opinion might not be completely reconciled to that view and would certainly demand repayment, if not in material, then in the shape of a very important say in determining the shape of economic affairs after the war. An indication of this was found in the article of the Atlantic Charter which pleaded for a reduction of tariff barriers and for plans for international distribution of raw materials. He urged that India would have to take care to see that in any pool that might be formed of raw materials available in the world, India was not merely treated as a supplier of raw materials but that her raw materials were in the first place reserved for exploitation by Indians and that the balance might be made available to different countries on terms which would not harm our own economy.

Mr. *J. K. Mitter* (Bengal National Chamber of Commerce) seconded the

resolution. He urged that President Roosevelt's principle that a country's obligation should be limited to its capacity should be applied in the case of India and she should not be made to pay for all the Lease-Lend supplies received for campaigns in the Far East and the Middle East, merely because in a global war those operations might be easily connected with the defence of India. It was equally important that an accurate estimate of all the goods and services given by India in terms of the reciprocal aid should be made so that Indian public might be in a position to assess the true position.

Mr. *Harishankar Bagla* (Cawnpore) supported the resolution, which was passed.

BURMA INDIANS

A resolution on the position of Indians in Burma was moved by *Kumararaja Sir Muthiah Chettiar*, seconded by Mr. *S. M. Nauman* and Rai Bahadur Virjeebhai Dayabhai and Mr. G. M Kapadia, both from Burma, and passed.

The resolution urged the Government of India to see that the status, position and rights of Indians in Burma of the future were the same as hitherto, and asked that plans for reconstruction of Burma now under enemy occupation, should be undertaken in close consultation and agreement with the Government of India who in turn should be guided by Indian public and commercial opinion. The Federation deplored the delay in the settlement of claims of Indian merchants in Burma under the Burma War Risks' Insurance Scheme and in respect of goods supplied to or requisitioned by the Burma Government and requested the Government of India to press upon the Burma Government the imperative necessity of arranging an early settlement of those claims The Federation emphasised the need for paying adequate compensation to Indian nationals for the losses sustained by them by the application of the Scorched Earth policy or as a result of enemy action or war operations. The Federation also stressed the need for giving allowance to evacuees more generously, promptly and regularly until the end of the war as well as providing employment for such of them as were in need of it and urged that facilities be given to Indian merchants who had business connections in Burma to carry on business in India

INDIAN INDUSTRIES AND POST-WAR DEVELOPMENT

The meeting adopted a resolution strongly urging the Government to set apart, out of stocks and imports of industrial raw materials under their control, an adequate percentage of such materials so as to prevent the closure of factories in India and enable them to cater to the civil needs. The resolution drew attention to the serious inconvenience caused to business firms and consumers owing to their decision to release only a very small percentage of the production for civilian consumption of such commodities as paper, cement, iron and steel, etc. It declared that the question of industrial development and particularly of safeguarding Indian industries established or expanded during the war from any external competition or any slump in the post-war period should receive the active consideration of the Government of India from now onwards in close collaboration with Indian industrial interests. The resolution urged that the Government's taxation policy should take into account the difficulties which would confront industries in this country after the war, especially owing to the need for replacement and the high cost of materials, plant, machinery etc. for which industries should be allowed to make provision from now and to build up adequate reserves.

The resolution was moved by Sir Padampat Singhania and supported by Sardar P. S. Sodhbans, Mr. D. N. Sen and others.

BRITISH INTERESTS' MOVE TO SECURE SAFEGUARDS

On the subject of safeguards for British commercial interests in India, the meeting passed a resolution *inter alia* welcoming the statements made on behalf of the British Government by the Secretary and the Under-Secretary of State for India that "a guarantee of special protection for British commercial interests in India would not be a condition for the acceptance of whatever constitution Indians might evolve." The Federation viewed with grave apprehension the persistent attempts which were now being made by British commercial interests both in India and in England, to see that the principle and policy underlying that assurance and a similar assurance by Sir Stafford Cripps during his visit to India were undermined and to secure constitutional safeguards and special protection for them even in the future constitution of India and to make this demand a condition precedent for the recognition of India's sovereignty. The Federation made it clear that the Indian commercial community was strongly opposed to such an

inequitable demand which would be derogatory to the full sovereign authority of the future Government of India and which might also militate against the economic expansion of India including the growth of industries owned, controlled and managed by Indians. The Federation declared that safeguards, which they had always condemned as inconsistent with India's rights and interests, should not find a place in the future constitution of India The Federation affirmed that there should be no diminution of or restriction on the rights and powers of the future Government of India for pursuing any policy or adopting any measure they considered necessary for protecting and promoting the interests of India and Indians

Moving the resolution, Sir *Purushotamdas Thakurdas* (East India Cotton Association, Bombay), took strong exception to the demand for safeguards by the British commercial interests in India and said that the representation of the European community in the Viceroy's expanded Council, which was neither asked for nor dreamt of, was a signal of Whitehall's intentions. He regarded this representation as a retrograde step and a cruel joke when the demand was for Indianisation and said that its full implication ought to be realised and an emphatic protest lodged against it. It was a question of principle and not of personalities. He asked what chances there were for future planning of Industry according to the wishes of the Federation, when in the Executive Council there was a representative of the antagonistic interests. He said that the committee should follow up the resolution till the injustice was removed.

The resolution was seconded by Sir *Badridas Goenka*. Sir *P. Singhania*, Sir *Rahimtoola Chinoy*, Mr. *Satyapal Virmani* and Sir *A. H. Ghaznavi* supported it. The last named declared that India would not accept any constitution in which any discriminatory clause existed

ACTIVITIES OF THE U. K. C. C.

A resolution on the activities of the U. K. C. C. declared that this powerful and influential organisation enjoying several concessions and facilities in this country, is seriously prejudicial to the interests of Indian exporters and merchants and would also be highly detrimental to Indian interests in the post-war period. The Federation has to point out that this body has not only intervened in the normal channels of trade and adversely affected established exporters, but is also depriving Indian mercantile interests of the opportunity of maintaining contacts in foreign markets and the Indian Exchequer of its legitimate earnings."

The Federation strongly protested against the attempt being made in other parts of the British Empire to set up similar organisations, such as the Utility Textile Importing Corporation of East Africa and the Colonial Commercial Corporation of Ceylon, designed to control and canalise import and export trade with India in the hands of monopolistic trade organisations, thus elliminating Indian merchants from established trade built by them after years of effort, enterprise and risk and earnestly requested the Government to take all available steps in their power to see that Indian interests were not jeopardised or sacrificed through the establishment or operation of such organisations. The Federation expressed the opinion that, if on account of abnormal circumstances created by the war, normal channels of trade with certain countries could not function for export trade, the Government of India should take steps to set up an Indian agency for the purpose of handling the export trade from India to these countries so as to retain all the benefits of trade and trade contacts with these countries in Indian hands

Sir *A H. Ghaznavi*, moving the resolution, asked . "If they want our help in war effort, did it not strike them to take at least one or two Indian magnates into the partnership of this U. K. C. C ?" Criticising the activities of this body, Sir *Abdul Halim* declared that it refused to purchase from Indians even if the price was cheaper. He gave a number of instances in support of his statement. Every article in which India was trading as importer or exporter, he asserted had gone out of Indian hands completely and the U K. C. C. had stepped in Nothing could be sent out of India, except through this body He gave the example of sugar, which the U. K. C. C. was selling in Iraq and Iran at Rs. 87 a maund according to report.

Mr. *M. C. Mehta*, Sugar Controller, who was present, intervening, stated that not a single ounce of Indian sugar was sold to the U. K. C. C.

Sir *Abdul Halim* asserted that sugar might not have been sold to the U. K. C. C. directly, but it had to be sold to them because Indian traders themselves

could not ship it to Iraq or Iran. He gave an instance in which a trader tried to get a permit from the Commerce Department for shipping a consignment of sugar, but could not get it and had ultimately to sell the whole consignment to the U. K. C. C.

Mr. *Sankalchand Shah* and *Lala Wazir Chand Seth* supported the resolution, which was passed.

MILL-OWNERS AND STANDARD CLOTH SCHEME

Defending the textile industry against remarks of Mr. *T. T. Krishnamachari* yesterday, Sir *Shri Ram*, during the discussion on the annual report pointed out that when the Commerce Department eighteen months ago asked the representatives of the textile industry to supply standard cloth, without any dissentient voice the industry offered to supply as much standard cloth as the Government would require. They also expressed readiness to supply huge quantities to the military. They went so far as to suggest that they would be satisfied with no profit or a very small margin of profit so far as the supply of this cloth to their countrymen was concerned. It was not the fault of the textile industry, he asserted, if the Government of India did not move in the matter. Again at a later conference, the industry took the same position and expressed the wish that this cloth should reach the needy and poor and for that purpose, they offered their services for distribution even in towns with a population of 5,000 people. He did not think that under those circumstances, the industry could be charged with exploiting the poor.

According to him, the difficulty arose from an acute shortage of cloth, as there was at present no more than ¼ of the normal cloth available for civil requirement. All knew that the mills in Ahmedabad and other places had closed for political reasons for about three months. The millowners had no hand in that situation. Further, the industry's repeated advice to the Supply Department to give up the use of cotton cloth and cotton yarn where it could be replaced by other fabrics or material, had not had much effect. The present high prices, he said, were due to the action of the law of supply and demand. He feared that even if the millowners sold their cloth at cheaper rates, the position was such that there was no guarantee that it would reach the consumer at lower prices. As for the industry, he said, everybody might rest assured that it was producing as much as it could.

ELECTION OF OFFICE-BEARERS

The following were elected members of the committee for the coming year:

Kumararaja Sir *Muthia Chettiar* (President); Mr. *J. C. Setalvad*, Vice-President; Sir *Chunilal B. Mehta*, Treasurer, *Lala Karamchand Thappar*, (sugar mills), Mr. *J. C. Setalvad*, (Insurance), Mr. *A. A. Master*, (Transport), Mr *Deviprasad Khaitan*, Mr. *Satya Paul Birman* and Mr. *M. A. Ispahani*.

The following members were co-opted :- Mr *G. L. Mehta*, Sir *Padampat Singhania*, Mr. *N. R. Sarker*, Sir *A. H. Ghaznavi*, Mr. *A. D. Shroff*, and Mr. *G. D. Birla*. The session then concluded.

All India Manufacturers' Conference

Third Session—Baroda—13th. and 14th. February 1943

Presidential Address

"We are trying to spread the policy of industrialisation in the country because it is the characteristic of all progressive nations to do so," said *Sir M Visvesvaraya*, delivering his presidential address at the Third All-India Manufacturers' Conference held at Baroda on the 13th. February 1943.

"In this connection," he said, "there are three important proposals which the All-India Manufacturers' organisation would like the public of this country to give their immediate attention to These are (1) arrangements to establish two heavy industries in every province the moment the war is over, (2) preparation of an intensive character to develop minor and subsistence industries in every district; and (3) an attempt to promote all classes of industries, including the above by means of a five-year plan."

"Heavy industries," he said, "will help to keep large sums of money in circulation, to increase the capital for building up future enterprises to reduce the import and increase the export of manufactured goods and to start industries needed for defence machinery. Then the eleven provinces of India may develop some twenty-four heavy industries in the near future and if a dozen Indian States also follow the example of the provinces, all classes of heavy industries will have been established in the country within the next two or three years."

But for this "it is necessary that leading citizens and businessmen who have the good of the country at heart should come forward and induce their local Governments to help to start these industries. If the Governments do not comply, they should, by co-operative effort, mobilise private resources to start them "

Referring to the five-year plan, he said that the object of the plan is to give a unified concept of the proposed industrialisation in the country as a whole and to invite attention to specific practical industries and measures to be promoted from stage to stage in the first year, and in the first five years respectively. "It will include," he added, "the provincial heavy industries and the district development scheme as well as any medium scale or other industries which may be started by businessmen themselves without the aid or persuasion of the A. I M. C."

Sir Visvesvaraya also referred to post war reconstruction, which he said, "needed special attention in the best interests of both the administration and the general public." He stressed the need to equip the country adequately for future economic progress and said that "for this the establishment of an economic council or a development board composed of representative businessmen and citizens is an immediate necessity."

Sir Visvesvaraya appealed for a popular effort to be made to advance industrialisation. "Particularly," he said, "the goodwill and active co-operation of every right-thinking citizen from the middle and upper classes was what was wanted to bring to the forefront the question of industries and their importance to the future well-being and safety of the country."

The Welcome Address

Seth Chaturbhujadas, Chairman of the Reception Committee, detailed the industrial progress of the State especially during the regime of His Highness the late Sir Sayajirao and the stewardship of the present Dewan Sir *V. T. Krishnamachari*. He criticised the indifferent attitude of the Government of India to industrialisation of India. Seth Chathurbhujadas said that the fast undertaken by Mahatmaji in his old age caused great anxiety and concern amongst the people all over the country and the Government should reconsider their policy and release Gandhiji unconditionally in order to allay the anxiety of the people.

Resolutions—2nd. Day—Baroda—14th. February 1943

The first resolution, which was moved from the chair and unanimously passed, expressed grave concern over Mahatma Gandhi's fast and urged upon the Government of India the need for his immediate and unconditional release.

The second resolution, which was moved by Mr. *Amritlal D. Ojha*, related to industrial finance and requested the Government to adopt all possible measures for the encouragement of existing and new industries.

A resolution on post-war economic reconstruction urged the Government to set up a Central Post-War Reconstruction Board representing various interests for dealing with important subjects, such as, finance, war, demobilisation, conversion of war-time factories into peace-time factories and workshops, transport, export trade and technical education. It also urged the Government of India to see that Indian nationals alone represented Indian interest on any post-war international conference.

The resolution was moved by Mr. *Sankalchand G. Shah*, Vice-President of the A. I. M. C., in short and forceful speech, and was seconded by Mr. *S. N. Haji* who particularly stressed the latter portion of the resolution by illustrating instances as to how Indian interests had gone by the board in the past.

A resolution moved by Dr. *J. M. Kumarappa* requested the industrialists to introduce labour welfare schemes for the improvement of labour efficiency.

The conference also passed a resolution on the food crisis in the country.

Sir M. Visvesvaraya, in the course of his concluding remarks, appealed for the establishment of provincial boards and district councils to speed up the work of industrialisation of the country and to overcome all the obstacles in the way.

The All India Trade Union Congress

20th. Session—Nagpur—1st. and 2nd. May 1943

Presidential Address

Fourteen demands by the workers were enumerated by Doctor *Charuchandra Bannerjee*, presiding over the twentieth session of the All-India Trade Union Congress held at Nagpur on the 1st May 1943.

These demands, he said, were release of political prisoners, dearness allowance to the workers in proportion to the rise of the prices of foodstuffs and other commodities, general reduction in the abnormal prices of food and clothing, war bonus, unemployment, war and sickness insurances maternity benefit, one month's leave with pay, security of service, stoppage of all retrenchment, civil liberties, freedom of speech, press and organisation, recognition of trade unions, sufficient protection during air-raids, proper compensation to the wounded and to the families in case death is caused from injuries due to accidents from war effects and transference of power to a National Government.

Mr. Bannerjee said that in this war the worst sufferers were the workers They were not given proper dearness allowance. He severely criticised the South African Government for passing the Restrictions Bill and suggested as a remedy the establishment of workers' leadership all over the world.

Over three hundred delegates representing over 350,000 workers attended the meeting. The public was not present as the meeting was held in the private hall of the City College. Mr *N. M. Joshi*, General Secretary submitted the annual report for last year which was adopted. He hoped that by next year the membership of the Congress would rise to over one million workers. Dr. Pillai extended the greeting of the International Labour Office to the Congress.

Proceedings and Resolutions

Mr. *Bankim Mukerjee* then moved the first resolution extending the May Day greeting of the Indian workers to the workers of the world, particularly those in Soviet Russia. The resolution was passed.

Communist and anti-Communist slogans were raised during the proceedings. Feelings rose high after the conclusion of the session when a free fight occurred outside the hall between two groups of workers. Some received minor injuries.

Two resolutions on the present political situation, one sponsored by Communists and the other by Nationlists were rejected by the Congress which concluded its two-day session on the next day, the 2nd. May. Mr. *Charuchandra Banerjee* presided.

Both resolutions protested against the continued detention of Mr. *Gandhi* and other leaders, condemned the Government's decision not to allow interviews with Mr. *Gandhi*, urged the leaders' unconditional release and expressed the view that the present policy of the Government showed determination not to part with power Both resolutions also demanded the immediate transfer of power by establishing a National Government at the Centre in order to organise the defence of the country against the invader.

The resolutions, however, differed in two respects. While the one moved by Mr. *Somnath Lahiri* (Communist) wanted Hindu-Muslim understanding, particularly with Mr. *Jinnah*, the resolution moved by Mr. *V. R Kalappa* supported the principle of self-determination for the major minority community and suggested that until a new constitution was framed all the communities should urge their respective political leaders to participate in a National Government Mr Kalappa's resolution also suggested that on the basis of this declaration there should be no difficulty to end the present deadlock if, despite this declaration, British imperialism refused to part with power, the T. U. C. should call on the people to develop the necessary sanction to enforce the national demand.

The Communists' resolution, on the other hand, called upon the labour movements of all the United Nations to stress on their respective Governments the necessity and importance of giving proper weight to the viewpoint of the Indian working classes while formulating their policies and programme for the successful prosecution of the war and the conclusion of a peace which would ensure freedom and democracy for all nations of the world.

Replying to the debate Mr. Kalappa explained the suggestion of sanctions in the concluding part of his resolution by saying that the sanctions referred to were hartals and downing of tools by workers.

The debate lasted about two hours and the counting of votes took a longer period. Mr. Kalappa's resolution was rejected by 46 votes to 68.

There was elaborate voting on Mr. Lahiri's resolution, the voting ending as follows: In favour 424, against 192 votes.

The President explained that under the rules a "political resolution" must have the support of three-fourths of the number of delegates present: the resolution was, therefore, negatived.

A second controversial resolution of a political nature urging the workers to increase production was, in view of the above voting, not moved.

In the morning session, about twentyfive resolutions were passed. The House decided to hold the next session at Calcutta.

The All India Medical Conference

Nineteenth Session—Patna—23rd and 24th, April 1943

Dr. Sinha's Tribute to Medical Profession

The nineteenth session of the All-India Medical Conference was held at the Wheeler Senate Hall, Patna on the 23rd. April 1943 under the presidency of Dr. *R. A. Amesur* of Karachi.

Inaugurating the Conference Dr *Sachchidananda Sinha*, Vice-Chancellor, Patna University, said: "There is no process which can reackon up the amount of good which science and art of medicine have conferred upon human race. There is no moral calculus that can grasp and comprehend the sum of your beneficent operations. Ever since the first dawn of civilisation and learning, through dark backward and abysm of time you have been true and constant friends of the suffering humanity.

Dr. Sinha said, "Through your ministers and disciples you have cheered desponding; lightened the load of human sorrow; dispelled or diminished the gloom of the sick chamber, plucked from the pillow of pain its thorns and made hard couch soft by letting in light of joy upon dark and desolate dwellings. You have ever rekindled the lamp of hope in the bosom of despair; called back the radiance of lustre to the eye and bloom on the fading cheek; sent new vigour through failing limbs; and finally when exhausted in all your other resources and baffled in your skill, you have blunted the arrows of death and rendered less rugged and precipitous the inevitable pathway to eternity. In the circle of human duties, I confess, I do not know of anything—short of heroic and perilous, daring or religious martyrdom and patriotic self-sacrifice—higher and nobler than those of the physician, whose daily round of labour is crowded with beneficence and whose nightly sleep is broken so that others may have better rest. Thus your whole life is blessed by the ministry of consolation, hope and beneficence'

Proceeding Dr. Sinha said, 'Government should give, in my opinion, careful and prompt attention to the question of teaching in a medical college through qualified teachers. The present system of having teacher and private practitioner combined in the same person is thoroughly unsatisfactory. For it would be expecting too much from the teacher to devote himself to teaching and research at the sacrifice of his practice. If it be urged that without practice, professors and lecturers in a medical college will not have practical experience for their work the reply is that in the course of discharge of their duties in a medical college hospital, they will find ample opportunities for practical training. I am strongly of opinion that the part-time system of imparting instruction is unsatisfactory, whether it be in the domain of medicine, law or any other branches of learning, and should be replaced by that of the wholetime teaching staff."

As regards public health which is a separate department from medical, Dr. Sinha said, "The present system of medical administration by a close body selected or nominated by the authorities as members of one particular service has long

since outlived its utility and been found inadequate to deal with the present-day requirements. Medical and public health services should, therefore, be so reorganised and so co-ordinated with the allied services that the people may be able to command more prompt, more efficient and more responsive state service."

Welcome by Dr. Banerjea

Rai Bahadur Dr *T. N. Banerjea*, Principal, Patna Medical College, welcoming Dr. Sinha, the President and the delegates said that the recent civil disturbances could not enable them to hold the conference last winter. Referring to humanitarian services both at war and home fronts by the men of the medical profession, Dr. Banerjea hoped that through the Medical Association the noble aspiration of serving the suffering humanity might be fulfilled.

Dr. Banerjea discouraged the crowding of cities by medical graduates and wanted them to serve in rural areas by overcoming the weakness for city's glamour and comforts, the reason being their duty to the failing health of the poor masses. He was ashamed to tell that some towns even had more physicians than their patients He stressed on the teaching of social aspects of medicine as also curative aspects and wanted medical students to be more particularly attentive towards the expectant mother, pre-natal child and the adolescent.

He advocated the application of the modified findings of the Medical Planning Commission and fighting out of mal-nutrition and preventible diseases. Abolition of medical schools, he advocated, for bettering up the profession

Dr. Banerjea gave an account of the Bihar Medical Association and its performances on many critical occasions

Presidential Address

In course of his Presidential Address, Dr. *Kochiram Amesur* of Karachi declared in favour of "Medical Swaraj" as much as political and economic "Swaraj" unhampered by galling restrictions imposed on the country by the preservation and safeguarding of the monopolies of the Indian Medical Service and similar bodies in India.

Dr. Rochiram considered the I. M. S. to be an anachronism and it must be abolished India existed for the I. M. S. and not I. M. S. for India. European members of I. M. S. were here to-day and to-morrow gone to another country, taking with them their most valuable knowledge and experiences which constituted a great drain of talent and irreparable loss to the country. He advocated the transfer of all I. M. S. Officers from the Civil Department to the Army at a time of war like this and places vacated should be filled by the independent medical profession on an honorary basis, without involving provincial governments in any expenditure

Speaking for the independent medical profession, the doctor declared that they were prepared to accept emergency commissions in the army on terms compatible with their dignity and national honour and after the war the best amongst them ought to find a place in the highest medical service of the country.

Dr. Amesur welcomed the establishment of the Indian War Medical Crops but pronounced that there should only be one service like R. A. M. C. in England and should consist of I. M. S., I. M. D. and I. H. S. There should be uniform treatment without any distinction between these three groups

The president was in favour of medical education being imparted only through medical colleges in future and said that medical schools should be abolished.

He referred to the great dearth of quinine in the country on account of Java falling into the enemy's hands, but pointed out that India could produced 68,40,000 lbs. of quinine on an acreage of 3,80,000 if Government encouraged the cultivation of cinchona forthwith

Minimum quantity of quinine required by India per annum is about 12,50,000 lbs. and thus India can not only be self-sufficient in the matter of this all important drug, but it could export the same in sufficient quantities to all the world

Referring to the scarcity of drugs in the market, the doctor condemned hoarding and black marketing and appealed to the Government to hand over such drugs as it was prepared to part with to Indian Medical Association, which with its branches spread all over the country would ensure equitable distribution at reasonable prices.

He appealed to the medical practitioners to form study classes to discuss the questions of health, industrial fatigue and a balanced diet within the means of all people and instruct the masses in the same.

Dr. *Rochiram* put in a strong plea for development of provincial nursing councils and employment of much larger number of nurses in hospitals than what existed at present. He was in favour of a compounders' registration act and doubted the utility of blood banks and strongly advocated the amalgamation of various medical associations in the country under the authority of The All India Medical Association.

Proceedings and Resolutions

The session of the All-India Medical Conference accepted proposal to hold the next session of the Conference at Ahmedabad, Captain *Phani Bhusan Mukerjee* was re-elected General Secretary while Dr. *Ramesur* of Karachi acts as President.

Following were elected to the newly-formed Working Committee of the All-India Medical Association :—Dr. *S. C. Chatterjee, Major Bhatt*, Capt. *S. C. Sen*, Dr. *P. K. Guha*, Dr *Hanumantrao*, Dr. *Tripathi*, Dr. *K. S. Roy*, Dr. *B. P. Neogy* and Dr. *Anil Chakravarti*.

The meeting transacted formal routine business relating to working and progress of the Association.

The Conference deplored the absence of Dr. *Jivraj Mehta*, President-elect of the Conference due to his detention under the Defence of India Rules and in view of recent decision of the Federal Court as reported in Press, the Conference urged upon Government for his immediate and unconditional release.

The Conference also urged that other members of the profession detained under the Defence of India Rules be released.

The Conference opined that every individual in the country has the right irrespective of economic state to be able to obtain all necessary medical services, preventive and curative, general and specialist, domicillary and institutional and therefore it drew the attention of the state as well as various political parties in the country to the above and requested them to devise means for the attainment of that.

The Conference also urged the Indian Medical Association to render assistance towards evolution and fruition of such a scheme.

SICKNESS INSURANCE

The Conference welcomed the Press announcement that a tentative scheme of sickness insurance for industrial workers being drafted by the Labour Department of India Government and representative of labour and industry has been nominated to assist Prof. Adarkar.

The Conference urged authorities to include a representative of the Indian Medical Association in it to evolve a practical scheme.

The Conference demanded representation of medical interests in the Executives of Hospitals, Railway Advisory Boards, Red Cross Societies and Health Committees.

MEDICAL SUPPLIES

To assist the suffering public for securing supplies of essential drugs and medicines, surgical appliances, x'ray materials and laboratory reagents and other chemicals not procurable in India or not manufactured in sufficient quantity, the conference requested the Government of India to take steps to stimulate production of such articles and allocate more shipping space for immediate import and release forthwith part of the stock of such articles frozen in the country and arrange for such distribution through an Indian Medical Association.

Further the Conference urged the railway authorities to relax restrictions imposed on travel of such goods for public service. The conference further resolved that with a view to make India self-sufficient in matters of supply of pure drugs at cheaper prices, the Central and Provincial Governments should formulate and give effect to such schemes which would help the growth and development of indigenous drug industries.

The Conference through the later resolution urged the India Government to give effect to the Drugs Enquiry Committee's recommendations immediately to work up chemical and pharmaceutical industries without which the entire medical structure of the state would automatically collapse because of non-availability of machineries and heavy chemicals.

ABOLITION OF I. M. S.

The Conference regretted Government attitude of dividing medical graduates and licentiates even in military services and advocated abolition of Indian Medical Service because of creation of new Indian Army Medical Corps.

The resolution was ably placed before the house by Captain *P. B. Mukherjee* who was impatient with the indifferent attitude of Government in such matters. He said this perpetuation of class distinction between two Indian medical ranks must now cease.

Dr. *K. S. Roy* supported while Dr. *S. C. Sen* thought that creation of the new I. A. M. C. was not a favour but product of compulsion.

SUPPLY OF PETROL

Another resolution which created interest was the Conference's demand for supply of more petrol and motor accessories to medical men in view of the importance and width of the profession.

Deliberations during the conference spoke of medicalmen's keen concern over non-availability of medicines, drugs, surgical appliances and X-Rays materials in view of the disturbed communications overseas.

CHEMICAL INDUSTRIES

Unanimity prevailed over immediate introduction of chemical and allied industries in the country to save people from decay and untimely death due to scarcity of drugs in the country Even during the War India must assert to be self-sufficient in medicine and Surgical appliances was the equivocal demand voiced by the delegates including Dr. *Kumud Sankar Ray* Captain *S. C. Sen*, Drs. *P. K. Guha*, *K. L. Saha*, Captain *Bagchi*, Dr. *S K Chowdhury*, *Tirulal Rao*, *Bhupal Singh*, Captain *Shivapuri* and other eminent medicalmen Much satisfaction was noticed among medicalmen in the re-election of Captain *Phani Mukherjee* as General Secretary whose devotion, tact and skill were praised.

The All Bengal Economic Conference

Calcutta—11th. and 12th. April 1943

Mr. Sarker's Opening Address

The opinion that 'the main task of evolving a satisfactory programme of post-war reconstruction in India should be entrusted to a small competent body of experts, led preferably by an eminent industrialist who should get into contact with industrial interests and prepare concrete plans in collaboration with commercial interests and assisted by the Government", was expressed by Mr. *Nalini Ranjan Sarker*, in inaugurating the session of the All-Bengal Economic Conference in Calcutta on the 11th. April 1943.

"It appears to me," he added, "that under the present system of Government, plans for post-war reconstruction evolved by the Government under their auspices alone are not likely to prove very fruitful. Government assistance we must have, but it must be in the nature of assistance only."

Mr. *Sarker* considered that in any plan for future world-reconstruction it was essential that India should be given full political and economic freedom to evolve a balanced economy by a more rapid process of industrialisation. Any plan which would merely seek to maintain or improve the standard of living of advanced countries by perpetuating very low standards of life in countries like India and China was bound to fail.

Referring to the Beveridge plan, "designed to eliminate hunger, disease, ignorance and unemployment from post-war Britain," Mr. *Sarker* said: "A Beveridge plan for India would be unthinkable till our productive activity has risen to the requisite level. We have to begin our work of reconstruction right from the start and work our way to a higher standard of living from an incredibly low level. Barring China there is hardly any other important country

in the world which is steeped in such poverty as India. It is the dictate of practical wisdom no less than of idealism that we should be left free to grapple with the vast problem which has been inexorably pressing for solution."

Expressing the view that an overriding factor in considering any scheme of post-war reconstruction should be the elimination of economic fear' between nations, Mr. *Sarker* said that to deny backward countries like India and China the freedom to mould their future destiny would not only run counter to the spirit of the Atlantic Charter and the aims for which the present war was being fought, but would involve us again in iniquities and inequalities and would be a perpetual threat to world peace.

Referring to the Keynes plan in regard to post-war financial problems and the American proposals outlined by Mr. *Morgenthau*, Mr. *Sarker* said: "It is clear even from a cursory examination that the British plan is drawn up with a view to lightening the two great handicaps of Britain in international economy, namely, shortage of gold and the precariousness of her favourable balance of trade, while the United States' plan contents with eliminating competition in currency depreciation and ensuring the position of gold in international finance."

President's Address

Mr. *G. L. Mehta*, who presided over the Conference, emphasised the need of comprehensive and accurate survey of India's industrial expansion during the war. He said that it was essential to ensure that industries started during the war were not left high and dry as after the last war but received an adequate measure of State support; particularly because they would in all probability have to face the impact of competition from outside and possibly a period of depression.

Mr. *Mehta* emphasised that the food problem before the country was not merely one of purchase or production but of efficient distribution. All-India control in which the different provinces fully participated was essential Only a Government which derived its strength and power from the people and which was in intimate contact with the masses could take action againt recalcitrant and anti-social forces. Mr. *Metha* also emphasised the need of constructive utilisation now of sterling balances and of providing adequate safeguards for India's assets

Dr. Sanyal's speech on food Policy

On the next day, the 12th. April. Dr. *Nalinakha Sanyal* dealt with the food problem. Dr. Sanyal emphatically declared that there would not have been any crisis to-day if only Government had applied a scientific mind. He strongly pleaded for planned efforts towards 'Grow More Food' campaign and asked Government to exercise rigid control over the supply and price of food stuffs.

Dr. Sanyal said that the problems connected with food had assumed such proportions that it was dangerous to play with the issues involved. He asked economists and the public to approach the question with a scientific mind and not with that of the propagandist

He pointed out that the principal features of the food problem to-day were (a) question of production and supply, (b) accumulation, storage and transport, (c) fixation of prices and (d) equitable distribution to the people of different income groups, including rationing The Government of Bengal, nay, the Government of India, Dr Sanyal continued, had so far pursued the policy of trial and error and it was now fairly well recognised that a good deal of the present trouble was due to the absence, specially at the earlier stages, of any planning based on a comprehensive policy. Even now there was not much evidence that the policy adopted by Government was comprehensive enough, particularly in regard to the emphasis that was required to secure larger production and increased supplies from within the country and outside. Another reason for the failure of Government's food policy was due to the fact that there was absence of proper efforts to create public confidence, which was necessary both for getting hoarders' stock released and for successful administration of any rationing scheme involving some amount of self-denial on the part of every citizen.

Apart from all these, Dr Sanyal continued, problems connected with fixation of prices, planning of agricultural production, transport and storage, differential distribution and prevention of the vicious spiral of monetary inflation, required expert guidance and careful handling. Dr. Sanyal suggested immediate appointment of a Central food council consisting of experts and public men who could guide the Directorate of Civil Supplies at every stage, and through small local

committees in the districts create that degree of public confidence without which no organisation for food control during the emergency could succeed. Dr. Sanyal felt that it would be extremely injudicious to relax control measures and the people must be ready for more and more rigid steps for getting existing stocks in the province available for the market and for ensuring its proper distribution for the good of greater numbers In this process, Dr. Sanyal said, it was the people in general and their trusted representatives who had to take up their share of the responsibility and it should be the duty of Government to seek their co operation at every stage.

"From the point of view of food, the problem in Bengal is of increased production and not of price control or rationing etc." stated Dr. Sanyal in conclusion. He added: "Even if in this month of April 1943 Government sends out preachers to rural areas and induce villagers to grow food by the month of September or October there would be sufficient food in the province which would render all questions relating to control etc unnecessary. The "grow more food" campaign was initiated at a tea party at the Firpos. There is no other evidence available that the campaign was conducted with vigour and in right direction.

Dr Cyril Fox's Speech

Dr. *Cyril S. Fox*, in the course of his speech, said that India exported yearly about Rs. 6.4 crores worth of minerals, ores, etc., as raw materials, she was also importing goods made from mineral substances to the value of Rs 64 crorers. Many of these imports such as kerosene, petrol, lubricating oil and certain metals, such as copper, lead, tin and zinc, could not be supplied from Indian sources. However, allowing for these actual deficiencies, he would estimate that perhaps Rs. 20 crores worth of the imports (made from minerals, ores etc) could be prepared in India, if the manufacturing machinery and other facilities were available It did not follow however that any additional production of minerals, ores, etc., would result from this mere transfer of the manufacturing centres.

Continuing Dr. Fox said · It seems to me therefore a very doubtful sort of expedient to try to curtail exports of raw materials of minerals, ores etc Any ideas which plan to restrict exports must as a general rule be unsound in principle. However in this connexion India will have to take full notice of the terms, especially the Preamble and the Fourth Clause of the Atlantic Charter. It would seem to be far simpler and safer to develop those industries whose metallic products might yield a higher export average value than the raw ores and minerals. Semifabricated goods may also be substituted for the raw materials where the latter is not quite high enough in quantity to stand export.

Dealing with the question of water which was most vital of all minerals, Dr. Fox said that it was because of seasonal supply that the question of storage of water on a vast scale was a fundamental consideration. Until this was appreciated the hope of controlling floods, or of having assured supplies of water and also of establishing hydro-electric products for providing cheap electrical energy would not be realised. The lesson was so obvious that it was difficult to understand why lack of funds and want of courage should keep the object in a perpetual state of enquiry.

Referring to coal, Dr. Fox said that under normal conditions India probably produced the cheapest coal in the world. Little use, he said, was made of the low grade coals in India and the valuable coking coals were used largely for other purposes than for the preparation of metallurgical coke Annually about 15 million tons of caking coal were extracted of which less than million tons were used in coke making. For each ton of coal taken out of the collieries nearly one ton was left in the workings and regarded as lost. Again of the 12 million tons of caking coal which were used for steam raising purposes, the coal was burnt raw and there was thus no recovery of tar, gases or any other by-products. Many calculations had been made to show that electric energy could be generated from coal in India at less than one pice a unit. It had also been repeatedly pointed out that millions of gallons of high octane benzon could be secured from the distillation of coal if this was encouraged

Referring to Iron he said that the yield was nearly 2,000,000 tons of pig iron of which half was used in preparing steel. If the entire 15 millon tons of caking coal produced each year war used for coke making and if iron ore smelting was carried on to its fullest, the yield would be 10,000,000 tons of pig iron Half of this would provide for 4,500,000 tons of steel to say nothing of all the valuable by-products from the coke making operations.

Indian Debate in Parliament

House of Commons—London—30th. March 1943

Mr. Amery's Speech

The reckless and defeatist action of last year made it difficult, indeed dangerous, to consider any concessions for Mr. *Gandhi* in the absence of the "most explicit assurances and effective guarantees of a complete change of attitude among those who have brought so much unhappiness upon India and might still endanger the entire Allied cause in those future operations which must be based on India. There is no sign of any such change in Mr. Gandhi," said the Rt. Hon'ble *L. S. Amery*, Secretary of State for India, opening the debate on the general situation in India in the House of Commons on March 30.

The debate took place on a series of formal Government motions asking the House to approve the continuance in force for a further 12 months of the proclamations made under Section 93 of the Government of India Act by which emergency regimes were established in six Indian provinces towards the end of 1939 following on the resignations of Congress Ministries soon after the outbreak of war. These provinces are Madras, Bombay, the United Provinces, Central Provinces, Bihar and the North-West Frontier Province.

A further motion sought approval of the Government of India (Governor's Allowances and Privileges) Amendment Order, 1943, made in pursuance of Section 309 of the Government of India Act.

Mr *Amery* said: "The resolutions before the House concern only six of the 11 provinces of India. In the remaining five provinces Indian ministries responsible to Indian legislature control a vast majority of the subjects affecting the daily life of their fellow citizens."

"It is only in the provinces controlled by the Congress Party's organisation that self-Government was suspended by the order of the so-called High Command of the Congress Party in October, 1939, and the Governors had been compelled to shoulder the direct responsibilities of the Government. They do so under the provisions of section 93 of the Government of India Act. These are emergency provisions and as such properly come before this House for a periodic review. I need not add that they are also under constant review by the Viceroy and the Governors concerned.

"In two provinces where the Ministries were originally ordered out by the Congress dictatorship self-Government has been resumed. A resumption of self-government in the other provinces can take place whenever Ministers can be found in a position to conduct affairs and co-operate in the war effort. The door remains open and the whole situation remains under constant review.

Congress Party's Policy

"The origin of the situation and the reasons for its present continuance can only be understood in the light of the nature and policy of the Congress Party. Originally democratic in its organisation and constitutional in its methods, the Congress Party has progressivey become a dictatorship aiming at the expulsion by revolutionary, though professedly non-violent, methods of the existing British *Raj* and its supersession by a Congress *Raj*. For a detailed story of the evolution I can only commend to the House the masterly objective survey of the last seven years of Indian politics embodied in the second volume of Professor Coupland's report to the Nufield Trust.

"For myself I will only go back over the past sufficiently to make the events of the recent months intelligible. The particular character and methods of the Congress Party have largely been shaped by a single man, Mr. *Gandhi*. I shall not attempt here to assess the qualities of the remarkable and enigmatic personality. Many members have no doubt read the recent book *Grey Eminence* in which Aldous Huxley describes the combination in one person, Father Joseph de Tramblay, of a devout mystic with an unscrupulous political adviser who helped Cardinal Richelieu to keep Europe distracted by a generation of disastrous war.

"It is enough for me to say that Mr. *Gandhi's* peculiar appeal to the Hindu veneration for the ascetic helped to make him the unquestioned dictator—'a permanent super-president' to use Pandit Nehru's description—of by far the largest, best financed and most rigidly drilled party organisation in India.

Results Of 1937 Elictions

"In the provincial elections of 1937 the Congress Party secured 711 out of 1585 seats. This was less than a majority even in British India, but it was enough to give the party an absolute majority in five provinces and control in three others. This unexpected result would seem to have intoxicated the Congress Party leaders with a sense of new-found power. Overriding and ignoring the growing intensity of the opposition which they were piling up in India itself, they persuaded themselves that they, and they alone, were India Only a relatively small effort, so it seemed to them, was still required to displace British rule at the Centre and for the Congress Party, to use Mr. *Gandhi's* phrase, to 'take delivery'.

"The imminence of war came as a shock not only to Mr *Gandhi's* sincere pacifism but also to those dreams of early power. At the first sign of the preparations to meet the coming danger Congress members were ordered to boycott the Assembly In their absence the Central Legislature unquestioningly accepted the brief statement in which *Sir Muhammad Zafrulla Khan*, as the Leader of the House, declared that all present were determined to do their duty to the King and country. The far-reaching provisions of the Defence of India Act were passed without a division.

The ministries and legislatures of the Punjab, Bengal and Sind endorsed the attitude of the Central Legislature as did the Mahasabha and Liberal Parties. The Princes of India, both individually and afterwards, by a unanimous vote of the Chamber of Princes, vindicated their traditional loyalty to the King-Emperor by their pledges and actions. The part which India has played in the war is known to all the world. It is as well that I should remind the House of these facts.

"They are a conclusive answer to the wholly untruthful legend promulgated by the Congress Party and since, I regret to say, only too readily swallowed outside—the legend of a reluctant India dragged into a war in which she had no voice and in whose issues she felt no concern.

"During the next few weeks Lord Linlithgow strove with unwearying patience to persuade the Congress leaders to co-operate with the Government and with the leaders of other parties in support of the war effort. The only answer was the summary edict of the 'High Command' suspending self-government in the Congress Party provinces In the following August, the Viceroy issued a far-reaching declaration which in effect, pledged us to the acceptance, at the earliest possible moment after the war, of India's completely free and equal partnership in the British family of nations under a constitution of her own devising. At the same time it invited party leaders on the strength of a pledge to co-operate in the war effort by joining the Viceroy's Executive. Mr. *Gandhi* and his colleagues contemptuously refused even to discuss the offer, and Mr *Gandhi* followed up the refusal by launching a campaign of individual protest against India's participation in the war. That campaign proved a complete fiasco and petered out in the course of 1941.

"In March last year the Minister of Aircraft Production, Sir *Stafford Cripps*, went out to India. The proposals he was charged to explain were so far-reaching, so generous and so explicit that at one time it seemed almost inconceivable that they could be rejected. Even within the ranks of the Congress Working Committee influential elements were known to be strongly in favour of acceptance. Why then were they rejected ? For two reasons. The first was the same reason as that which had led to a contemptuous rejection of the declaration of August, 1940. It was the assumption underlying both the declarations that India can only be free under a constitutional system arrived at by agreement between the main elements in her national life. Both, in fact, denied the Congress Party's claim to 'take delivery' of India at our hands.

"The vast Congress demands took the form of the immediate setting up of a national government with full cabinet powers and it was an attempt to snatch that delivery.

"Sir Stafford Cripps was bound to reject it, acceptance would have wrecked all prospect of agreement with the minorities.

Japanese Advance in Burma

"There was, however, another and, at the moment, perhaps even a stronger reason for the rejection. What was that moment ? It was the moment of our worst defeat in the East. The Cripps Mission was announced by the Prime Minister on March 11, three days after the fall of Rangoon. While negotiations were in

progress the Japanese were advancing rapidly. Not only Ceylon but India's coastal ports suffered bombing raids which looked like the harbingers of far worse to come for the great cities of eastern India.

"It never occurred to us here that there was any connection between the event and the sending out of Sir Stafford Cripps. For Mr. Gandhi the connection would seem to have been only too obvious. In his eyes the Cripps Mission was the hoisting of a distress singal—a belated appeal to the Congress to commit itself to a war policy which could only help to bring upon India the horrors of invasion. Our offer was to him nothing more than—I quote his own words—'a post dated cheque on a failing bank.'

'During the week that followed the rejection of our proposal, a week of continuous reverses in Burma, Mr. *Gandhi* concentrated all his efforts on a campaign by which the British Government in India was to be forced to quit India and hand over the control of the continent to such a government as might or might not emerge or abandon it to anarchy. How far he really believed the Government of India could be forced to surrender in view of the precariousness of the military situation or how far he was mainly concerned with reinsuring the Congress with victorious Japanese invaders it is impossible to say.

"The House will have read in the White Paper Mr. *Gandhi's* original draft resolution of last April which began with the conclusion 'Britain is incapable of defending India' and free India's first step would probably be to negotiate with Japan. It will also have followed the successive stages by which the original resolution was modified in deference to those elements like Pandit Nehru who were not only committed by their sincerely expressed past utterances to sympathy with China and Russia but were more alive to the desirability of conciliating opinion here and in the United States. With the one exception, however, of Mr *Rajagopalachari*, whose earnest and prophetic letter of appeal to Mr. *Gandhi*, I hope, has been read by every member, the doubting members of the Working Committee seem to have been content with the facade of the resolution.

"What is more significant is that they seem to have acquiesced in its conversion from a general demand that Britain should quit India to the specific threat contained in the resolution of July 14 last. This demand was to be enforced by a campaign of mass civil disobedience or, to use Mr. Gandhi's own words, 'by open rebellion.'

They did endorse the demand that there should be an open rebellion unless their claim was admitted. On August 8, the All-India Congress Committee gave definite endorsement and sanction to the rebellion.

Viceroy's Cabinet Praised

"It may help to understand all that lay behind the decision when I remind the House that the month which preceded it had seen us driven in retreat within 50 miles of Alexandria and recorded the fall of Rostov and the imminent threat to Stalingrad and the Caucasus, while only the monsoon, shortly to break, seemed to stand between India and a Japanese invasion.

"Happily there was better and sterner stuff in India than the Congress leaders reckoned.

"Not only India but the whole Allied cause owed a deep debt of gratitude to those Indian members of the Viceroy's Executive whose swift and resolute decision to arrest the organisers of mischief caused the rebellion to go off at half-cock

"It owes no less to the loyal civil servants, Indian policemen and soldiers who stood faithful to their trust through the anxious and trying weeks which followed, and to the vast majority of the Indian public, Hindu as well as Muslim, who stood aloof and even gave their active support to the authorities.

"With the actual character and course of the Congress rebellion I dealt at some length in the debate in October last. The whole subject is dealt with comprehensibly and conclusively in the White Paper. If there are members who, having studied the White Paper can still believe that a really non-violent movement of national protest was all that was ever intended or that Mr. *Gandhi* cannot have any illusions as to the nature of the conflagration which he was determined to spread all over India, I have really nothing to say to them, nor, is there anything I can say to those who are still prepared to argue that a concentrated and skilled attack upon vital sectors of strategical communications and upon all Government buildings, associated as they were both physically and in public estimate with the Congress Party, were merely a spontaneous manifestation of public indignation at the arrest of popular political leaders.

Limit To Credulity

"There is a limit to credulity, and no one who has taken pains to go through the White Paper can remain in doubt as to what was intended and what was, in fact, attempted. The case against Mr. *Gandhi* and his associates is overwhelming. I have seen it asserted in certain quarters that the White Paper is a mere case for the prosecution, unsupported by evidence required for conviction. It is a statement of facts, many of them elicited in the course of investigation before courts. These facts have not been arranged to obtain conviction for there has been no trial, still less conviction, of Congress leaders, but they are abundant justification for the Government of India's decision to detain the leading mischief-makers in innocuous isolation

"I say additional justification for I must remind the House that the declared decision of the All-India Congress Committee was to paralyse the administration at a moment of grave national peril by a campaign of mass disobedience. That was ample justification and would have been ample if not a single drop of blood had been shed or a single rail torn up. Flickering remnants of the conflagration still occur sporadically

"The need for watchfulness remains but, broadly speaking, I think, it can be said that the Congress Party's rebellion has been successfully dealt with by the Government of India and the Provincial Governments concerned.

Mr. Gandhi's Fast

"Since then there has been the curious epilogue of Mr. *Gandhi's* fast to capacity, happily successful in that respect, happily unsuccessful in the attempt to coerce the Government of India into granting his release by the creation of an emotional crisis. It is to be regretted that three members of the Viceroy's Executive, men who had done eminent public service and not the least in dealing with the troubles last autumn, should have allowed themselves to be swayed by that emotional crisis. Their places, I understand, will be filled in the near future by no less capable Indian public men. There is no going back upon the expansion of the Council which Mr *Aney*, one of the resigning members, has since his resignation described as an 'outstanding reform,' offering enough scope for solid service to the Indian people by Indian members even under the existing system and still more by conventions which steadily and slowly grow up.

"To return to Mr *Gandhi*, I understand the Viceroy has agreed to receive a deputation arising out of the recent meeting of the non-party leaders in Bombay These leaders apparently wish to suggest that Mr *Gandhi* may now be disposed to be more reasonable if allowed contact with his detained Congress followers and with political leaders outside I think the full account which I have given to the House of Mr. *Gandhi's* attitude and of that of his party throughout the war culminating in the reckless and defeatist action of last year must have convinced the House how difficult and, indeed, dangerous it would be to consider any concession of that nature in the absence of the most explicit assurances and effective guarantees, of complete change of attitude and conduct on the part of those who have brought so much unhappiness upon India and might be still capable of so much danger to the whole Allied cause in those future operations for which India must be a base.

"I can only say that no sign of any such change of heart in Mr. *Gandhi* can be traced in his recent correspondence with the Viceroy.

"Where do we stand ? Is there no conciliatory gesture, no sympathetic initiative which might serve to break the deadlock if not with the Congress leaders, at any rate as between the other Indian parties ? I do not believe it is fair either to Lord Linlithgow, who has been unwearied in endeavouring to bring the parties together or to the other parties themselves or even to the Congress Party to suggest that the deadlock is something which can be resolved by mere sympathetic handling or some happy expedient which may have been overlooked in framing last year's declaration. The differences are far too deep and far too sincerely held.

League And Mahasabha

"Mr. *Jinnah* on the one side and the leaders of the Mahasabha on the other, to take two extreme points of view, are each contending for what they and the million behind them believe to be vital principles between which in their present mood and situation as they see it they can find no compromise. It is no use blaming them. Let us rather see where the difference lies and what has intensely aggravated it in the recent years. The Hindu majority of all parties, the Congress, the Mahasabha and the Liberals are substantially agreed on one thing—in insisting upon the maintenance of the unity of India at least for the most essential

common purposes. The Muslim attitude was clearly and unequivocally defined by the Muslim League's Secretary and spokesman in the recent debate in the Assembly when he declared: "The Muslims in India will never accept any form of Central Government which will place them at the mercy of the majority community." Are these points of view really incompatible? They have not proved incompatible so long as the ultimate control has rested with the impartial authority of this House Are they really and necessarily incompatible under that democratic freedom which not only the Indian parties but all parties in this House wish India to enjoy? The conclusion to which I have personally been driven by my contact with this problem over the last three years is that the problem is not insoluble.

"But it cannot be solved unless we and still more India can get away from the idea that there is only one sealed pattern of democracy, namely, the particular form of parliamentary executive which we have developed in this country.

"I believe with all my heart that ours is the best type of democracy in the world—the most flexible and yet also the strongest and most durable.

"But it can only exist in a relatively homogeneous country where free discussion can convert the minority of today into the majority of tomorrow and where a strong tradition of national unity and parliamentary give-and-take transcend the exigencies of party passion and the dictatorship of party organisation. Imposed as the Central Government of a continent so deeply divided as India the system would only mean the tyranny of an immovably permanent majority or else the alternative of disruption Would anyone dream of making our system the basis of a Federal Government for Europe? Let me quote Swizerland with its three separate races. Swizerland lives in happy unity under one of the most democratic federal constitutions in the world but one under which no one race or party can secure the control of the executive.

"I wonder whether Switzerland could have hoped under our system to have ecaped the contagion of nationalist conflict outside our borders. Twenty-five years ago this House pledged itself to the progressive attainment of responsible Government for India. We intended it then and we intend it even more directly and more immediately today that India should live under a Government responsible not to Parliament here but her own people under her own constitution. But what we have too lightly assumed and what we have led India to assume was that this Government would necessarily be our own particular type. The nearer we have come to the fulfilment of our pledge the more acute has become the internal deadlock in India. The experience of responsible Government in the Provinces as controlled by a totalitarian Hindu oligarchy has enormously accentuated it. Our recent declarations have only widened the breach, and yet I firmly believe that there may be more than one road.

Rut of Accustomed Lines

"Like wasps buzzing angrily up and down a window pane when the adjoining window may be wide open we are all held up frustrated and irritated by the unrealised but insuperable barrier of our constitutional prepossessions. If only our mind and, above all, the mind of India could emerge from the rut of our accustomed lines and look for fresh constructive solutions wherever they may be borrowed from and adapted to India's conditions, I am optimistic enough to believe that the necessary way round the present deadlock may be found and perhaps found more rapidly than now seems possible. It is for the Indians themselves to find the way. They alone can find a solution for, it is only when they have found it for themselves that they will be minded to make it succeed. There is only one thing more I want to add. The House has been very good to me during the past three years. It has, I think, given me credit for attempting to make such progress as difficult circumstances have allowed.

"It has I hope, given me credit for endeavouring to maintain a positive and constructive outlook in the face of a baffling and bewildering problem. So I trust it will bear with me in what I am now going to say. We have no reason to be ashamed of our past record in India. Never, if I may venture to echo certain great words used by the Prime Minister in a different context—never have so few done so much for the happiness of so many, done so much to dispel fear and alleviate want, as was done for the toiling millions of India by a handful of British administrators in the last century. The work was done, it is true, within the limitations of the outlook of that age as well as the local conditions in India of that time But it was good and enduring work for all that. It succeeded because those who did it believed in their task and believed in themselves and

because we who sent them out believed in ourselves and had faith in our mission in the world. Because we believed in our mission, India believed in it too and responded.

Different Age

"To-day we live in a very different age. We are dealing with a very different India. Our own outlook on all these problems of Government and racial relationship has undergone and rightly undergone a profound change. Have we brought into the new age the same faith or the same confident vision that inspired the earlier generation? There was inspiration, and no one can deny it, in the old vision of a beneficent paternal empire. How much more splendid, more inspiring is the vision of a Common-wealth of Free Nations freely associated in equal partnership regardless of all differences of race or creed, a partnership not merely for mutual defence, of mutual trade, but a partnership, and what is more, a lead to the world, in all good living, in all right thinking, in all generous striving. If we have failed to inspire India with that vision, if our response to Indian nationalism has looked to Indians too much like reluctance yielding to pressure, if our desire to keep India within the Commonwealth has seemed to them a mere instinct of hanging on to some last indefinite shred of past authority, may it not be due to the fact that we have not ourselves realised sufficiently, clearly and vividly the vision of a united Commonwealth.

"How can we expect Indians to share the vision of a united Commonwealth in all the range of its opportunity, in all the breadth of its freedom if—I hope I may be allowed to quote the lines of Francis Thompson—'it is wet, 'tis our estranged faces that raise many splendoured things.' As for faith, surely what we in this little island, what we of this loosely bound yet amazingly coherent Commonwealth, this youngest yet infinitely hopeful experiment in supernational co-operation, what we have already shown to the world in the darkest hours of the present struggle—surely that should give us faith in ourselves and in the ideals and possibilities of that Commonwealth in facing the tasks before us. Of those tasks there is none that can compare in its importance to every member of our Commonwealth as well as to the future peace of Asia and world with a solution on a stable and enduring basis of this great and difficult problem of India. We cannot solve it by shirking our responsibilities to the peoples of India and to the Allied cause while the enemy is at India's gates We can only help to solve it by our continuing goodwill to India, by our active interest in India and by our encouragement of every effort that Indians may make to find their own way out of their present deadlock, above all it may be by imparting to them some measure of our common faith in our common future.

New Element in Situation

The debate on Mr. *Amery's* statement was opened by Mr. *C. C. Ammon* (Labour), who said that the Labour Party condemned the attempt to organise civil disobedience at this time. After a tribute to Mr *Amery's* 'undoubted sympathy" for India, Mr. *Ammon* criticised the recent White Paper, declaring that no good purpose could be served by harping back to past mistakes. "The rejection of the Cripps proposals," Mr. *Ammon* said, "might have resulted from the difficulties in which British and the Allied nations then found themselves." With the war situation brightening, further discussions may be possible. We should take the initiative. Mr. *Churchill*, broadcasting recently, suggested the formation of a Council of Asia. "There is a beginning. The door is slightly ajar. India and China in a Council of Asia could take the leadership of the entire Far East."

Members murmured approval when Mr *Ammon* said: "We want to say nothing in this debate to stir up ill-will in India, but rather to send out a message telling India that whatever mistakes have been made in the past this Parliament and the majority of the people have no desire other than that India should be free at the earliest possible moment to play her part in establishing a new and better order of society in the world."

Mr. *Graham White* (Liberal) said that the White Paper contained no proposals for bringing a solution of the Indian problem nearer, but, even apart from the White Paper, there was no doubt that the Congress leaders or some of them were committed to widescale violence and acts of revolution. If other leaders thought that talks with Mr. *Gandhi* would be useful it would be a heavy responsibility to refuse them. The solution of the Indian problem might need new men, new ideas and a new approach.

The suggested Council of Asia provided a new element in the situation. A free

India must play a leading part in such a council in co-operation with China and Russia. It was time Indian politicians looked ahead to fit their country to play this great part.

They could do more in India than we could do outside. Saying he was glad that Mr. *Amery* had struck an optimistic note, he asked if it would not be possible even now to set afoot some method by which the future constitution might be studied.

Mr. *Gammans* (Con.) urged the Government to explain the British policy more clearly in the United States. The American public failed to realise what the Indian Army had done or the importance of the Muslim point of view. They did not realise that there were more Muslims in India than there were Germans in the entire world.

Mr. *A. Sloan* (Lab.) declared : "It now rests with us, not with the Indians to make a new approach. Their leaders are in jail They are not free men to discuss this matter. It rests with us to reopen the negotiations so peremptorily closed when Sir *Stafford Cripps* so hurriedly left India."

Sir John Wardlaw-Milne (Con) said : "We have to face the fact that it will not be possible for the Indian people when the war ends to set up by agreement any constitution making body. We are too fond of understanding what we have done in India. We have given her peace and order after chaos, freed her from the worst effects of disease and famine and financially given her the most generous treatment. Although in deadly peril from Japan, she has actually gained from the war.

"She has become one of our greatest arsenals largely at other people's expense and there have been wartime developments which will be of vast post-war value to her.

We cannot leave India to her fate. After this war the world's entire economic system will have to be reconsidered between the Allies. Could we not at the same time invite the Allies to help solve this Indian problem ?"

Mr. *Harvey* (Ind,) agreed with the criticisms of the White Paper. It should have contained, he said, simply actual statements rather than argument tending to place the entire responsibility upon Mr. *Gandhi*. He suggested that the Commons should appeal, on the one hand, to the Government of India to reopen negotiations, and on the other hand, to Mr. Gandhi and his colleagues to meet that act in a spirit of understanding

Sir G. Schuster's Plea

Sir George Schuster (Lib) agreed that the form of the White Paper was somewhat unfortunate. Sir George said that Mr. Gandhi carried the entire responsibility for a revolt intended to paralyse the Government and to make it accept the Congress demands in a grave hour of peril for India. As a political leader, Mr. Gandhi was a complete disaster to his party, to his country and the world. It was impossible to deal with him after the statements he had made. "I feel bound," stated Sir George, "to make clear that there is at present no possibility of negotiating with the Congress—no possibility of reaching a settlement during the war by any political concessions, and little possibility of doing anything with the Congress as long as Mr. Gandhi decides their policy. The Government will have my support in continuing the attitude they have adopted.

'The Congress must take part in any final settlement, but must be resonable. Anyone encouraging them along other lines or seeking to appease them," observed Sir George, "is undoubtedly aiding a procedure leading to violence and bloodshed. That is the first reality in the present situation. The second reality is that the Congress attempt at a revolt has failed. That points to the existence of elements in the situation far removed from anything the Congress represents. The third reality is that the Muslim must be enabled to order their own affairs. The fourth reality concerns the British position. I hope it will be our unalterable position, clearly understood in India, that after a long series of concessions and attempts at compromise we have come down to bedrock principles. Britain can only leave India if there is a solution agreed to between the main elements."

Sir George Schuster continued that the independent and strategic security of India concerned the United Nations as well as Britain and India, and might well be discussed with our Allies. "But while it is important that after these disturbances India should settle down to a period of tranquillity we cannot be content to do nothing. After the failure of the Congress campaign and the failure of Mr. Gandhi's fast and now that Indians see the tide of war strength rising—now is the time for us to attempt a new initiative in India." He suggested that Mr. *Churchill* should

himself broadcast to India, not promising concessions or compromise, but stating just and generous principles. "I believe it is possible gradually to encourage men of responsibility to put forward their best efforts in finding a solution, but as long as they think there is any chance that in a weak moment we may make concessions to the extreme demands of the Congress we shall not get them to come forward. The honest course now is to make clear that we will never do that. Although that may sound violent language, in the long run it will be a procedure most likely to keep the peace"

Mr. *Ridley* (Lab.) said that there must be reciprocity between India and Britain and he was pessimistic about reciprocity from the Congress; but certain leaders of Indian opinion were endeavouring to find a basis for agreement. He suggested that Government should state that the Cripps' offer still stood, and he thought that conversations would be more helpful if conducted in London with Mr. *Amery* or Mr. *Churchill*.

Mr *H. J. S. Wedderburn* (Con.) who was a member of the parliamentary delegation which visited India on its way to and from China, paid a special tribute to the Indian police and hoped that their courage had been properly recognised. It seemed fairly obvious, he said, that the majority of the Congress Committee believed that the United Nations would not emerge victorious. While the political parties here had become united in their desire to give India freedom, exactly the opposite process had been going on in India. There the political parties were less and less disposed to concede anything. If the British quit India an indefinite civil war would follow until some other State intervened. Wise statesmanship in India would always understand that for the good of democracy and the peace of the world the British Commonwealth must not be dissolved.

The debate then concluded and Mr. *Attlee* replied.

Mr. Attlee's Reply

Mr. *Attlee* said: "I have heard and taken part in a great many debates in this House on the Indian problem and some of these debates were marked by a good deal of heat. But as years passed I think we can note greater knowledge on the part of all members regarding the problem and its difficulties; secondly, great appreciation of the need for satisfying the aspirations of all peoples of India for self-government; thirdly, a more practical approach, and fourthly, a far greater unity of outlook on the part of the members of the House. I would today have liked leaders of Indian opinion of all communities to be present to hear this debate. I am quite sure that they would have been struck by the spirit of the speeches made.

"I have seldom heard a debate on India in which the debate has been conducted on a higher level than this. I think it is one of the highest level debates I have heard. The debate has particularly tended to be forward looking rather than backward looking. It arises primarily on the publication of the White Paper. A greater number of speeches have dealt with many features of the Indian problem. I think everybody realises that the Government of India faced with this conspiracy had to act, and I think that the evidence in the White Paper has reinforced the views that members have formed. A member who referred to the arrests, greatly exaggerated the number of arrests. These arrests must be taken in their due proportion in relation to the enormous population of India He seemed to ask why it was necessary that there should be arrests The fact that some people are put in prison is not proof that we are carrying on a totalitarian state or anything of the kind. My friend if he was carrying on Government would, I am sure, have put people in prison.

"The suggestion that those who saw the storm are apt to reap the whirlwind is a matter that Mr. *Gandhi* might think about. A terrible thing to me was not merely acts of violence but the incredible levity with which a man of Mr. *Gandhi's* experience contemplated the falling into anarchy of that great sub-continent of India. Anybody who thinks for a moment thinks of that population of nearly 400 millions increasing in every decade in highly artificial circumstances, because until British rule came India was always apt to be subjected to famines in all districts. It is only a very elaborate organisation, both of transport and irrigation, that allows these millions to live. Anarchy would simply condemn numbers of them to death.

Revolver And Bomb

"To hear a pacifist inviting anarchy is a terrible thing. Remember we have had examples over and over again that those who seek power through the bomb and the revolver are apt to find it very difficult to get rid of the bomb and the

revolver afterwards. Mr. *Harvey* in his interesting speech animadverted on the form of the White Paper. I do not think he was quite correct in his assertion. The particular part to which he objected was really a small collection of Mr. *Gandhi's* statements which were set against the Congress plan but in the body of the plan the same quotation is set out in its proper context. So Mr. *Harvey* can acquit the Government of India of any attempt to deceive.

"I think there is no disagreement in this House in the general desire of all of us that India should as soon as practicable attain self-government. We want the Government of India by Indians but that does not just mean that the Government of India will be in the hands of some one person or some few people of a particular race. "What we are pledged to is to give India democratic Government. Mere majority rule alone does not give you democracy. In a country which is not homogeneous, democracy can only work if there is due regard to the rights of minorities and one must remember—it is no good blinking the fact—that India is an enormous country full of great varieties of people who hold their views with tenacity and vigour Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, Parsis, high castes, low castes, outcasts—all those people have their feelings. They have their ways of life to which they cling passionately.

"Political systems cannot easily be transferred from one country to another. Terms which are used in one country may cross the sea and be used to cover something quite different.

"We are accustomed in this country to think of our political parties but we have become very well aware that the word 'party' can have quite a different connotation in other countries. The Nazi Party and the Fascist Party have very little in common with the democratic parties which we have over here, and it is one of the troubles that in India there is a tendency for political parties to be much more like the totalitarian parties of the continent than the parties which we have in this country."

Labourite, Mr. *Sorensen*, interjecting said: "Is he not aware that on page 44 Appendix Three, the All-India Congress Committee made it clear that the Government they visualised is not an exclusive Congress Government but an all-party Government ?"

Curious Position Of Mr. Gandhi

Mr. *Attlee* replied "I am quite aware of that. I have read all the documents. I think that if Mr. *Sorensen* has read Professor Coupland's very fair survey he will find that my view is tenable, that there is a degree of totalitarianism in the Congress Party which would be foreign to this country. Besides that, superimposed on that system is the curious position of Mr. *Gandhi*. You can take what view you please of Mr. *Gandhi* but he does, on occasion, act as the dictator of the Congress Party. Personally as a democrat I object to the dictatorship of the reputed saint quite as much as the dictatorship of the notorious sinner Take the kind of action which Mr. *Gandhi* has taken. He really acts quite against democratic conceptions which I believe are deeply and most sincerely held by the leaders of all Indian political parties. That is why you get a curiously different atmosphere in that country in which the religious position of Mr. *Gandhi* is intermingled with the political conceptions of democracy. I think, generally speaking, as in so many debates and discussions in India, everybody realised the difficulties and no one was very clear on a solution. I know I found that when I had to go round India, I heard at great length every possible difficulty and no one could tell me a way out.

"All they could say was one thing is certain, you cannot go back. Another would say one thing is certain, we cannot go on as we are. Another would say one thing is certain, we do not know where to go.

"The Secretary of State was, I am glad to say, helpful. Sir John Wardlaw Milne was rather despairing. I do not believe, and I think it is quite wrong to encourage Indians to believe, that this country can decide the Indian constitutional difficulty. I do not think that even suggestion that was made that we might call in our Allies could decide it, because the essential thing about democracy is this: not just its form but its spirit. You must have willingness to work any democrats system.

"I think Sir *George Schuster* was right in saying we must stand firm where we are and also that we made a magnificent gesture when we sent Sir *Stafford Cripps* to India."

Conservative, Sir *John Wardlaw Milne*, interposing said: "I had no intention of suggesting that whether by ourselves or with the Allies after the war we should

consider a new constitution, without the help of Indians, At all Round Table Conferences for years past, Indians were present."

Mr. *Attlee* resuming said: "I do not think one ought to encourage Indians to think that this is a decision that can be made by some one else. Our offer was made in the dark days.

"It may be suggested that it was made because those days were dark but we have reaffirmed it when our position is vastly improved and it still holds the field. It is the only practical proposal whereby all sections of Indian opinion will be able to sit together and form their own constitution.

"It has been said that the Prime Minister deliberately excluded India from the Atlantic Charter. On the contrary what he pointed out was that the Atlantic Charter did not qualify various statements which had been made from time to time about the development of constitutional government in India. Our declaration of policy towards India anticipated the Atlantic Charter and they are far more precise than the necessarily rather general phrases there. The suggestion whether it is not possible to work out some constitution for India other than that formed on the model of our constitution in Britain is well worth exploring. An attempt to fit the suit of clothes made for this little island to that enormous sub-continent is an impossibility. One could devise many forms of constitution, borrowing perhaps from the continent or the United States which would be nearer to the old Indian tradition of government and much more suitable, but the trouble is Indian politicians will not accept that. I have discussed it over and over again with them. I have said that the Westminster model is not really suitable. But Indians do believe that it is the right form of democracy. It is perhaps a tribute to ourselves here that they do look on this House as the supreme example of democracy in action. But if one tried to devise something of that kind the only answer would be 'we do not like it'. It is no good giving something that would not be worked. The fact is that words and gestures do not really answer the ineluctable sense of the situation. With regard to the suggested broadcast by the Prime Minister, I should be the last to undervalue the power of the Prime Minister's words but they cannot alter facts of the Indian situation. No forms of democracy are of any use without spirit. If the peoples of varied race, language and religion are to live together as one community there must, above all things, be tolerance; there must not be a spirit of domination whether by one section that claims intellectual, or by another which claims physical superiority. The misfortune of the last 20 years has been that Indian political parties have taken the wrong road—the road towards an exclusive and totalitarian outlook. I would like to see them return to the older, and in a broader sense, more liberal tradition of the earlier Congress movement. I believe that men like Mr. *Gokhale*, Mr. *Rajagopalachari*, Pandit *Nehru*, Mr. *Jinnah* and others, who are real democrats, could bring about such a return. We are still prepared and ready, when any favourable opportunity offers, to work to the best of our ability to help our Indian friends find a solution of these problems."

House of Lords—London—6th. April 1943

Earl of Munster's Speech

The *Earl of Munster*, in a maiden speech as Under-Secretary of State for India, opened the debate on the Indian situation in the House of Lords on April 6.

The debate arose on a series of Government motions to approve the 12 months' extension of the proclamations under the Government of India Act in reference to six Indian Provinces. Similar motions had been approved by the House of Commons the previous week.

Lord Munster announced that the Viceroy hoped very soon to be able to give the names of Indians succeeding to the vacancies caused by the three recent resignations from the Governor-General's Executive Council.

LORD MUNSTER said: "Let me leave the political issues for a moment and turn to another side of the Indian picture—the Indian warrior races. Perhaps I may give the House a brief account of the present state of the armed forces in India. The size of the Indian Army continues to expand steadily and recruitment, which is entirely on a voluntary basis, shows no sign of any slackening or abating.

"It is a remarkable fact that during the period of internal disorders last year the figures of recruiting reached their highest peak of 70,000 a month and the average voluntary enlistment during the last three months still is 60,000.

"During the disturbances the Indian Army was employed in assisting the civil power in the maintenance of law and order. Here was, indeed, a difficult and

uncongenial burden, but the task was carried out with the complete loyalty and devotion to duty for which Indian soldiers have been so long renowned.

"Governors of the provinces have all borne testimony and paid a tribute to the good conduct and friendliness of all troops in their handling of the civil population.

World's Largest Volunteer Army

"Today the Indian Army stands at over 1,500,000 strong. Besides having the largest volunteer army in the world, it also has the largest force of any one of our Dominions serving overseas in all the theatres of war. This army also includes considerable forces of the Princes, who have placed the whole of their services at the disposal of the King-Emperor.

"The Fourth Indian Division, which has fought from Abyssinia to the Mareth Line, and the Fifth Indian Division have both won undying fame and glory.

"There is yet another army about which little is heard but which is carrying out its vital but monotonous duties of watch and ward on the North-West Frontier of India. It is seldom in the limelight or participating in operations or giving battle to the Japanese or any other of our enemies. But nevertheless, when I recall the constant sources of anxiety of these frontier areas to India in the last war, you will see how vital are their duties in maintaining peace and tranquillity in the country.

"We should not forget the Nepalese battalions, whose service were so readily offered at the beginning of the war by our firm friend, the Maharaja of Nepal.

"Concurrently with the building up of the army, vast engineering projects have been undertaken by the civil population in conjunction with the service. Quite apart from the military highways have been built, railways have been improved and modernised and enlarged and important new factories have been constructed and a vast number of aerodromes have been made to meet the requirements of the expanded air force.

"The runways of these aerodromes would make a broad concrete road stretching across the breadth of India from Bombay to Calcutta, a distance of 1,100 miles.

Indian Air Force

"The Indian Air Force is the youngest of the fighting services The first flight came into being in 1933 and the first squadron was not completed until 1939. The tenth birthday of the force coincided with the twenty-fifth birthday of the founding of the Royal Air Force To-day this force has been greatly expanded and, in addition to its many regular squadrons, it also includes an Indian Air Force Voluntary Reserve, in which both Europeans and Indians serve as pilots. This force has taken its full share in the war. Units have operated in Burma, besides patrolling coastal waters, and they have also provided air co-operation and support to the army of the North-West Frontier,

Royal Indian Navy

"Lastly, I come to the Royal Indian Navy, whose size has increased tenfold since the outbreak of hostilities.

"Ships of the Royal Indian Navy have served and steamed in all seas, including the Atlantic, and actions of H. M. I. S. *Jumna* of Java and H. M. I. S. *Bengal* against Japanese armed raiders in the Indian Ocean are both outstanding examples of the accomplishments and heroism of Indian sailors.

Financial Aspect

"All this effort has placed upon India administratively and physically a strain greater than has ever previously been attempted and probably as great as the resources of that country are capable of carrying. I will give some indication of the financial problem involved and I am informed that there is a good deal of misapprehension and misconception abroad.

"Though India has to finance the whole of this effort in the first instance, not all is chargeable to Indian revenues and a considerable part is ultimately recoverable from the Imperial Exchequer.

"We have followed the principle always hitherto adopted, that India is financially responsible for her own defence. The revenues of India are not applied to the maintenance of Imperial interests beyond the borders of India. India, for instance, pays for all her forces, British and Indian, so long as they are in India. She pays for the numerous aerodromes which have to be constructed there, and all military works necessary on so large a scale, because an attack threatens from the east and

not from the west, where hitherto military preparations have principally been made. She also pays a share proportionate to her interests in the various factories for the output of war materials which are coming into production.

"On the other hand, she does not pay for Indian forces operating outside India nor for the material supplied to the Imperial forces in external theatres of war, nor for those we have to obtain in India for our own use in this country to meet our own wartime necessity.

"The effect of all this is that from the beginning of the war up to the present time, India has recovered a sum of £400 millions from the British Exchequer, and has spent some 350 millions on her own defence. In the financial year just concluded the Indian taxpayers' share of the defence expenditure was not less than 180 millions, compared with some 34 millions before the war. That is, by Indian standards generally, a very heavy burden.

"Recoveries made in respect of expenditure by the Government of India chargeable to us, together with the payment for supplies of all kinds through the channel of private trade, have led to the accumulation in this country in India's favour of large sterling balances which have been partly used for the repatriation of her pre-war sterling debt.

"By making rupees freely available to finance what we need from India and by receiving repayment in sterling, the Government of India have insured that exchange difficulties do not interfere with production in India in the largest quantities of both services and supplies that we need for the prosecution of the war over and above all the liabilities of Indian defence for which India herself is responsible.

Political Situation

"During the period under review there can be no dispute that the political situation has not progressed along the paths which we could have wished or anticipated and therefore, the final chapter in the tale of India's advance to complete self-government has still to be written.

"All political opinions in this country are, I think, agreed that the issue at stake today is not whether India should be granted complete control of her own destiny but only how and when it should be attained.

"Many noble Lords in this House have at some time or another been associated with the development of Indian constitutional progress, and during the past 12 years, or, I think I am right in saying, since the autumn of 1930, when the first Indian Round Table Conference met we have gone forward with speed and determination to find in concert with the leaders of Indian thought, a basis for the solution of this bewildering problem. We have not, it is true, been able on all occasions to carry the political leaders with us. Indeed, the nearer we have approached or believed we were approaching a final solution—as in the passage of the Act of 1935—the sharper appears the division and the deeper appear the divergencies within the ranks of the Indian political parties.

"There is no unwillingness on the part of His Majesty's Government to transfer full responsibility in India once these internal disagreements have been removed and resolved. No man desires a return of the *status quo ante-bellum*, but no man desires either to entrust India, in Mr Gandhi's own words, 'to God, or in modern parlance to anarchy.' We have exerted all our influence and all our power to obtain a settlement of the constitutional question. A progressive series of proposals culminating in the Cripps Mission have been made but to our regret—and I believe the regret of moderate Indian opinion—they have all been rejected.

Early Congress Attitude

"There are, no doubt, many noble Lords who will recall that the late Mr. *Gokhale*, a wise strong and liberal-minded man and one of the founders of the National Congress, advocated reform of government by steady and progressive constitutional methods and so hoped to obtain and achieve results by political evolution. The intimate knowledge that he possessed was derived from a close and personal study of the art of government as understood and practised in this country. He demonstrated very clearly his own wish for the National Congress to be organised on democratic principles and under his lead the party represented a real national movement, including among its members all classes and sections of India's national life.

"But under Mr. Gandhi's lead the Congress Party no longer represents the whole of India's national aspirations.

Muslim Attitude

"The Muslims, who 20 years ago seemed disposed to co-operate with the Congress, became alarmed at the prospect of being permanently in a minority in a Central Government based on a system of parliamentary majorities. They broke away and set up their own lead. That lead ultimately developed a policy which to preserve the political solidarity of ther own followers, sacrificed that unity which our association had conferred on India.

"On the other hand, the Congress Party has moved far away from Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Gokhale's principles and has become today a body which is imbued with totalitarian tendencies.

"All our efforts to find a basis for settlement designed on the British model have failed, to expect a sudden change of heart. Over a number of years we have made ourselves responsible for educating Indians in the form of democratic Government under which we live and thrive. Every Act of Parliament that has been passed has been designed to promote and foster this form of rule in India. We have always consistently assumed that our own constitution is quite adaptable to this sub-continent and we have always been fully prepared to assist in the export of our system for remaking the constitution.

Appeal To Party Leaders

"I venture to think that, if before the passing of the Act of 1935 any of His Majesty's Governments had suggested a constitutional government based on the system under which we live was impracticable for India there would have been an outcry that we were challenging the ideology of the Indians to shape their own government on the model that we had taught them and that had been practised so successfully in its home of origin. It would have been said that we were insulting their political leaders and damaging their prestige throughout the whole world. So any repudiation on our part would have been met with statements to prove our underlying insincerity towards India

"In a changing world, amendment is always necessary, but whilst the broad principles of the offer which was taken to India by Sir *Stafford Cripps* are still open, I wonder whether the deadlok would be removed and progress made towards a settlement if Indian leaders of all parties would come with calm and quiet deliberation to discuss the chances of finding a constitution of their own manufacture—a constitution not necessarily built upon the institutions which we have found best fitted to our own widely different conditions but one which, nevertheless, would accord India a position as a full self-governing State within the British Empire and which has been made wether-proof and habitable for all.

"Surely it is not too late now to ask the great political parties in India to solve this problem in their way. No exertions on their part can be too great. Wisdom and sympathy are predominantly required, but, above all, a spirit of compromise and understanding must be the sum and substance of any settlement. We should, of course, be prepared to render any assistance and any help to such a body. I am not without hope that when India is confronted, as indeed she must be, with her own position in the post-war world, with all the opprtunities that will be opened to her and with all the danger that will persist, the prospect of agreement amongst the Indian political parties may be more hopeful than it is at present.

"Finally, let me add, it is now for the Indians to adapt their beliefs to their own unique problems and needs. Let them turn to their task gifted with vision and foresight, so that they may eventually find and escape from their present perplexities. But until the day arrives when we can announce to the world that agreement amongst the Indians themselves has been reached, the British people cannot surrender to the forces of anarchy and they must continue to be responsible for the welfare and peace of this vast land and its millions of inhabitants."

Lord *Faringdon* (Labour) said that there was a basis for agreement with the Congress leaders, many of whose aims were the same as the British Government's. "The White Paper gives no evidence of its source or on what the Government based their belief in its authenticity. Denial of its authenticity is not perhaps conclusive, but it is at least evidence that the Congress do not wish the policy outlined in it to be attributed to them."

Lord Faringdon denied that Mr. Gandhi was dictator or that the Congress was a totalitarian body. He criticised the Viceroy's refusal to allow Mr. Rajagopalachari and other Indian leaders to see Mr. Gandhi. He suggested that the British Government should invite leaders of all parties to meet in London "to see whether

something cannot be hammered out." The co-operation of the Allied Governments should be obtained, if possible.

Lord *Samuel* (Liberal) said the Congress Party had to a great extent thrown over the democratic philosophy which it had purported to defend and promote. It showed signs of turning towards totalitarianism.

"When democratic assemblies were elected under the provisions of the Government of India Act, with the Governments responsible to them, we, the Liberal Party, regarded the fact with the greatest satisfaction. We looked upon it as a triumph for constitutional democracy, by far the greatest that had come about in any Oriental country. When I visited India I formed a very clear opinion that the provincial constitutions were working with remarkable success."

Lord Samuel referred to the second part of the report of Prof. Coupland who had been sent to make a survey of the constitutional situation. It gave a careful review of the success and non-success of the provincial assemblies and Governments and on the whole reached the conclusion that their achievements were admirable. During the passage of the Government of India Act doubts had been expressed about their ability to maintain law and order, but they had maintained them firmly. In social legislation they had a remarkable record and they were able to carry out far more drastic measures in that sphere than would have been possible for any alien Government.

"We, the Liberals, felt that our faith in constitutional democracy had been justified. But to our deep regret in recent years there has come a divergence. The Congress Party by far the best organised and most active and effective of Indian parties, has, to a great extent, thrown over the democratic philosophy, which it had purported to *defend and promote* It shows *signs of turning towards* totalitarianism. I do not regard Mr. Gandhi as a dictator, but the Congress Party are a single party, claiming to speak for the whole nation and they have insisted that elected Ministries in the provinces shall be subject to the instructions of the Congress Working Committee, and those within the Congress whom they term the High Command.

"Next to Mr. *Gandhi* the most distinguished figure is Pandit *Jawaharlal Nehru*, whose ability and self-sacrifice and devotion to the cause in which he believes, and whose intellectual powers have made him a striking figure in the politics of India."

Responsible To Congress

Lord Samuel then quoted a long statement by Pandit *Nehru*, in which, he stated, was included the passage "Ministers and Congress parties in legislatures are responsible to the Congress and only through it to the electorate" When the war came in September, 1939, and the Congress Party took a hostile attitude towards the Government of India the Working Committee sent instructions to Congress ministries in provinces where they held majorities to resign, and they did resign.

"They resigned not because they had lost the support of their assemblies; they resigned because while *de jure* they were responsible to their electorates, *de facto* they were responsible to the Working Committee of the Congress and the High Command

"That is not democracy, that is totalitarianism," said Lord Samuel with emphasis. "It is essentially the same political creed as animates Nazism, Fascism and Communism

"India is unhappy in that the line of party division is the worst any country can have—it is a division according to religious communities. The Congress can claim at best barely more than half the population of India, yet in that totalitarian spirit they claim to speak for the whole and when Mr. *Gandhi* called upon the British to quit India he said it would be for the Congress to take delivery."

Muslim Demands

Having described Muslim demands, Lord Samuel said they were a very formidable development in the Indian situation and added 'Those of us who believe in the principles of democracy cannot adhere in all cases to the simple principle of majority rule. It cannot apply to a country where there are fundamental divisions, whether of race or religion.

"This war is a major crisis in the history of the world. For us, minor issues ought to take second place. Parties in this country recognise that and have put aside, for the time being, their controversies to unite in defence of world liberty. The country has almost with unanimity come forward in defence of these liberties. But if this country or Canada, Australia, New Zealand or South Africa, or the

U. S A. had abstained from action, as the Congress in India has abstained, or indeed Eire has abstained, then perhaps freedom everywhere would have gone under.

'We are fighting not only for our own liberties, but the liberties of India and every other country, and those who now stand aloof are doing less than their duty to mankind.

"It is a pity that leaders of the Congress do not realise that glory is not to be won in India by abandoning the cause of mankind. They have not merely abstained from action, but the Congress has deliberately proclaimed the formula that it is wrong to help the British war effort by men or money and the only worthy effort is to resist all war with non-violent resistance.

Congress Complicity

"In the name of non-violence they have led a movement, which was characterised in many places by the utmost violence, and the White Paper gives clear proof of the complicity of the Indian Congress leaders in the disorders. Mr. Gandhi faced us with an utterly illegitimate method of political controversy, levying blackmail on the best of human emotions, pity and sympathy, by his fast. The only creditable thing to Mr. Gandhi about that fast was ending it."

"Referring to the Cripps mission to India Lord *Samuel* said that in Sir *Stafford Cripps* "they chose the best spokesman that could be chosen, and he discharged his task admirably." He considered that the negotiations broke down on point on which they would not have broken down had there been any real desire on the part of the Congress to come to a settlement.

"We, as Liberals, would not consent in the supposed name of liberty that Britain should march with confusion, riots, civil war and economic collapse. If that put an end to 200 years of beneficent, constructive, pacific British administration in India that would hold us up to the scorn of our contemporaries and the just censure of posterity. The hands of the friends of Indian nationalism in this country are tied by the doings of the Indian Congress itself, and they feel it is not the British Government which should be subject to our criticism.

"We may regret the tone of the pronouncements and publications that have come from Downing Street and New Delhi which have not always been very happily phrased It is not only important what you say, but how you say it. This White Paper may be good journalism, but it is not so good as a State document."

Referring to what he said in a former debate, Lord *Samuel* continued that there must be a change in the position of the Viceroy, which would put the Viceroy in the same position as the Governors General in the Dominions. It would enable him to appoint some Indian statesmen as Prime Minister and enable him to constitute an Indian Government. But these points could not be a solution so long as the Congress took up the attitude it did and so long as by repercussion the Muslim League took up its position. There must be a change in the atmosphere.

"The only new suggestion we can make is that, since active politicians in India have brought matters to a complete deadlock that seems likely to endure, would it be possible to relegate the matter, until some change of atmosphere takes place, to the realm of political scientists ? Let some studious explorations be made into the possibilities of the various forms of constitution applicable to the various conditions of India. The principle of majority rule having come to a dead end, what possible principles might be applied.

"Nothing could be better for Indians themselves than that perhaps some political science departments of great Indian universities should take the initiative with the co-operation, if they desire it, of the U. S. A. and this country.

'In the meantime, this House has no alternative but to support His Majesty's Government here and the Government of India in measures now before us today and other measures necessitated by the intransigeance of the Congress Party."

In conclusion, Lord Samuel said that the House rejoiced in the staunchness of the troops, the police, the Civil Service and others in India, and rejoiced in the enlistment of a million and a half soldiers into the Indian Army and the vast material resources made available from India.

"We look forward to the day when a Council of Asia, with a free India and wiser leadership than is vouchsafed today, may be able to take a full and helpful part in world affairs."

Lord *Birdwood* spoke of his feelings of real pride and honour in the fact

that for over 100 years Britain safeguarded Indian interests with justice. true sympathy, care and honesty.

Lord Hailey

Lord Hailey said: "The Congress Party was obviously prepared for any form of violence and disorder, and that at the most critical period for it felt that as a result of such disorder it could establish its own predominance in India. The Congress cannot any longer assume, as it once assumed the position of sole representative of Indian opinion. We shall have to ask ourselves now whether, as a matter of fact, anything is to be gained by further negotiations with the Congress. It must be a matter that the Government has to face.

Lord Hailey urged Mr. *Churchill* to disabuse people's minds of false impressions which had been created by what he said before on India. He also suggested that Indianisation of the Viceroy's Executive Council should be completed now and that a fact-finding committee of experts from a number of other countries should be set up to consider constitutional alternatives to the parliamentary form of Government for India.

Lord Snell

Replying for the Government, *Lord Snell*, Deputy Leader of the House, said: "The Indian people themselves know how difficult and how immense the problem is and they also know that the difficulties reside in India and nowhere else."

He advised Indian leaders continually to consider the problem without reference to past experiences. They should without prejudice or passion, recrimination or ungenerous and weakening suspicion, agree to examine the question afresh.

"The gulf which separates Indian leaders from each other and which separates the Congress from the Viceroy is not unbridgeable, I ask the Indian people whether it may not be possible that a third party, ardently desiring the good of all, such as ourselves, could not helpfully contribute its own experiences. What is required is that differences should be subordinated and we should build on the basis of agreement"

The debate then ended. Six motions were agreed to and the House rose.

The S. African Anti-Indian Legislation

Government of India communique

The legislation introduced in South Africa by the Union Government to extend the so-called Interim Act in the Transvaal for a further period of three years and to apply similar provisions to Natal has now passed all its stages, said a Press Communique issued by the Department of Indians Overseas, Government of India, on April 1943. The Communique added:

"The Government of India cannot but regard this news with profound regret and concern. Since the Union Government first published their intention to legislate on these lines the Government of India, through their High Commissioner, have made three urgent representations to the Union Government. In principle, they have consistently maintained the view, frequently expressed before, that legislation restricting the rights of Indians in South Africa does not offer an acceptable solution of the Indian problem in that country and is at the same time a serious cause of offence to Indian sentiment everywhere In practice they have urged that the present difficulties can be met without restrictive legislation by administrative arrangements designed to give full publicity to any transactions which might be regarded as undesirable and to bring the pressure of public opinion to bear upon seller and purchaser alike,

"The Government of India are bound to express their keen disappointment that the Union Government have not been able to adopt their suggestions. While fully appreciating the Union Government's declared intention to undertake immediately an enquiry into housing sites and civic amenities for Indians in Durban, they cannot ignore the apprehensions aroused in Indian minds by the extension of statutory restrictions upon the Indian community. Opinion in India has unanimously protested that the legislation is repugnant, unnecessary and inopportune. With that opinion the Government of India are in full accord.

Asiatic (Transvaal Land & Trading) Act, 1939

The Asiatic (Transvaal Land and Trading) Act, 1939, came into force on June 16, 1939. The Act restricted three rights of the Indian Community in the Transvaal:

(a) the right to occupy land not subject to Gold Law restrictions;

(b) the right to trade anywhere in the Transvaal; and

(c) the right of Indians holding trading licences in May, 1919, to transfer their business premises in the same township,

The main provisions of the Act were as follows·

(1) Further protection for two years was granted to such illegal occupation of land by Asiatics in the area under the Gold Law as had been protected since May, 1930.

(2) The issue of trading licences except with the permission of the Minister, was prohibited, unless it was proved that the applicant and the person in control of the business were not Asiatics.

(3) The hiring or occupation by Asiatics of any land or premises was prohibited, if such land or premises were not occupied by Asiatics or coloured persons on April 30, 1939.

(4) The Minister was empowered to issue permits of exemption.

Debate in S African Assembly

Speaking in the South African Assembly on March 26, on the Government and Opposition members' demand for immediate Government action to stop further acquisition by Indians of property in European areas in Natal, the Transvaal and Cape Province and to limit the number of clearing licences granted to Asiatics, Mr. *H. G. Lawrence,* the Minister of the Interior, said that the Government had been accused of not properly carrying out the 1939 interim legislation on Asiatic penetration in Transvaal. The Department of the Interior, however, had consistently refused to issue permits to Asiatics if it would result in penetration of predominantly European areas. He had asked for the allegations of illegal penetration to be investigated.

Referring to the allegations that there had been no restriction on Asiatic penetration in Natal and that he did not allow the Durban City Council and the Natal provincial administration to do anything, Mr. Lawrence said he had no

control over either and he never prevented them from doing anything. He had however tried to see whether the problem could not be dealt with on voluntary lines in a statesmanlike way and in the light of the then world position. The Government was anxious to avoid offending the suceptibilities of the Government of India, which was playing so vital a part in the war effort. The Government had made the most exhaustive efforts to deal with this problem and secure the co-operation of the Durban City Council and the Indian community in Natal, but these attempts had broken down.

The problem was not merely one of penetration but also one of giving proper housing to the Indian community. By passing a resolution refusing to revive the Lawrence Committee, the Durban City Council had refused the appeal by him to go into the housing question.

The Government had re-appointed Mr. Justice *F. N. Broome* to investigate the contention that further Indian penetration had taken place. It could not be contended that the Government was shirking the issue. He expected to have Mr. Justice *Broome's* report on March 29. All the facts required to enable the Government to take a decision would then be known. He was not entitled to discuss legislation in this debate and asked members to be patient. Future action affecting both Transvaal and Natal would have to be mapped out in the light of all the facts as they would then become known. The question of Asiatic penetration in the Transvaal could not be dealt with in a watertight compartment. In considering what action to take the Government would have to bear in mind both the representations of the members of Parliament and the Indian community.

The debate was adjourned until March 29

Dominion Party Criticised

When the Assembly resumed sitting on **March 29**, Mr. *Duncan Burnside*, the Labour M. P. from Durban, made the accusation that the Dominion Party was deliberately whipping up the question of "Indian penetration" in Natal for election purposes.

Mr. *Burnside* scornfully pointed out that the ultra-imperialist members of the Dominion Party who were elected five years ago on the slogan, "Smuts would sell our Empire" were then thinking more about their seats than about the Empire. "Faced with extinction in the forthcoming election, the Dominion Party is no longer interested in the Empire but is using the Indian question purely for election purposes. Mr. *Burnside* also accused that party of attempting to prejudice and influence the issue upon which the Broome Commission was sitting and about to report.

Broome Commission Findings

The report of Mr. Justice *F. N. Broome* on Indian penetration in Durban was tabled in the South African Assembly on **April 7**.

The chief points made in the report were that in the first two months of 1943 Indians in Durban paid more for sites in the European areas than in any complete year between 1927 and 1939; that the number of sites acquired by Indians in predominantly European areas in 1942 was two and a half times greater than the highest previous yearly total—that for 1939, and that the total amount paid by Indians in the acquisition of sites in the European areas between October 1, 1940, and February 28, 1943, was almost equal to the total amount paid by Indians for such properties in the whole period from 1927 to 1939.

The report showed that the total number of properties acquired by Indians in predominantly European areas in 1942 was 195 (purchase price £336,500—ratable value £241,200), the previous highest yearly total being 78 in 1939 (purchase price £99,480—ratable value £81,620).

The report pointed out that it was not within the terms of reference of the Commission to investigate reasons for the Indian acquisitions of property in the European areas.

Indians' Protest

Before the opening of the Commission's public sittings on March 16, 1943, both the Natal Indian Association and the Natal Indian Congress protested against the narrow scope of the inquiry. After handing in a written protest at the first public sitting, the Natal Indian Association withdrew from the inquiry.

The Broome Commission regarded the non participation by the Natal Indian Association as unfortunate since this Association had hitherto been recognised officially as a body representing the Indian community of Natal. The Indian community was, however, represented by the Natal India Congress "whose officials

performed their duties with industry and ability, and the Commission had no reason to believe that the withdrawal of the Natal Indian Association resulted in an insufficient investigation of any relevant matter."

The report added, however, that evidence on the reason for acquisition was not rigidly excluded during the inquiry. As the matter was not fully investigated, the Commission could not record any findings on this subject.

Indian Acquisitions

"Many reasons were advanced, and there is probably an element of truth in all of them. The abnormal conditions brought about by the war undoubtedly play some part. The majority of the more wealthy urban Indians are engaged in trade The facilities of trade are at present restricted, and a considerable amount of money that would be normally absorbed in trade is in consequence seeking other avenues of employment. Many Indians, for religious and other reasons, decline all forms of investment that involve lending money at interest, and a great majority of them, as pointed out in the reports of many previous Commissions regard purchase of immovable property as the only desirable investment other than trade.

"Europeans, on the other hand, with alternative forms of investment that appealed to them, are not driven by the abnormal present-day conditions to purchase immovable property to the same extent as Indians The Commission is satisfied by the statistics produced by the City Council that Indian property-buying has increased to a greater extent than European, and this is what one would expect."

The report mentioned two other possible reasons for increased Indian acquisitions, firstly, that the general public formed a mistaken impression of the effect of the 1930 Commission which found that there had been no Indian penetration in Durban, and, secondly, that Indians were anxious to pass through the door while it was still ajar, but said that this was merely speculation.

Pegging Bill Introduced in Assembly

On April 10, the Minister of the Interior introduced in the Assembly the Trading and Occupation of Land (Transvaal and Natal) Restriction Bill, which sought "to make further provision with regard to restrictions upon trading by Asiatics and occupation by them of land in the Transvaal, and to impose restrictions regarding acquisition and occupation of land in Natal."

The Bill which 'pegged" the then occupation of land or premises by Asiatics in the municipal area of Durban to March 31, 1946, has retrospective effect from March 22, 1943.

The provisions of the Asiatic (Transvaal Land and Trading) Act, 1939, which had been renewed each year and was to expire on April 30 have been re-imposed for a period of three years. Under the Bill which has now become law, no transaction between European or Asiatic for the acquisition or occupation of premises will be permitted in Durban, other than under the authority of a permit issued at the discretion of the Minister of the Interior. Such property transactions between European and Asiatic concluded after March 22 will be considered null and void if a permit in respect of the transaction were not granted within three months of the date after the Bill became law.

It is laid down that in addition to ownership, the restriction will apply to the right to occupation of land or premises. The restrictions further apply to acquisition of any share in or debenture of any company which is the owner of land or premises or the holder of a right to occupation.

Authority Permits

The terms "European" and "Asiatic" include any persons acting for the benefit of a European or Asiatic as the case may be. No European will be permitted to occupy premises unless the premises are considered to have been occupied by a European on March 22. Similarly, no Asiatic will be permitted to occupy premises which were not occupied by an Asiatic on March 22. In both cases exceptions may be made under an authority permit issued by the Minister of the Interior.

In exercising his powers of discretion, the Minister may "take into consideration the relative needs of Europeans and Asiatics in the area concerned in regard to housing, amenities of life and educational and recreational facilities and any other matters which, in his opinion, are relevant to the question whether or not any permit applied for should be granted."

The provisions regarding occupation will not make it unlawful for any person to occupy any premises as a *bona fide* guest in a hotel or to live as an employee on

any premises owned or occupied by his employer. "Premises" include any room or apartment in a building.

It is provided that the Governor-General may, by proclamation, declare that the restrictive provisions for ownership and occupation shall apply in any area in Natal.

Persons found guilty of contravening the Act will be liable to a fine not exceeding £100 or to imprisonment for a period not exceeding six months or to both. In case of continuing contravention the person concerned will be liable to a fine not exceeding £5 for every day during which the contravention continues. The court which convicted any person of such contravention may order his ejectment from the premises.

There was no discussion, and the bill passed the first reading.

Second Reading Of The Bill—Minister's Statement

The Assembly was crowded on April 14, when the Minister of the Interior, Mr *Lawrence* rose to move the second reading of the Trading and Occupation of Land (Transvaal and Natal) Restriction Bill, the introduction of which, he said, had been undertaken only after the most careful examination of all facts and of the possibilities of solving the problem without legislation. The Government were satisfied, however, that a situation had arisen in Durban which, in the interests of Europeans as well as the Indian community, required legislative action on the lines proposed in the Bill.

Dealing with the position confronting the Government that day, Mr *Lawrence* said there had been a number of full and frank discussions about the problem. Representatives of the Natal Indian Association had admitted that infiltration was undesirable at the very least since it caused friction between the two racial groups. That had been the attitude of the Natal Indian Association and other Indian representatives.

In spite of this report the Government made further efforts to revive the Lawrence Committee and deal with the matter on non-statutory lines. In May 1940, the Durban City Council had alleged that the rate of infiltration had increased rapidly in recent months and had urged the Government to reconstitute the Lawrence Committee with statutory powers in the form of a licensing board. An agreed statement had been issued saying that the Government would be guided by the measure of co-operation which might take place in future between the Durban City Council and members of the Indian community and by the extent to which penetration took place in the meantime. It was clear from the subsequent Broome Report that the fears of the Durban City Council at that time were justified. From October, 1940, to February, 1943, 326 sites had been acquired at a total purchase price of £601, 385.

Broome Commission Report

The revelation of the Broome Commission had given rise to a state of affairs in which the strongest feelings of the European population had been aroused. The Government were convinced that unless they took action racial feeling not only in Natal but elsewhere, would be fanned to such a pitch that it would not be possible for the merits of the Indian claims for adequate housing and civic amenities to be considered calmly and dispassionately. There was no doubt that the Durban Indian community had a very strong and justifiable claim to improved civic amenities. Full representations against the Bill had been made to the Government by representatives of the Natal Indian Association and the Natal Indian Congress. These representatives had put forward their case in a fair and equitable manner which did credit to both bodies. He was indebted to them for the manner in which they made their representations.

The Housing Problem

One of the reasons advanced by Indian representatives against legislation was that since 1932 the Indian community had not been given opportunities of acquiring land from the Durban City Council from its unalienated land. Indian representatives contended that if the Durban City Council had provided facilities for Indians in decent surroundings penetration would not have taken place. It was on this point that he differed from the Indians.

The two reports submitted by the Broome Committee had shown that of the 800 properties purchased by Indians in predominantly European areas in Durban less than 30 per cent were occupied by Indians. These figures did not show that "house hunting" by Indians had led to penetration. Undoubtedly, the reason why Indians purchased these sites was to invest their surplus money. For a large

section of the Indian community in Durban there was a much greater need for housing than had been hitherto provided.

The Indian Association had contended that from September, 1940, to July, 1941, there had been only three acquisitions in one particular block during the time the Lawrence Committee was still functioning. The Broome Commission, however, showed that in 1940 there had been 59 acquisitions of property by Indians in this area and in 1941 there had been 77 cases, and that was during the time when the Lawrence Committee was still functioning. That contention was a vindication of the claim by the Durban City Council that the Lawrence Committee had failed. It was an indication that attempts to deal with the matter along voluntary lines had failed.

Not A Segregation Law

It had been contended that the Bill was a violation of the Cape Town Agreement of 1927. This Bill, however, was not segregation legislation. It was an interim and temporary measure, providing for a standstill for three years. It was aimed not only against the Indian community but also against European sellers. The moral blame for what had happened in Durban did not rest solely with the Indian community, but also with those Europeans who had enabled such a state of affairs to arise. The Cape Town Agreement had not excluded the possibility of some form of legislation becoming necessary in future. In 1927 when Dr. *Malan* as Minister of the Interior tabled the agreement he stated that the agreement did not in any respect surrender the Government's right to deal with the Indian problem by legislation in whatever way it thought just. The Bill before the House was not in conflict with the Cape Town Agreement. It prohibited acquisition of property by an Indian from a European and *vice versa*.

It was not possible for the Government to take a decision on the allegations that adequate housing and other civic amenities had not been provided for the Indian community in Durban. It was, therefore, intended to proceed immediately with the appointment of a commission presided over by a judge of the Supreme Court, to inquire into and report on matters affecting the Indian community in Natal with special reference to housing and health needs, civic amenities and adequate residential and educational facilities, and to make recommendations on the steps necessary further to implement the Cape Town Agreement of 1927.

Greater Civic Amenities

He fully accepted the goodwill of the representatives of the Indian community in Natal, but the fate of the Lawrence Committee had shown that which many Indians had been prepared to observe the gentleman's agreement, and refrain from buying property in predominantly European areas, others had deliberately bought up as much property as was possible in such areas. It was clear that the present position in Durban could not be allowed to continue in the interests of both the sections and that penetration had to stop. Europeans had to recognise, however, that greater civic amenities had to be provided for Indians. In this Bill the Government was trying to create the necessary atmosphere for the achievement of such a solution. In the meantime, the Durban City Council would be placed on its trial. The Government under the Bill had power to remove the protection now temporarily given to the city of Durban, and the Durban City Council should clearly understand that both the sections had to be dealt with on an equitable basis. It was intended to invite members of the Indian community to serve on the commission to be appointed. He understood that in the Transvaal a stage had been reached where within a few months it should be possible finally to deal with those individual stands on proclaimed areas referred to by the Feetham Commission.

It was correct to say that there was at present a very cordial relationship between the Europeans and the Indian community in the Transvaal. In the Government's opinion this was primarily attributable to the fact that control had been exercised sympathetically under the 1939 Act, and in consequence conditions had not arisen which might have led to friction between the two racial groups. In these circumstances the Government considered it to be most inopportune to remove the control and subject the Indians probably to an anti-Asiatic campaign. The control exercised in the Transvaal in the last three and a half years had not been to the detriment of the Indian community. Representatives of the Transvaal Indian Congress, who had so eloquently and fairly urged the Government to remove this control should remember that the object was the uplift of the Indian community. They should take a long view.

In conclution, Mr. *Lawrence* said he realised that the Indian community felt

most deeply about this matter. "I would urge them, however, to take a long view and realise that this position, which has arisen, would, if not dealt with now, only lead to their detriment, and it is in that spirit that I commend this Bill to the House."

Pensions Enhanced

Mr. *Lawrence* announced that the Treasury had agreed that grants payable to Indians under the old age and indigent pension scheme should be increased to 25 shillings and to 20 shillings monthly for persons living in large towns and rural areas.

Dr. J. H. Hofmeyr's Plea

The Minister of Finance, Dr. *J. H. Hofmeyr*, said there were certain provisions in the Bill of which he did not approve and for which he could not accept responsibility. 'Rather than do so, I have tendered my resignation as member of Government to the Prime Minister. The Prime Minister has, however, asked me not to press my resignation, urging on me the need in the present emergency of a united front being maintained for the furtherance of the war effort. On that account I have agreed to remain in the Cabinet, it being understood that I do not accept responsibility for the proposals in the Bill to which I object and that I retain a free hand in that regard."

Giving his reasons for not withholding his support from the Durban portion of the Bill, Dr. *Hofmeyr* said that while there had been pressure from outside to apply pegging to the whole of Natal it was only being applied to Durban. Pegging was in a form which was non-discriminating. Taken as a whole the decision of the Government concerning Natal took account of facts He considered it fair and reasonable in all circumstances, and although from some points of view he regretted it, he thought it necessary, and was prepared to support it.

He did not object to the provisions of the Bill extending the period of protection in the Transvaal, but did object most strongly to the remaining provisions affecting the Transvaal. The problem of the Transvaal was entirely different from that of Natal. In Natal the problem was primarily one of purchase of property by Indians. In the Transvaal outside the "Feetham areas' no Asiatic could purchase property. The penetration problem in the Transvaal, therefore, was almost exclusively one of trading, and to a negligible extent one of occupation without trading. While proposals in this Bill affecting Natal were not discriminatory, provisions of the 19.9 law which it was now proposed to extend, were discriminatory, and applied only to Asiatics The proposals affecting Natal took account of facts, and he supported them ; the proposals affecting the Transvaal did not take account of facts, and he did not support them. He had been asked to say that that was also the attitude of two United Party legislators, Mr *Kenridge* and Mr. *Alexander*.

What was indefensible about this Bill was that the findings of the Judicial Commission were accepted when they suited one's own point of view and brushed aside when they did not. In South Africa there was nothing to stop Europeans having it both ways, but that was a course of action which one's reason could not commend and one's sense of justice could not approve.

The theory that the interim legislation of 1939 accounted for the cordial relationship between the Europeans and the Asiatics in the Transvaal was entirely untenable. The Broome Commission had shown that the position in the Transvaal had been held quite comfortably from 1927 to 1939 without such interim legislation. The statement that this legislation in the Transvaal was designed to protect the Indians against possible anti-Asiatic feeling would not deceive the Indians. They knew why the legislation had been introduced originally and they had a shrewd idea why it was to be re-enacted now

"Regretfully I have to say that I can only regard this proposal for an unjustified prolongation of an unjustifiable piece of discriminatory legislation as a surrender to racial and colour prejudice, and with that surrender I must decline to be associated," concluded Dr. Hofmeyr.

Col Stallard's Support

The Minister of Mines, Col. *Stallard*, said that the peoples of South Africa had resolved that amalgamation was not in the interests of any of them. A relationship had to be found between the peoples living in the same country, who were not prepared to amalgamate, or even to live in close juxtaposition. He did not think that any population could complacently watch its character being radically changed and altered, He did not think that any city in the would would sit back quietly and watch that happen He believed that if similar penetration by

Europeans in the Indian city of Benares were to take place the people of Benares would take action and sit back. He believed that a great deal of money which had been invested in properties in Natal had come from the Transvaal. These people were not concerned with the preserving of good relations between the races but with their own selfish advantage. The provisions of the Bill were minimum with which the possible could be faced with equanimity. He accepted all the provisions of the Bill and thought that the question of extending the provisions applicable to Durban to other parts should receive immediate attention. The real clauses which were exerting feeling were the clauses dealing with Natal, not the clauses dealing with the Transvaal

He understood that three former Agents-General for India in the Union had sent a cable to the Prime Minister appealing to him to drop the Bill on the ground that it would upset those Indians who still believed that India should remain a partner in the British Empire.

Declaration Of 1922

That appeal, if well founded, would naturally receive primary consideration from him (Col. Stallard) and his colleagues in the Dominion Party, because they attached the greatest value to the component part of the Empire holding together If any course of action was likely to militate against that, it would have to receive the most careful consideration. He had the greatest regard for the personalities of Sastri and other former Agents-General, and anything they said he treated with the greatest respect. But what value was there in their appeal and argument? Firstly, it appeared to be based on a misapprehension about the basis on which the component parts of the Empire had come together and proposed to remain together. He attached great importance to the declaration of the 1922 Conference of Prime Ministers of the British Commonwealth that each community would enjoy complete control of its own population. The former Agent-General were entirely wrong in implying they were entitled to interfere with or criticise the way in which the composition of the South African community was dealt with.

He had been informed that a mass meeting of Indians in Durban the previous day had called upon the Government to abandon the proposed legislation and to convene a round table conference with the Government of India. It was the habit of rich people who were prepared to risk the interests of their country to make appeals to democratic institutions so as to cover their tracks. He did not think anything fruitful would emerge from a round table conference. The Government wanted as far as possible to avoid doing anything which might exasperate Indians and wanted to dissipate the idea that the legitimate needs of the Indian population would be neglected.

Mr *M. J. Vandenberg* (Labour Krugersdorp) said that the Labour Party supported the Government on the Bill.

Dr. Malan's Demand

The Opposition Leader, Dr *D. F. Malan*, congratulated Col Stallard and the Dominion Party and other Natal members of Parliament on having exercised so much pressure on the Government that the Government had agreed not only to stabilise the position in the Transvaal but also to recognise the danger in Natal and include Natal under the provisions of the Bill. If speedy and effective measures were not taken Natal would soon be lost to the European race. He did not propose to impede the passage of the Bill, but considered that it should be passed in an improved form and should not remain a temporary measure.

Dr. *Malan* said that the appointment of the Agent General for India had been made for quite a different reason than what his presence in South Africa meant to-day. To-day the presence of the High Commissioner for India meant unfair interference by another country in the affairs of South Africa.

Dr. *Malan* moved an amendment that the order for the second reading be discharged and that the subject be referred to a select committee, which should be instructed to make provision for the application to Natal of the restrictions applying to occupation and purchase of land in the Transvaal. The select committee should be instructed to report not later than April 19 and to introduce the amended Bill.

The amendment also sought further to instruct the Government during the next session of Parliament to introduce a more comprehensive measure providing for effective segregation of European and non-European residential areas in Durban and for definite and satisfactory measures to prevent penetration by Asiatics in Natal and the Transvaal.

The Speaker ruled out of order the second part of Dr. *Malan's* amendment.

Field Marshal Smuts Explains

The Prime Minister, *Field Marshal Smuts*, said that the Government could not accept the amendment. The Bill was necessary. The Government were anxious to have it on the Statute Book as soon as possible and no dilatory motion or any motion, even if it were acceptable to the Government, which would mean postponement of the passage of the Bill for any length of time, could be accepted.

The Government had hoped that it would not be necessary to deal with this matter during the war. The Government regretted anything which gave the appearance that it was going against a country like India which was engaged in the war with South Africa. There were very grave reasons why the Government did not want to take action, but they had no choice. The issue had been forced on the Government by Indians themselves, not the whole Indian community, but a minority who had no regard for the interests of the country or Indians themselves. The country was faced with the position that in Durban—which was a European city and which the Government were determined should remain a European City—large-scale Indian penetration was going on. After a great deal of argument it had been proved and admitted that there had been large-scale penetration since 1939

The Second Broome Commission proved that penetration had been proceeding at a pace such as had never been known before, and in the circumstances the Government had been obliged to act. He did not know whether the first Broome Report had encouraged certain elements to embark on the policy on which they had embarked. The fact was, however, that there had been a complete change since 1939.

Government's Intention

He made no charge against the whole Indian population, the vast majority of whom were good, hardworking people. The Government intended to make a proper judicial inquiry into the whole situation. Only by exploring carefully the relations between Indians and Europeans in this country could it be possible to evolve a measure that would lead to amity. It might perhaps be largely by agreement that a satisfactory solution of the problem might be found. The problem was one that could not easily be solved. He was sure, however, that after a competent body had examined the question fresh light might be thrown on it and a new method of action found.

The country should not lose its head and attempt the impossible because failure might be disastrous not only to Indians but to Europeans as well. Eighty per cent or more of the Indians in South Africa today were South African born and part of the South African people. At present they invariably looked to the Government of India but he supposed that in time they would learn to look to public opinion and the European community in South Africa for justice and fairplay. But at present their weakness was that they immediately appealed to outside opinion and in that way the mode of solution was more difficult.

The country must be fair to its Indian people. The Government and the people of the country were bound to carry out the policy of the Cape Town Agreement. Complaints by Indians about their treatment should be investigated. They should not be made to feel that they are outcasts. Whereas in Natal the position was getting worse, in the Transvaal where there was control the situation had improved. The relations between Europeans and Indians in the Transvaal to-day were good. He had come to the conclusion that the Transvaal system should be applied to Natal during the interim period pending investigation. The provisions applied to the Transvaal were, therefore, extended to Natal under the Bill.

Concluding, Field Marshal Smuts asked the House to pass the Bill before the end of the session.

Opposition To Bill

Mrs. *V. M. L. Ballinger* (Native Representative) said that a real appeal to racial prejudice had been made in Natal by a minority composed of the followers of the Minister of Mines, Colonel Stallard. She disagreed with General Smuts' declaration that Durban was a European city. It was a South African city, and like all South African cities its wealth and development had been built by the combined efforts of a number of racial groups. A great deal of the prosperity in Durban resulted from the services of the Indian community. The Durban City Council had not made an attempt to provide facilities for the Indian population. The £ 2,000,000 which it now advertised it was going to spend on facilities for Asiatics was to be spent in the future.

Mrs. Ballinger said it was time that South Africa learned to govern instead of legislating. European prestige could not be maintained by falling back continually on the bludgeon.

She hoped that the petition she had presented asking that representatives of the Indian community be admitted to the bar of the House would be accepted.

Dr. Donges (Nationalist Party) said there was only one royal road by which the Minister of Finance could signify disagreement with his Cabinet colleagues and that was not to tender resignation but to resign. *Dr. Hofmeyr's* present course was an attempt to have things both ways.

Mr. J. H. Grobler (New Order Party) said that whatever sympathy was felt for Indians in South Africa would disappear if they continued their appeals to the Government of India.

Mr. *G K. Hemming* (Native Representative) said that the Premier and the Government seemed to have been engineered into a situation from which they found it difficult to withdraw.

Official Reply

"Bill purely an Interim measure"

The Minister of the Interior, Mr. *Lawrence*, replying to the debate, said that the judicial inquiry which the Government intended to hold would not apply to the Transvaal. It was the Government's intention to inquire into social welfare and the civic amenities available for the Indian population in Natal. It had become clear during the debate that the main bone of contention between the Indian population and the European population in Durban was the provision of civic and housing amenities, and the Government was anxious to thrash the matter out.

Great problems had still to be dealt with in regard to the Indian population in the Transvaal. There was, for instance, the question of ownership of land. Parliament had already exempted certain areas in the Witwaters Rand from the provisions of the Gold Law, but the Indian community contended that these areas were insufficient to meet their legitimate needs That was correct and the Government might have to go further not merely in the proclaimed areas but also in the rural areas. The Indian population in the Transvaal was entitled to an increase in the licences and the Government would have to develop a system under which legitimate expansion by Indians could be met without, at the same time, impinging on predominantly European areas.

Trading Licences

The Murray Commission had reported that the number of Asiatic trading licences had not been disproportionate to the total growth of the Indian population. In the last three and a half years he had issued about 2,000 permits for new licences and this was not disproportionate to the growth of the Indian population It was the slow drift which in the long run caused difficulty. It was as much in the interests of the Indian community as it was in the interests of the European community that the cordial relationship that existed between Europeans and Indians in the Transvaal should not be changed and that an atmosphere should not be created which would make it impossible to deal with vitally important matters such as the releasing of additional land for Indians and the providing of proper housing amenities.

Mr. *Lawrence* reiterated that the Bill was purely an interim measure. Apart from the Native Representatives, there had not been any adverse criticism of the principles of the Bill. The Minister pointed out that the Bill provided for extension of restrictions to other parts of Natal and if circumstances arose which justified an inquiry in any particular area this could be done at once. It was the Government's intention to proceed along those lines The difference between the present Government and the Government in which Dr. *D F. Malan* had been the Minister of the Interior was that Dr. *Malan's* Government bowed to representations from the Government of India. The Government of India rightly and properly made representations to the present Government, but the present Government proposed with great regret and under compulsion of circumstances to proceed with this legislation.

Bill Passes Second Reading

Dr. *Malan's* amendment to refer the Bill to a Select Committee was rejected by 83 votes to 31 Native Representatives voting with the Government.

The motion for the second reading was carried, the Opposition voting with the Government, only three Native Representatives voting against the Ministry. Dr. *Hofmeyr* did not vote at either division. The United Party legislators Mr. *M.*

Alexander and Mr. *M. Kenridge*, who, Dr. *Hofmeyr* said, previously wanted to be associated with him in his attitude on the Bill, did not vote on the second division but voted against Dr. *Malan's* amendment.

Move To Extend Scope Of Bill

The Assembly went into committee on April 20 on the Bill when Mr. *C. R. Swart* (Nationalist Party) moved that the "pegging" provisions be applied to the whole of Natal.

Mr. *J. G. Derbyshire* (Dominion Party) said it was true that in Natal there was a strong feeling that the Bill should apply to the whole of Natal. While the Dominion Party would like to see the provisions of the Bill applied to the whole of Natal, they were prepared to make a gesture to the Indian community. They would oppose Mr. *Swart's* amendment and instead of the City Council of Durban being placed on trial, as the Minister of the Interior stated during the second reading of the Bill, the Indian community would be placed on trial. If Indian penetration continued in other parts of Natal, the Dominion Party would be compelled to ask the Government to apply the provisions of the Bill to the whole of Natal.

Mr. *D. B. Molteno* (Native Representative) moved an amendment deleting the retrospective provision of the Bill.

Mr. *F. H. Acutt* (Dominion Party) said that whenever the Durban Council had tried to establish Indian villages, Indian leaders had advised the rank and file to boycott them.

Mrs. *V. M. L. Ballinger* (Native Representative) said that natives had some land basis, but the Indians had nothing. They were a commercial people, who had to live in towns

Mr. *J S Marwick* (Dominion Party) alleged that in most cases wealthy Indians had borrowed money for penetrating into Natal.

Mr. *Lawrence* said it seemed to him to be incumbent upon the Government to appoint a commission as soon as the Bill had been placed on the Statute Book to inquire into the position at Pietermaritzburg and it might be that the commission would have to make inquiries in other places.

Mr. *Lawrence* added that the Government could not be expected to ask the commission to undertake a series of inquiries, unless there was *prima facie* evidence that what was taking place in Durban was also taking place in other centres. The local authorities would have the onus of submitting such evidence in the shape of facts and figures. He envisaged the appointment of some one of the status of Mr. *Justice Broome*, who would be asked from time to time to make an *ad hoc* inquiry, upon the result of which the Government would base its decision.

He did not believe that the Indian community would rush to buy property in areas of Natal outside Durban in advance of legislation Such action would prove conclusively that certain members of the Indian community were being provocative. He did not believe that Indians would prejudice their own case this way, and hoped that if some Indians were prepared to do so the more responsible members of the Indian community would deter them. He very much appreciated the attitude of the Dominion Party which had not fallen to the blandishments of the Opposition.

Amendments Lost

At the resumption of the committee stage of the bill, Mr. *Swart's* amendment urging that the "pegging" provisions be applied to the whole of Natal, and Mr. *Molteno's* amendment to delete the retrospective provision of the Bill were both rejected.

A clause prolonging the restriction of Asiatics' trading rights in the Transvaal imposed in 1939 was approved.

Mr. *Swart* (Nationalist Party) moved another amendment seeking to delete the provision that a permit might be granted for exemption from the provision that no European might enter into an agreement with an Asiatic for the acquisition or occupation by either party to the agreement of land or premises in the Durban municipal area or other proclaimed area in Natal, or for the acquisition of shares or debentures in a company owning such land or premises.

Mr. Swart also moved that the prohibition should apply to the acquisition or occupation of land or premises by Asiatics and not to acquisition or occupation by Europeans.

The Minister of the Interior, Mr. *Lawrence*, said that if Mr. Swart's amendment was approved the basis of reciprocity in the provisions of the Bill affecting

Natal would be abandoned. It was not intended to prevent repurchase by Europeans of properties previously acquired by Asiatics in the predominantly European areas, and permits could be obtained for such repurchases. The Government intended that this legislation should be discriminatory, as many Europeans were blamed in this matter just as many Indians were. He regreted the fact that this intention of the Government had not been sufficiently emphasised by certain opponents of the Bill, and the impression had been created that the Bill discriminated against one particular racial group.

Mr. *Molteno* (Native Representative) moved deletion of the provision preventing the conclusion of an agreement between a European and an Asiatic for the acquisition of shares or debentures in companies owning land or premises.

Mr. Lawrence said he was prepared to give the assurance that purchase by Europeans of land or premises occupied by Asiatics in the predominantly European areas would be encouraged and that permits would be granted for such repurchases He would give the same assurance about repurchase by Asiatics of land or premises in the predominantly Asiatic areas.

Mr. Swart's and Mr. Molteno's further amendments were rejected and the Bill was reported.

Later, the Minister of the Interior, Mr. Lawrence, moved the third reading of the Bill which was passed.

In the Senate

In the South African Senate on March 22, the Minister of the Interior, Mr *Lawrence* indicated that Government would during the session introduce legislation restricting Indian "penetration" into the urban residental areas of Natal. The introduction of this legislation was contingent upon the findings of the Broome Commission which under Mr. Justice Broome, had been taking evidence of the alleged depreciation of European areas by Indian property purchases.

Mr. Lawrence stated: "I personally attended to the question of alleged Indian infiltration into predominantly European areas of Natal. I realise Government will be charged with discriminatory legislation, but I also realise that people in Durban are not only getting restive but that the situation has taken a racial aspect and unless Government takes action, serious things might happen—riots might occur" Mr. Lawrence announced that legislation might be introduced in the next four weeks and would be retrospective until that day—that was aimed against speculation

Referring to alleged infiltration of Indians into predominantly European areas in Natal, Mr. Lawrence said in the Senate that the frequent talks he had with the members of the Indian community and representatives of the Durban City Council had resulted in a conference in Pretoria some time ago when some serious allegations were made. If the allegations made by the Durban City Council were correct and if it was true that the position was getting out of hand which seemed to be axiomatic, the Government would have to act.

If the Government, Mr. Lawrence said, decided to legislate, such legislation would have to take effect from that day, the day on which he was informing the Indian community that the Government intended to act. The Government could not allow the people to rush in and put through transactions in the hope of evading any legislation that might be made. The only course open to Government was legislation and such legislation would have to be passed in this session. The whole matter rested on the findings of the Broome Commission.

The respective provisions of the proposed legislation might also be applied by the Governor-General by proclamation to any other area in Natal after a commission reported on the expediency of such action.

The Minister later introduced in the Senate the Trading and Occupation of Land (Transvaal and Natal) Restriction Bill.

Speaking during the debate Senator *H. M. Basner* (Native Representative) said that the Bill was not only an unfair measure but a symptom of a diseased social order which sought to solve all difficulties by appeasing the man who had power at the expense of the man without power and wealth. He asserted that public opinion as reflected in newspapers, including one Durban newspaper, was against the Bill.

Senator *G. Hartog* said he hoped that "pegging" would lead to voluntary separation but, if it did not, he hoped a policy of separation would be enforced.

Minister's Reply

The Minister of the Interior, Mr. Lawrence, replying to the debate said that with the exception of Mr. *Brookes* and Mr. *Basner*, the Bill had received the blessing of the Senate. He said that the Government of India, in making representa-

tions about the Bill, was not acting against constitutional practice nor against precedent. The problem in Durban was not merely one of adequate housing facilities for the Indian community. If it had been so, one would not have expected to find Indians purchasing in European areas premises they did not occupy. There was undoubtedly a serious shortage of housing for the Indian community, but this was not the sole cause of penetration.

As evidence of the Government's *bonafides*, a provision had been inserted in the Bill that the proclaimed area could be deproclaimed before three years expired and this placed the onus on the local authorities. If the Durban City Council provided proper housing facilities for all sections of the community, various racial groups would avail themselves of those facilities and there would be natural segregation. If this happened, it would be the duty of the Government to withdraw the legislation and place it in cold storage. He said this as his personal opinion He hoped the Indian community in Natal would assist the Government in this standstill period. The Government was not animated by any anti-Asiatic feeling. The Government was anxious to help Indians. He hoped the Indian community would very carefully consider the matter before refusing to co-operate with the Government.

The Bill passed its third reading in the Senate on April 26 without discussion.

Dr. Khare's Statement in Assembly

Moving "that the position arising out of the pegging legislation in South Africa be taken into consideration", the Hon'ble Dr *N. B. Khare*, Member for Indians Overseas, Government of India, said in the Central Assembly on July, 30:

Sir, in response to one of those periodic waves of anti-Asiatic prejudice which, from time to time, besmirches the name of South Africa and which the Union Government find difficult to resist, there has been recently enacted there the Trading and Occupation of Land (Transvaal and Natal) Restriction Act, usually known as the Pegging Bill. It has the two following effects:

(i) In the Transvaal, it extends for a further three years the provisions of the interim legislation enacted for the year in 1939 and extended for another two years in 1941, by which purchases of property by Indians in areas not already subject to other restrictions are prohibited without the special permission of the Minister.

(ii) In Natal, it prohibits Indians from purchasing property and Europeans from selling property to Indians in predominantly European areas in Durban without the Minister's permission and provides for the extension of similar provisions to other areas in Natal on sufficient cause being shown after enquiry. There have been hitherto no statutory restrictions upon the acquisition of land by Asiatics in Natal, though provision exists for the insertion of an anti-Asiatic clause in title deeds.

History of Indian Emigration

Indian emigration to Natal began in 1860 upon the request of European planters through the Governor. Reports reached India that the emigrants were ill-treated, and Indian emigration declined to such an extent that planters continued to complain of a shortage of labour. An enquiry held in the colony revealed that the reports were well-founded, apart from other ill-treatment, wages were habitually held in arrears and in many cases not paid at all.

Emigration to Natal was stopped by the Government of India in 1866. It was reopened in 1874 on the enactment of measures by the Natal Government which provided that the indentured labourer, on the expiry of his indenture, might commute his return passage to India to a parcel of land for free settlement.

European fears of Indian expansion in Natal expressed themselves as early as 1880, and in 1887 a Commission appointed by the Natal Government reported that "the majority of the white colonists are strongly opposed to the presence of the 'free' Indian as a rival and competitor either in agricultural or commercial pursuits. As a result of pressure by the white colonists the enactments providing for free settlement of ex-indentured labourers were repealed.

Mr. Joseph Chamberlain's Note

In 1894, the Natal Parliament passed a measure depriving Indians of the parliamentary franchise. Mr *Joseph Chamberlain*, in refusing to recommend the Bill for Royal Assent, said, "The Bill involves in a common disability all natives of India without exception and provides no machinery by which an Indian can free himself from this disability, whatever his intelligence, his education, or his status in the country. To assent to this measure would be to put an affront on people of India such as no British Parliament could be a party to.

And in speaking to the Colonial Conference in 1897, Mr. *Chamberlain* said, "We ask you also to bear in mind the traditions of the Empire, which makes no distinction in favour of, or against, race or colour, and to exclude by reason of their colour or by reason of their race all Her Majesty's Indian subjects or even all Asiatics would be an act so offensive to those people that it would be most painful, I am quite certain, to Her Majesty to have to sanction it."

Her Majesty's potential suffering appears to have caused little concern to many of the white colonists in Natal who struck by their policy of using Indians for their own enrichment while denying them ordinary human rights and privileges, comparable to the policy of the snake in the fable, which lets the rat make a hole and then occupies it itself. Some, however, saw the inequity of such a policy.

Indian Labour's Contribution

In 1907, a Commission in the colony reported that 'absolute and conclusive proof has been put forth before the Commission that several industries owe their existence and present condition entirely to indentured labour. The Indians are industrious, law-abiding and on the whole sober in their habits and it has been proved that their presence has had no injurious effect on the morals of the 'whites' or the 'natives'

In 1908, Sir *Liege Hulett*, speaking in the Natal Parliament, said: "The condition of the colony before the importation of Indian labour was one of gloom, it was one that then and there threatened to extinguish the vitality of the country, and it was only by the Government assisting the importation of labour that the country began at once to revive.

The coast has been turned into one of the most prosperous parts of South Africa."

There were those in England, too, who felt themselves compelled to voice their disapproval of the Natal policy.

In 1908, Lord Curzon said, "In the first place, as regards South Africa itself, the Indian 'coolie', or at any rate the educated man who is behind the Indian 'coolie' and who has conducted this agitation, sees that the coolie or the artisan is invited and even encouraged to emigrate from India. We send him to a colony which he enriches by his labour and then the society there appears to turn round upon him as if he were a pariah dog. He is penalised there not for his vices but for his virtues. It is because he is a sober, industrious, frugal and saving man that he is such a formidable economic danger; and then the Indian remembers that at any rate in a large number of cases he has fought for the British Empire in South Africa and that it was largely owing to his efforts that Natal was saved."

"Insolent Injustice"

In the Transvaal, the Provincial Government was always in favour of a declared policy of segregation. By a law of 1885, amended in 1887 Asiatics were forbidden to live except in such areas and locations as may be set aside for them on sanitary grounds.

This law and its interpretation was the subject of much controversy between His Majesty's Government and the Republican Government, a controversy which was reflected in a speech by Lord *Lansdowne*, Secretary of State for War and an ex-Viceroy of India, who stated a few weeks after the outbreak of the Boer War that of all the misdeeds of the Boers none filled him with so much anger as their treatment of British Indians and proceeded to paint a lurid picture of the political evils which might have been expected to follow in India itself if England had failed to put an end to such insolent injustice.

After the Boer War, the Transvaal became a Crown Colony. In 1902 and again in 1904 the Governor, Lord Milner, put forward proposals for the registration of Asiatics In 1902, Mr. *Joseph Chamberlain* rejected the proposal and said that it would be impossible to defend what would practically be a continuance of the South African Republic against which Her Majesty's Government had so strongly and repeatedly protested.

What Lord Morley Said

It is an irony of fate that the self-same insolent injustice as described by Lord *Lansdowne* is being perpetrated even to-day on the defenceless South African Indians by the British and the Boer combining into a double-barrelled gun for the annihilation of Indian interests in South Africa.

In 1904, Mr. *Lyttleton*, while agreeing to the introduction of an Immigration Ordinance to restrict the entry of Indians in the future by applying a dictation test

in a European language, refused to sanction legislation taking away rights for which Indians had contended in republican days and which had subsequently been assured to them. European opinion in the Transvaal was, however, by all means satisfied, and continued efforts were made to impose further restrictions upon Asiatics. In speaking of the Immigration Restriction Act of 1907, which incidentally gave rise to Mr. Gandhi's first passive resistance movement in South Africa, Lord *Morley* said, "The Act may work grave injustice since British Indian subjects who had before 1902 acquired domicile in the Transvaal but having temporarily left the Colony, had not registered themselves, may under its provision be debarred from re-entry."

Townships Act And Gold Law

In 1908 the Townships Act and the Gold Law, which consolidated the position regarding occupation and ownership in proclaimed land and contained stringent provisions against Asiatics and 'coloured persons,' were passed.

In 1910, the Union of South Africa was established and from that date forward, matters affecting Indians became a Union Government responsibility, though the laws of the constituent parts of the Union remained in force. In 1913 an Immigration Bill was introduced and passed which was the cause of Mr. Gandhi's second and more spectacular passive resistance campaign.

It was in relation to this legislation that the Viceroy, Lord *Hardinge*, speaking in Madras, said, "Recently your compatriots in South Africa have taken matters into their own hands by organising what is called passive resistance to laws which they consider invidious and unjust—an opinion which we who watch their struggle from afar cannot but share. They have violated, as they intended to violate, those laws, with full knowledge of the penalties involved and ready with all courage and patience to endure those penalties. In all this they have the sympathy of India deep and burning—and not only of India, but of all those who like myself, without being Indians themselves, have feelings of sympathy for the people of this country."

Gandhi-Smuts Agreement

In 1914, Mr. Gandhi came to terms with General Smuts and the passive resistance movement ended, but under the Immigration Act all Indians were, by an order of the Minister, deemed undesirable and consequently became prohibited immigrants. At the Imperial War Conference in 1917 and 1918, General Smuts said, "Once the white community in South Africa were rid of the fear that they were going to be flooded by unlimited immigration from India, all the other questions would be considered subsidiary and would become easily and perfectly soluble; the fear, which formerly obsessed the settlers there, has been removed; the great principle of restricting immigration for which they have contended is on our Statute Book. Mr. Burton, speaking on behalf of South Africa, said, "It is only fair to say, and it is the truth that we have found that the Indians in our midst in South Africa who form in some parts a very substantial portion of the population are good, law-abiding, quiet citizens and it is only our duty to see that they are treated as human beings with feelings like our own and in a proper manner."

Gen. Smuts' Tribute To Indian Troops

Speaking elsewhere of the troops who had served under him, Gen. Smuts said, "I wish here publicly to repeat that I have had no more loyal, devoted and brave troops under me than those troops from the Indian Empire and I think the young South Africans who went with me, who fought side by side with those heroes from Asia to-day have more kindly feelings than they had before towards the Indian population of South Africa." These sentiments apparently have now gone with the wind!

Feelings, however, were not so easily mollified and as a result of pressure by the Government of India and the Secretary of State a Commission was set up in 1920 to consider the question of Indian trading and property rights. This Commission, in recommending against 'compulsory segregation of Asiatics' said, "We find ourselves wholly unable to support the policy of repression which was advocated by some of the witnesses. Indiscriminate segregation of Asiatics in locations and similar restrictive measures would result in eventually reducing them to helotry. Such measures, apart from their injustice and inhumanity, would degrade the Asiatic and react upon the European."

The Capetown Agreement

The Union Government, nevertheless, willingly or unwillingly, found the pressure of European opinion too strong, and in 1925 General Hertzog's Government introduced the Areas Reservation Bill. Dr. *Malan*, introducing the Bill, said that the measure frankly started from the general supposition that the Indian was an alien element in the South African population and that no solution of the

question would be acceptable to the country unless it resulted in a very considerable reduction of the Indian population. As the result of representations from the Government of India the Bill was postponed and in 1926 the Round Table Conference was held in Capetown which finally concluded the Capetown Agreement.

It was in regard to this legislation that the Viceroy, Lord Reading, said at the opening of the Legislative Assemby in 1927 that it appeared to contain a radically objectionable principle. Lord Oliver, speaking in the House of Lords in 1926 on the same subject, said, "That is more than pressure, it is oppression. It is not to be wondered at, when Indians in India see their relatives exposed to this oppression that they become restive and ask 'What is the use of our belonging to an Empire which guarantees to protect us if, again and again, the promises that have been made in the name of that Empire to our kinsmen are not to be maintained and these kinsmen are to be subjected to oppression to induce them to relinquish the privileges that they have acquired ?" He added, "I have stated that Lord Reading's opinion and certainly the opinion of anyone connected with the India office, is that these oppressive enactments are a distinct infraction of the rights of Indians which His Majesty's Government are bound to honour, to maintain and safeguard." He pleaded "Let us have some kind of moratorium from the continued pressure upon them (the rights of Indians in South Africa) which is being exercised to the great disturbance of our own Imperial relations with India."

The foregoing shows clearly enough how from the earliest days of Indian immigration into Natal the White population of South Africa has been guided by no other motive but gross self-interest. When times were bad they did not hesitate to implore India to help them and were ready to make any promises to get the labour they so sorely needed But when times improved they were eager to repudiate their promises and to invoke any means at their disposal to oppress and insult the very people who had come to their assistance

His Majesty's Government and many prominent British statesmen have consistently protested and striven against the South African attitude, but as time has gone on their protests, their efforts have become weaker and of less avail. By passes, licences, registration, taxes, tests and reservations regarding property and trading and by denying the elementary right of the franchise to people born and bred in their country, the White Government in South Africa have done their utmost to humiliate and hedge in their Indian population To this has been added social and public indignity of many kinds : refusal of entry to shops, hotels, places of amusement, restrictions on the use of public conveyances separate counters at post offices and similar degradation.

A man of such robust commonsense as the present Prime Minister, Mr. Winston Churchill, writing of the Indians in Kenya, said, "Is it possible for any Government with a scrap of self-respect for honest dealing between man and man to embark upon a policy of deliberately squeezing out the natives of India from regions in which he has established himself under every security of public faith ?" That sentiment, so forcibly expressed, applies with equal pertinence to the history of Indians in South Africa.

And yet, at a time when Indian troops have given their lives in countless gallant actions on African soil and are ready for further sacrifices in the same cause for which South Africa is fighting, at a time too when that same great man, Winston Churchill, is leading all the peoples of the Commonwealth in the sternest struggle that has yet been seen, all those noble sentiments are forgotten, all those high principles enunciated by former British Ministers and statesmen are ignored and the last indignity is imposed upon the Indian people by the latest so-called "Pegging" legislation in South Africa.

It is worthy of note that the Union Government's action has the support of Dr. Malan whose followers, constituting some 40 per cent of the White population, stand openly for secession from the Empire and neutrality in the war.

It may be that Field Marshal Smuts has accepted this position only for the purpose of the general election, but India can derive little satisfaction from such a reflection. The original Interim Act prohibiting Indian purchases of property in the Transvaal was passed in 1939 for two years only, to tide over a difficult period It was extended in 1941 for another two years and has now been again extended for three years. It is small wonder if Indians regard the recent enactment as designed to be a permanent measure. Nor should undue weight be attached to apparent disunity among the Indians in South Africa. There is disunity among the Europeans, too, between the seceders and the non-seceders, but on this issue they are at one. So too are the Indians, whose differences arise from other sources.

The crux of the situation is that South Africa prevails because she is a Dominion and Indians there have to suffer because India is a dependency. Under the circumstances the normal responsibility of Britain which is the trustee of India is very great She cannot ignore that she owes a duty just as great to the dusky millions in India and the quarter million in South Africa as she owes to the whole people of her own race in any territory in the British Commonwealth of Nations.

The constitutional drawback from which India suffers does not detract from the inherent justice of the case of Indians in South Africa and some means must be found for maintaining the dignity and prestige of India, and of the Government of India, even in wartime. It should not be forgotten that the Union Government's action is an affront to the Government of India as well as to Indian sentiment.

Fortunately in this matter the people of India and the Government of India are at one, and the Government of India have already publicly characterised the recent legislation as repugnant, unnecessary and inopportune.

Had India been independent she would have considered this a *casus belli* against South Africa. But we may not think lightly of breaking away from the British Commonwealth of Nations because the ideal of co operative interdependence on a footing of equality is better than the ideal of isolated independence.

There may also be a forlorn hope of representations yielding valuable results after the election fever in South Africa has cooled down. But representation unbacked by any action is valueless As for action an amended Reciprocity Act is already before the House for consideration and the possibility of applying other feasible and proper measures is being carefully examined.

The Correspondence

Here is a summary of the telegraphic correspondence between the Government of India and the South African Government given by the Hon. Dr *Khare* in the Central Assembly on **July 30, 1943.**

March 16, 1943 :—High Commissioner's telegram dated 13-3-43 intimating (i) Union Government's intention of "Pegging" position in Durban or in Natal pending receipt of Mr. Broome's report and the enactment of legislation on certain lines and (ii) also of renewing the Trading and Occupation of Land (Transvaal) Restriction Act of 1939 for a further period of two years. Though it was known that Mr. Broome was conducting his second enquiry into Indian penetration, this was the first intimation regarding the pegging legislation and the Minister had still not made up his mind.

March 25 :—Asked High Commissioner to represent to the Union Government that the Government of India maintained objection to statutory segregation and that pending receipt of Mr. Broome's report, any action by them would prejudge issue and advised him to adopt same attitude.

March 27 :—Informed High Commissioner that press reports here referred to European demand for immediate legislation and the Minister's threat to Indians of legislation with retrospective effect and asked for full information.

March 27 :—High Commissioner's telegram dated March 26 intimating that he had coveyed the Government of India's objection to Statutory legislation.

March 28 —Telegraphically instructed High Commissioner to secure an assurance that Government of India would be given an opportunity to comment. The High Commissioner sent on this request to the Union Government on March 30, but it was ignored.

March 29 :—High Commissioner intimated that the Minister had made the speech on March 22, in which he explained that Government's attitude was to await the Broome Report but that if, as anticipated, legislation was found necessary, it would have retrospective effect from March 22. On March 26 this was debated in the Union Assembly. Anti-Asiatic speeches were made by European members and the Minister stated that the problem was not merely of penetration into European areas but also of proper housing for Indian Community and that the Union Government was anxious to avoid offending the susceptibilities of the Government of India which has played so vital a part in the war effort.

March 31 :— High Commissioner telegraphed summary of Broome's report.

April 4 :—High Commissioner intimated that Field Marshal *Smuts* was very perturbed by extent of penetration disclosed in Broome Report and desired immediate legislation.

April 7 :—The Union Government publicly announced their intention to legislate and to introduce a bill on 10-4-43. Draft of Bill handed by Minister to High Commissioner.

April 8 :—Press communique issued by the Government of India expressing regret that the Union Government had not given them an opportunity to comment and had also paid no attention to their representation for the non-extension, of the Interim Act in the Transvaal.

April 8 :—Telegraphic second representation to the Union Government through the High Commissioner pointing out inadvisability of undertaking proposed legislation in war conditions particularly in view of their assurance to Sir B. Rama Rao in October, 1939, that no legislative action on racial lines would be taken for the duration of the war. Strong objection to statutory segretation was reiterated and a suggestion was made that solution by voluntary restriction of purchases of property be explored.

April 8.—Telegram to Secretary of State telling him that the Union Govt. had not replied to the Govt. of India's representations and also informing him that reactions of proposed legislation in India would be serious and unhappy.

April 8 —Press Conference held to explain the position.

April 10.—The Government of India's protest handed over to the Secretary, External Affairs, by Mr. D I. R. Muir at 6 p.m. on April 9, and verbal request made that the Prime Minster may withdraw Bill from next morning's order paper and to reconsider position.

April 10.—Bill introduced in the Assembly ; second reading being for April 14,

April 11.—High Commissioner telegraphed Union Government's reply to our second representation. Union Government stated that hopes expressed in 1939 that the position regarding Indian penetration would be maintained or, at any rate, would not further deteriorate had not beenrealised as shown by Broome's report and that this had compelled them to legislate as otherwise there was fear of racial feelings.

April 12.—High Commissioner telegraphed how Union Government's reply was unsatisfactory and gave no reasons why the Government of India were not informed of their intention to legislate.

April 13 —Third protest to the Union Government through the High Commissioner. It stated: (i) Issues involved were of high importance to relations between the two countries during war as also in the post-war period so as to call for utmost efforts by both Governments to avert danger of a lasting breach. (ii) Existing licensing laws in the Transvaal operated as an effective barrier against Indian occupation of trading sites and that in view of the first Broome Report and the subsequent statistics there was no justification for continuing the Interim Act. (iii) Suggested as a practical compromise that pending report of proposed Commission to examine housing and other civic needs of Indians, all intended transfer of land between Europeans and Asiatics should be subject to prior publication before confirmation and administrative arrangements should be made for the hearing of any objections by a joint committee or by an impartial judicial committee.

April 14.—Third protest handed over to Field Marshal Smuts. (Copy to Mr. Lawrence). Second reading of the Bill.

April 21.—High Commissioner telegraphed his own proposals for non-statutory solution, *viz.*, *status quo* regarding purchase of property but acceptance of principle of zoning in regard to actual occupation and appointment of a commission.

April 21.—Last suggestion made by the Govt. of India was that provision be made in Bill empowering Govenor-General to bring it into force when he thinks fit. In the meantime suggested machinery in our third representation be put into force. This was handed over to Secretary, External Affairs, on April 22, while second reading debate was on in the Senate.

April 21.—Second reading of Bill passed.

April 22.—High Commsr. informed that he could put forward his proposals.

April 25 —Union Govt's reply to the Government of India's third protest received They found alternative suggestions unacceptable and were convinced that no action short of that envisaged by the Bill would either produce breathing space or atmosphere necessary to enable a permanent solution of problems to be found. They also said that by the Capetown Agreement or by their decision not to proceed with legislation contemplated in 1926, Union Govt. did not in any way surrender their freedom to deal legislatively with Indian problems in future.

April 26 —Bill passed third reading.

April 27.—Press Communique issued by the Govt. of India expressing disappointment over Union Government's failure to adopt Govt. of India's suggestions and stating that the legislation was repugnant, unnecessary and inopportune.

The British Labour Party Conference

Discussion on Indian Policy

After a speech by Mr. *Reginald Sorensen*, Member of Parliament, urging Government to make another offer to India, or at least reopen negotiations, Mr. *Arthur Greenwood* at the British Labour Party Conference held on the 18th. June 1943, persuaded the backers of the two resolutions to withdraw them on a pledge that the Party Executive would immediately open new discussions on the Indian policy.

Mr. *Sorensen*, who is Secretary of the Indian League Parliamentary Committee, was moving the resolution on behalf of his own constituency Labour Party (Leyton) and three other divisional parties urging Government "to recognise the increasing urgency of a settlement with India and take the initiative in negotiating with the Indian national leaders on the basis of recognition of India's Independence and formation of a Provisional Government of Indian national unity under an Indian Prime Minister."

Mr. Sorensen said: "Although undoubtedly communal differences do exist in India, it is my conviction that the Cripps offer did not fail primarily through any communal differences. I would urge the Conference once more to press on Government to make another offer to India, or at least open negotiations with India. I express profound regret that Government has not enabled Congress leaders who, Mr. *Amery*, himself admitted were leaders of great and important parties to be in contact with non-Congress leaders like Mr. *Rajagopalachari* and Sir *Tej Bahadur Sapru*. 'Why cannot we allow these Indian patriots to be in contact with other Indians."

Describing the white paper as "tendentious and misleading" he referred to 60,000 Indians in prison.

Mr. *Sorensen* emphasised that the Labour Party's affirmation that the Indian people were entitled to self-determination and self-government did not mean necessarily that the British should determine what form of Government Indians should choose. "In the last resort, if independence and self-government mean anything at all, the decision as to the kind of Government that shall exist in India must be made by politically conscious India itself, even though that may mean severence from ourselves. I hope it will not. I hope India will freely co-operate with this country, with China and with other Eastern peoples. But it is her choice Although we may sometimes think, that Indians have chosen wrongly or acted unwisely, it is only their judgment. Just as we would not dream of laying down for other democratic peoples what particular form of democracy they must implement in their legislatures so we should recognise the same fact regarding India."

Delegates' Protests

Amid protests from a number of delegates against the Executive's suggestions owing to lack of time in the closing hours of the conference, there should be no further discussion, Mr. *Arthur Greenwood* suggested that the resolutions should be withdrawn on "my definite undertaking that we shall go to the Joint Committee in the near future to discuss the matter in the light of the Executive Committee's report." On this plea both the resolutions were thereupon withdrawn.

The second motion in the name of St. Pancras (London) and Kinsnorton (Birmingham) Divisional parties urged "immediate re-opening of negotiations with bodies truly representative of the major communities of the population of India" and declared. "A democratic solution of the Indian problem can be found in the formula of self-determination based on freedom from racial, religious, caste and class domination."

The Executive's report on India (which was among the section of general report passed by the conference on Friday night 'en bloc without discussion because of pressure of time) stated that the Joint Committee on India (consisting of the India Committee of the Parliamentary Labour Party and the International Sub-committee of the National Executive had continued their study of the constitutional Indian problem and of the rejection of the Cripps proposal. It quoted the declaration issued on August 12 last by the Party Executive and the Trades Union Congress General Council deprecating the civil disobedience movement and urging Government to make clear that on the abandonment of civil disobedience it would be ready to resume discussions with a view to safe-guarding and implementing the principles of Indian self-government.

The Educational Progress in India 1943

The Indian Science Congress

Thirtieth Session—Calcutta--2nd. January 1943

A demand by an upcountry young man for reading out the address of Mr. *Jawaharlal Nehru*, the President-elect, now in jail, marked the proceedings of the opening ceremony of the Thirtieth Session of the Indian Science Congress which commenced at Calcutta on the 2nd. January 1943 under the presidentship of Mr. *D. N. Wadia*, the out-going President.

After Dr. *B. C. Roy*, Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University and Chairman of the local Reception Committee, had concluded reading his welcome address, the young man (mentioned above) with a portrait of Mr Jawaharlal Nehru, went to the dais. Placing the portrait on the dais, he prayed that Mr. Nehru's presidential address, which, he believed, was in possession of some people there, should be read out at the meeting.

Told by Dr *S. K. Mitra*, General Secretary of the Congress, that they had tried their best to secure Mr. Nehru's address, but could not succeed, the young man proposed that a resolution condemning the action of the Government in this matter should be passed at the session.

He was, however, persuaded by Dr. *Roy* to allow the proceedings to go on. But as soon as Mr. Wadia concluded his Presidential Address, he again stood up and reiterated his demand for passing a resolution condemning the action of the Government.

Dr. Roy suggested to him that a resolution of that type should first be placed before and considered by the General Committee of the Congress which would meet on January 4, whereupon the young man followed by some other young men left the hall as a protest.

Dr. B. C. Roy's Speech

Dr. *Bidhan Chandra Roy*, Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University and Chairman of the local Reception Committee, inaugurating the Congress, said, "If it is the object of Science, as it originally was, to increase the comforts and security of man, then Science as originally conceived and developed cannot corrupt our morals. If Nature's gifts had been developed and perfected by man not for any higher purposes but to enable him to indulge in the blind orgy of destruction and devastation, the blame cannot be laid at the door of science or scientists. The sharp weapon, the knife of a surgeon was forged not to destroy the life of an individual but to save him from the ravage of a malignant affection, gun-powder was manufactured not to kill thousands of innocent lives but to provide a channel for drinking water to thirsty people on the other side of a hill, to provide a thoroughfare for the masses ; the investigations into the properties of phosphorus were directed not to incorporate it in the preparation of bombs, but to provide a suitable and ready material for getting light."

About 100 delegates from various parts of the country attended.

Mr. Wadia on Need for Planning

A plea for the adoption of a wise and justly planned international mineral policy framed by an International Directorate in order to preserve peace and goodwill among countries unequally endowed by nature with mineral wealth, was made by Mr. *D. H. Wadia*, Mineral Adviser to the Ceylon Government, in the course of his presidential address to the Congress, Mr. Wadia said :

"A distinguished citizen of India was to have presided at this meeting and no one here shares more keenly than I in the disappointment at his absence to-day. I seek your forbearance at my having to address you because of an existing rule which requires your President of the foregoing year to continue in Office until its assumption by his successor. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's contributions to Science in India have not been in the lime-light, but they have been a leavening influence in the organisation and working of the National Planning Committee which since 1939, is engaged in the great task of co-ordinating applied Science with productive industry in every field, industrial, educational, cultural and organisational. Ladies and Gentlemen, please believe me, I sympathise with you for having missed his rousing address."

Speaking about the importance of minerals in war, Mr. *Wadia* said that during the century and quarter between the Napoleonic Wars and the Hitlerian war, the consumption of minerals had been over a hundred-fold of that consumed during the entire history of man on earth, and so far as metals were concerned, man had used up between 1914 and today, between the two German wars, more metal than during any previous period of history. Stocks of tin, platinum, silver, gold, coal and mineral oils were getting depleted and so far no checks had been devised for this alarming depletion. "Metals and minerals are a radidly wasting asset of a country for which there is no renewal or replacement Agricultural and forest resources of a land can be rejuvenated by suitable measures and manures, but no fertiliser can revive one exhausted mine, for geological processes are exceedingly slow requiring hundreds of thousands of years to form a vein of metallic ore or a bed of coal" said Mr. Wadia.

METALLURGICAL INDUSTRY IN DEFENCE

"In the defence programme of a nation under the present day conditions of totalitarian warfare, the metallurgical industry and its ancillary mining of minerals yielding the ferrous and alloy metals, fluxes, refractories and accessory minerals are of essential importance. A significant feature of the distribution of these minerals is the concentration of their production and manufacture in a comparatively few countries in the world happily nearly three-fourths of these being centred in, or controlled by, the United Nations as against the Axis group. Of the total annual mineral production of the world in pre-war years as much as 85 per cent came from North America and Western Europe, of these U S. A , England and Germany and latterly Russia contributing over 75 per cent. This, however, does not mean that nature has endowed these countries to this unequal extent with valuable minerals : it is rather an index of the country's industrial and technical development and the energy of the people. Russia's three successive Five-Years Plans are an example of this Industrial progress of other parts of the world may materially change this condition. For instance, India's resources in iron-ore are of a magnitude quite out of proportion to the bare couple of million tons of pig iron per year it has only recently begun to produce. Ony in a few districts of Bihar and Eastern States Agency, the high-grade iron-ore reserves are calculated to be of the order of 4,000 million tons Large reserves of alluminium-ore are still only potential assets. When these untouched reserves enter production stage, the apparent inequalities will diminish and the countries bordering the North Asiatic basin will not occupy the dominating position in strategic minerals they do at present."

POST-WAR MINERAL DISTRIBUTION

Mr. Wadia observed that only the adoption of a wise and justly planned international mineral policy framed by an International Directorate could preserve peace and goodwill amongst countries unequally endowed by Nature with mineral wealth Unequal geographical distribution of minerals being an unalterable fact, planned international economy should devise means not only to eliminate this cause of inter-country friction but to increase the interdependence of nations on each other for their vital trades and industrial needs and so make minerals a rallying point for international co operation and goodwill The preliminary recommendations of the Conference on 'Mineral Resources and the Atlantic Character" convened by the British Association's Committee on Social and International Relations of Science last July, appear to be on the right lines, but they will not go far enough if their implications are meant to safeguard the interests of the British Empire only or even of the whole United Nations' group. These should embrace all the free countries and should call for sacrifice from all participating nations of part of their national and natural advantages for the ultimate benefit of all and the future security of the people of the world. The fourth article of the Atlantic Charter postulated access for all States on equal terms to the raw materials of the world. But if the Atlantic Charter did not unreservedly provide for all peace-loving nations of the earth, whatever oceans bound them, its fulfilment in partial degree would not achieve the goal of post-war mineral allocation, nor succeed in removing a focal infection point in the body politic of the world

INDIA'S GREAT RESOURCES

Mr. Wadia, proceeding, said : "The mineral outlook of the Indian region is on the whole satisfactory both for war and peace-time requirements. India's resources in minerals of strategic importance, minerals for munitions and defence armaments, base metals, alloys, fluxes, refractories and accessory minerals can be regarded as

adequate, in several but not all of them. India is deficient in tin, tungsten, lead, zinc, nickel, graphite and liquid fuels. But in the basic metals, iron, manganese, aluminium and chromium, the country is well supplied, in the case of the former three, in large excess. Our neighbour, Burma, has abundant stocks of the munition metals of which India is in deficit, while her oil resources must yet be regarded as considerable. Ceylon has reserves of the world's finest graphite, a mineral indispensable in metallurgy and of a magnitude sufficient to last a long period. Ancillary minerals such as asbestos, cements, fertilisers, clays, mica, sulphur, various salts, ores and other minerals of industrial utility are available in quantities sufficient for the country's needs, while some are in exportable surpluses. The experience of the last three years' war effort in the production in India of a wide range of munitions without any previous apprenticeship, is satisfactory proof of the country's adequacy in some respects, though still unequipped in a number of essentials, viz., specialised steels, machine tools, manufacture of aircraft, high explosives, automobile engines, big ship construction, etc., on a scale commensurate with her internal requirements."

SOCIAL OBLIGATIONS OF SCIENCE

Dealing with the position of science *vis-a-vis* the public, Mr. Wadia said that the awakening to the social obligations of science is of recent date and, even in Europe and America, this aspect of the cultivation of science was for long not realised and left to sporadic individual efforts. With this awakening, a two-fold problem faces science all over the world to-day—to press the newest discoveries and inventions of applied science into the service of agriculture, manufactories, hospitals, homes and schools and along-side with it to so control the impact of these on his private life that his mechanised work-a-day life may not be totally divested of all higher spiritual values. Our future national life and its material well-being largely depend on a wholesome balance being maintained between these two—the impulse to harness science to increase physical comforts of life and a restraining desire to preserve the old-world spiritual calm and simplicity of living. Happily for India, this balancing is somewhat of a natural hereditary trait and does not need much emphasis. India's late start in the application of science to industry also gives it an opportunity of planning along right lines. The significance of this problem has been realised by both our political leaders, as well as scientists, and some progress is made in this direction.

Here Mr. *Wadia* referred to the work of the National Planning Committee which through its 29 sub-committees had set out on formulating a programme covering many phases of the country's future life and activities, material, productive, educational, artistic. "Their work unfortunately is in a great measure suspended to-day, though some of the 29 sub-committees have furnished more or less complete, well-documented reports, while others have submitted interim fact-finding reports. Their conclusions, doubtless will be subjected to thorough revision and deliberation by the main body which comprises 200 of the leading industrialists, publicists and scientists of the country, before they are offered to the public, but a great deal of spade work is accomplished, a valuable mass of ascertained classified details collected and many blue-prints prepared. A planned reconstruction in a greater or less measure of India's commerce, industry, finance, land, labour, mining, transport, power-generation, technology alongside educational, cultural and social re-organisation is expected to emerge from the labours of this body."

PROPOSED ACADEMY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

Mr. *Wadia* then referred to the proposal before the Executive Committee of the Indian Science Congress for the institution of a national Academy of Social Sciences drawn up by the Sub-Committee on Science and Social Relations. "The proposed Academy," he said, "should be a body of high academic standing and professional knowledge, which can take up long range problems of social well-being of the people of India which the older Societies and Associations established along familiar but too general lines in some cases and rather over-specialised lines in others cannot deal with without suspicion of religious or political bias. Dr *K. Motwani*, the Secretary of the Sub-Committee, personally placed the scheme before *Pandit Nehru* last July and, in accordance with *Pandit Nehru's* wishes, the Executive Committee proposes to appoint a Committee of Experts to suggest ways and means of bringing this Academy of Social Sciences into being. The matter rests here. It is too early to outline the exact task to which the Academy will address itself. Its chief function will be to explore those avenues through which the contributions of science may be adapted to the life of the individual and

the nation without allowing any anti-social applications of science such as have made a shambles of so many countries ever raising their heads in our midst. Secondly, the Academy should emphasise an integrated, synthetic approach to every problem, pressing into service the contributions of various basic social sciences such as human geography, anthropology, psychology, economics, political science, philosophy and sociology The bringing into being of a National Academy so constituted may well become a crowning achievement of the Indian Science Congress."

Geology & Geography Section

The common statement that India was poor in mineral resources was refuted by Dr. *J. A. Dunn*, Superintending Geologist, Geological Survey of India, presiding at the Geology and Geography Section of the Indian Science Congress held on the 3rd. January 1943.

Dr. *Dunn* remarked that although not so rich in economic minerals as the U. S. A., this *country was by no means deficient "India is, indeed the world's* dominant source of at least two minerals, Mica and Ilmenite. It shares with Russia in being the world's main producer of Manganese, and is possessed of perhaps the world's largest reserves of high grade iron-ore In addition there are adequate resources available of many other minerals." No country was completely self-sufficient in mineral raw materials : India's shortcomings comprised particularly tin, nickel, and molybdenum.

The speaker outlined the distribution of minerals in India and drew attention to the concentration of wealth in Bihar, which in normal times produced about 40 per cent of India's total mineral output. He urged that the provincial distribution of minerals should receive profound study whenever partitioning was under consideration. The greatest expansion, according to him, was likely to be in the further treatment and utilisation of their mineral resources within the country. At least, four of their minerals—Mica, Manganese-ore, Ilmenite, and Monazite—were of great importance to the world's industries, but to date almost their entire production had been exported in the unmanufactured state. Dr. *Dunn* emphasised that these minerals must continue to be exported, but it was eminently desirable that much of the manufacturing processes through which they eventually passed, should be completed in India before export.

Dr. *Dunn* pointed out that as India expanded industrially her minerals would find an ever widening application. In this connection, he stressed the need of a Minerals Research Bureau to undertake investigations into all aspects of the mineral industry.

Concluding the speaker remarked that if this country was to take its place amongst the nations of the world, it would be necessary to conform to whatever general scheme of international mineral policy might emerge in the post-war settlement.

Mathematics & Statistics Section

Certain developments in Mathematics in the last thirty years were referred to by *Dr. S. C. Dhar, Head of the Department of Mathematics, College of Science* Nagpur University, in his presidential address at the Mathematics and Statistics section of the Indian Science Congress on the 3rd. January.

The role that mathematics had played in the last 150 years, said Dr. *Dhar*, was firstly to suggest various methods to tackle problems that presented themselves for solution. On the one hand, the development of the physical sciences presented various problems for the mathematicians' ingenuity, while, on the other hand, they themselves forged methods in the shape of new branches of mathematics which the physicists took advantage of in unravelling the mysteries of Nature.

Describing the situation, Dr. *Dhar* said : "The mathematicians play a game in which they themselves invent rules, while the physicists play a game in which the rules are provided by Nature, But as time goes on, it becomes increasingly evident, that the rules the mathematicians find are the same as those which Nature has chosen."

Referring to the reaction which the new technique had on Pure Mathematics, the speaker said that it gave a stimulus to investigation which also enriched Pure Mathematics. He discussed in detail the controversies that were raised by Fourier's Analysis, which was developed for solving the problems of the conduction of heat in an isotronic solid, as also the method which Heaviside introduced in the resolution of transient electrical problems. This method met with utmost opposition from pure mathematicians, especially of the Cambridge School, who

refused to recognise it as a legitimate method in the solution of differential equation of mathematical physics. Dr. *Dhar* expressed the opinion that Heaviside's Operational Methods represented a distinct and epoch-making advance.

Nehru to continue as President

Mr. *Jawaharlal Nehru* will continue as President-elect of the next session of the Indian Science Congress. This announcement was made at the meeting of the General Committee of the Indian Science Congress Association held on the 4th. January 1943.

If the Executive Committee of the Association does not receive any information by 1st July, 1943, regarding the services of Pandit *Jawaharlal* being available, Professor *S. N. Bose*, Head of the Department of Physics, University of Dacca, will be appointed President of the 31st session.

The General Committee of the Association also adopted a resolution moved from the chair, recording the deep sense of disappointment of the Committee at the enforced absence of Mr. *Nehru*, who had been elected to preside over the 30th session of the Science Congress and regretting that it had not been possible to secure his presidential address for the occasion.

The next session of the Science Congress will be held at Trivandrum under the auspices of the University of Travancore.

Botany Section

Presiding over the Botany section on the 4th. January, Dr. *K. Biswas*, Superintendent of the Royal Botanical Garden, Calcutta, said that it was time that there was more intensive work in Systematic Botany in India. Apart form the little floristic investigation done in some parts of India, there still existed vast unexplored and insufficiently explored regions. Provinces which had already been explored, also needed further detailed investigation with regard to herbaceous and shrubby vegetation which had failed to receive due attention He suggested that the Botanic Survey of India should be revived from its moribund condition and that the vast vegetable resources of the country should be properly worked out for the benefit of the country. There was undoubtedly a bright future for the Systematists and Taxonomists of India.

Archaeology Section

The session of the Anthropology and Archaeology section was presided over by Dr. *Chakravarti*. In his address, Dr *Chakravarti* gave an outline of the excavations at Ramnagar, the site of the ancient Ahichchhatra, and of the exploration tour arranged by the Archaeological Department in the Sabarmati Valley and of another conducted by Sir *Aurel Stein* along the dry bed of the Ghaggar.

Dr *Chakravarti* also stressed the value of epigraphy in the study of Anthropology and traced the evolution of writing from the earliest times.

Agricultural Section

Rao Bahadur *Y. Ramachandra Rao*, in his presidential address to the Agricultural & Entomology Section, stressed the need for planning on an All-India basis in certain aspects of Agricultural Entomology. Entomological workers employed in the different provinces of India would be quite capable of studying and controlling such pests as had a local origin within their jurisdiction ; but, he pointed out, they would be very much handicapped if they were called upon to deal with pests that invaded their province from outside. Locusts, for instance, and certain equally destructive moths had the habit of migrating long distances. Evidently, in the case of such insects, a central agency with powers of jurisdiction over more than one province was needed to study their movements and warn provinces liable to attack. There were other pests like the Deccan Grasshopper which, though not migratory like locusts, were capable of periodically spreading in a destructive form over large areas in several contiguous provinces and should also be studied with a wide perspective.

The Political Science Congress

Fifth Session—Agra—2nd January 1943

Presidential Address

"We are meeting at a most critical juncture in the history of this country—when, on the one hand, there is strill going on a movement for the establishment immediately of Indian Independence, and on the other, there is a fixed determination to partition the country and establish separate and independent Muslim States, both in the West and the East. It is true that the fear of attack on the country is very much less than a few months ago and the war situation has definitely taken a turn for the better—but who can say how long this inhuman butchery shall continue or what tremendous sacrifices it shall still entail? Already the cost of living has risen very high—in many parts of the country, even articles of necessity cannot be obtained or obtained with great difficulty and at prohibitive prices, thus inflicting terrible hardships particularly on the poorer classes and persons with small, fixed incomes. At such a juncture what is the duty of the Indian Political Science Association and its President? With due humility I express the hope that it may be given to this fifth Conference of the Association to make a constructive contribution towards the solution of the Indian constitutional problem and towards the ending of the present political impasse," said *Gurumukh Nihal Singh*, in the course of his Presidential address to the fifth session of the Political Science Congress, held at Agra on the 2nd. January 1943.

After describing the growth of communalism in India, the speaker continued.

"I regard the conclusion of the Lucknow Pact of 1916 as an important turning point in the history of the Indian National movement. The magnitude of the blunder committed has never been realised and its praises have been sung on account of the results achieved during the next few years.

"The Indian National movement started with certain initial disadvantages which it was not able to overcome when this great danger overtook it. The fact that the Muslims sulked and did not take advantage of English education till the seventies of the last century was responsible for the leadership of the nationalist movement falling into Hindu hands and the separatist action of *Sir Syed Ahmed* completed the process of throwing the Congress into the hands of Hindu nationalists—some of whom were orthodox Hindus and the mainspring of whose action came from Hindu revivalism. The result was that the nationalist movement could not evolve a common source of inspiration of a common national language or a ritual, anthem and symbols which could make an equal appeal to all sections of the people. Again, for the sake of outward unity social reform was eschewed. The Indian nationalist talked of liberty, equality, brotherhood and love for his Motherland but did not acquire a liberal outlook in social matters or a secular or territorial conception of law and politics. Inter-marriages, inter dining, discarding of untouchability, giving up conceptions of personal, local and communal law which would have created the proper atmosphere for the growth of a truly nationalistic sentiment and made the fusion of communities possible, were not made part and parcel of a nationalist programme.

BALKANISATION OF INDIA

On the other hand to keep up outward unity on the political platform exclusionism and communal loyalties were respected and protected. The inevitable result was the stereotyping and perpetuation of divisions in Indian society which the clever British bureaucracy utilised for imperial purposes. In 1919, in spite of a whole-hearted and a through condemnation of communal electorates by the joint authors of the reforms and their determination not to allow them except to the Muslims, where they were in a minority, and to the Sikhs in the Punjab, they were extended to the Muslims everywhere, Sikhs, Indian Christians, Europeans, Anglo-Indians and reservation of seats in plural-member constituencies to the non-Brahmins and the Mahrattas. Provision was made for the representation of the depressed classes and labour by nomination and also for the special representation of landlords and other interests. The process of balkanising India was pushed still further by the Communal Award of 1932, embodied in the Reforms of 1935

The elections of 1936 showed the strong hold the Indian National Congress had on the general public mind and it made Mr. *Jinnah* and other leaders of the Mussalmans realise that unless they reorganised and closed up their ranks and came under the banner of one political body and chalked out a programme that would make an appeal, not only to the educated few—aspirants after seats, jobs and ministerships—but also to the Muslim masses to whom franchise had been

extended recently, the chief purpose of separate electorates may be defeated and the Congress may succeed in winning over the Muslim masses through its economic programme and the policy of Muslim mass contacts In my opinion it was this fear that was largely responsible for the enunciation and the working out of the two nations' theory.

Origin of Two Nations Theory

What are the causes for this change of attitude on the part of Mr. *Jinnah* and the All-India Muslim League?

The first cause is, as I have stated above, the need for an effective popular slogan, to rally the Muslim masses, which became an urgent necessity with the extension of the franchise and starting of the "Muslim Mass Contacts" programme by the Indian National Congress under the leadership of Pandit *Jawaharlal Nehru.*

The second and more important reason was the failure on the part of the Muslim League to capture power in any of the four Provinces in which Muslims have a majority.

Thirdly, the decision of the Congress to accept office in the Provinces where it had a majority deprived the Muslims in those provinces of the temporary advantages they had gained by the formation of interim ministries, in which the Muslims occupied a most important position—as a matter of fact most of the Interim Premiers were Muslims.

The fourth and perhaps the most decisive factor was the failure of the Congress-League negotiations for the formation of coalition ministries in the Congress-majority provinces, particularly because coalition ministries were functioning in the Muslim majority provinces.

At the psychological moment when the Muslim League was acutely feeling the denial of a share in power by the Congress took place certain events in Europe which decided for the League its course of action. I refer here to the Sudeten movement in Czechoslovakia which led to the separation of Sudetenland and its incorporation in German Reich in October 1938.

The Pakistan solution has made an irresistible appeal to the Pan-Islamic feelings of the Indian Mussalmans who believe that the establishment of Pakistan would bring their dream of a Muslim Confederacy—of the Islamic countries in the near East within the range of practical politics and very near.

The stand taken by the Muslim League called forth in its turn vigorous opposition from the Hindus and the Nationalist elements in the country, including the Nationalist Muslims. For the last four years a battle royal has been raging in the country over the Pakistan issue.

"League is Sure of British Support"

The position has been made still more uncertain by the Calcutta speech of the Viceroy of 17th December, 1942, emphasising need for unity and for a strong central government in the country. It is also believed by some careful students of public and international affairs in India that considerations of foreign policy will ultimately prevent the British Government from according its approval and support to the League proposal for partition. I, however, feel that the League is sure of the support of the British Government in which Mr. *Churchill* is the Prime Minister and Mr. *Amery*, Secretary of State for India and which has already announced its adherence in the Cripps Proposals.

What then are the prospects for India in the near future? I am afraid, I cannot point before you a rosy picture. There are plenty of troubles and struggles ahead. In my opinion the future of India will depend upon how the problem of minorities is handled in Hindustan and as to what efforts are made to bring about a real fusion of the peoples into a single whole. A good beginning might be made with composite cabinets and by guaranteeing complete religious freedom and protection to the language and culture of minorities but a determined effort must be made to cultivate a purely secular outlook in public affairs and to discard untouchability of all kinds and to abandon personal, local and communal conceptions of law and politics and thus create in course of time denational, socialist States in the country. When that is accomplished the separated States shall return and form a Union of the Indian Socialist Republics.

That may appear to day a most unreal dream but if Socialist Russia emerges victorious from this titanic struggle and if the socialist order spreads in other parts of the world after the war and if an Indian Lenin or Stalin arises in our midst, the dream may materialise at a not too distant future.

A. I. Muslim Educational Conference

52nd. Session—Aligarh—13th. February 1943

Presidential Address

Nawab Zahir Yar Jung Bahadur, an Amir of Paigah, Hyderabad State presided over the 52nd All-India Muslim Educational Conference held at Aligarh on the 13th. February 1943 In the course of a lengthy speech he paid a tribute to the rulers of Hyderabad of the Asaf Jha House who had always extended their patronage to education and the nobility of the State who considered it their sacred duty to serve the cause of education in the State and India. Indian Muslims and the Aligarh College, he said, owed a debt of gratitude to Nawab Salar Jung Bahadur I and to Sir Syed.

About 10,000 delegates and visitors were present.

Those present included Sir *Sultan Ahmed*, Sir *Jogendra Singh*, Nawab Sir *Mahomed Yusuf*, Nawab Bahadur Yar Jung, Mr *Ahmed E. H. Joffer*, Mr. *Abdul Azeez*, Law Member, Hyderabad, Khan Bahadur *Juffer Ali*, Minister of Education, Kashmir, *Mahomed Yunus*, Patna.

Khan Bahadur Moulvi *Mohamed Obaidul Rahaman Sherwani*, Chairman of the Reception Committee welcomed the delegates after which Nawab Zahir Yar Jung delivered the presidential address.

After tracing the educational progress of Muslims since '75 *Nawab Zahir Yar Jung Bahadur* observed that conditions had altered considerably during the last half a century. Muslims had now no apathy towards English education. They had established schools, colleges and a University for themselves, and a stream of Muslim young men flowed out of these institutions fully equipped to fight the battles of life.

The system of education in India, the speaker said, was criticised by experts as unsuited to the present day needs, but no one had offered a constructive suggestion for its improvement. The Wardha scheme did not receive official support. No programme of education could be regarded as successful unless it embodied in it the spirit of accommodation, tolerance and universal fellowship. Modern education did not lay the foundation for this spirit. Indian Universities failed to keep pace with the march of times. They only succeeded in propagating the disease of unemployment instead of aiming at universal literacy. Government established Universities for producing candidates for Government service. The Universities provided no facilities for research work and there were no arrangements for getting promising students trained outside India. High school education was equally defective for it merely prepared candidates for colleges. In Hyderabad State this defect was sought to be remedied by reorganising the high school education so that students might enter life and eke out a livelihood. Elementary education did not meet the requirements of the village. Primary education without rural bias estranged the village boy from his surroundings.

Education of girls, the President urged, should be reformed What was the advantage of giving our girls education according to the Cambridge syllabus and making them unfit for the important duties of womanhood? he asked. It was gratifying, he added, that the Zenana College of the Muslim University had provided for a course of studies in Domestic science. Education divorced from the needs of the country such as agriculture, industry and trade was useless. Indian industries, which found a world market centuries ago, had been declining during the last century and a half. The present industries were for war purposes. Higher education had failed to promote even ordinary industries in India. It had not produced technical experts. "Let us, therefore, prepare ourselves for the future by revolutionising the Indian educational system, according to the needs of India. India after the war, would be brought closer to the rest of the world and therefore, a study of world languages should be encouraged so that our men might be able to exchange ideas and understand one another better. We Muslims, have enough of educational institutions. We should now, without increasing that number, remodel the educational system so as to include agriculture, industry and commerce. Our economic well-being is intimately bound up with our educational progress."

Women's Education

Begum *Zahir Yar Jung*, presiding over the Women's Section of the Conference observed that no community or country could progress without educating its womenfolk. She advocated a system of education which would satisfy the needs of

women. When there was acute unemployment of educated men, women should not intensify the situation by getting the same type of education. Women should be trained as teachers and doctors, nurses and dhais. There was a crying need for them. Due to dearth of such women, the rate of mortality among women, particularly during child-birth, was appalling. Women should be trained in cottage industries, needlework and other arts and live a healthy life. The mode of life of Indian women was going to be changed after this war and let us prepare our daughters to meet the new demand. "Do not adorn your daughters with golden ornaments but with the ornament of education. No cart could be propelled with a single wheel. Both the wheels must be geared up and kept in order."

MR. HAROON JAFFAR ON SOCIAL REFORM

"At this stage of life, when the whole world is suffering there must be no attempt to compromise with evil and let us start fighting it first in our own community," said Mr. *Ahmed Ebrahim Haroon Jaffer* of Poona, in his presidential address to the Economic and Social Reform Section of the All India Muslim Education Conference.

Mr. Ahmed Jaffar said: "Let us chalk out a well-planned programme of social and economic welfare and work it up with a stubbornness unknown in the past. Let us remember that a community without the necessary share of material wealth and property in a country stands no chance of survival in the struggle for existence."

Mr. Ahmed Jaffar struck a note of warning "that the aspirations of Pakistan will bear no fruit unless they are backed up by a programme of economic independence and efficiency in all aspects of life. So let us beg no concessions to live, but prove ourselves fit to live and vigorously live. Let us multiply Aligarh university types as regional centres of renaissance and produce an army of social workers who should make it as an ideal of their life to serve the community in all aspects. Let us avail ourselves of the existing facilities of industrial and commercial expansion, and tap all the resources at our command to regain respect in the society of nations."

The Nagpur University Convocation

Mr. Nalini Ranjan Sarker's Address

The following is the text of the Address delivered Mr. *Nalini Ranjan Sarker* at the Nagpur University Convocation held on the **8th. January, 1943.**

I thank you Mr. Vice-Chancellor, for the great honour you have conferred on me in inviting me to deliver the Convocation Address of the Nagpur University this year. It is an honour which I greatly value. And in proportion to the value I set on it, I feel the difficulty of doing justice to the function you have thought fit to allot to me. Strangely enough, the task of addressing new graduates of our Universities has of late devolved on me with embarrassing frequency. The more I attempt the task' the more I realise the intrinsic difficulties of speaking to the youth of the country as it leaves the comparative seclusion of the class-room and the lecture-hall to face the fierce climates of the real world. The idea behind this ancient institution of a convocation address is that it should mentally prepare the youth for this transition, so that the task should fall upon those who are most qualified for the purpose. When you chose me for this difficult task, Mr. Vice-Chancellor, I take it, Sir, that you credited me with a greater knowledge of the open air than of the hot-house where you cultured and nurtured these tender plants and flowers which will before long adorn our country and sweeten its atmosphere.

If the proof of the pudding lies in the eating, the test of education lies in the success attained by the products of Universities in the open air struggle for life. But too great a deference to the requirements of this struggle is apt not only to militate against the quality of education but also to hold up the progress of human societies towards higher levels of material and moral well-being. While, therefore, University teachers are in general aware of this acid test of the soundness of their work, they rightly refuse to allow themselves to be unduly influenced by considerations of the work-a-day world and go on fashioning the youth of the country in

accordance with the ideals they have in mind When the examinations are over and the scholars have made adequate display of their attainments, when the time comes for them to flock in hundreds before the Chancellor and the Fellows to take with proud hands the tokens of their achievements, their sense of gratification is likely to be tempered by a vague realisation of what the future holds in store for them. The change from conditioned air to unconditioned, the cold draught that the mind experiences when it first be ins to give thought to the question of employment the first onset of doubt whether the idealism of youth will survive the tussle with realities, in other words the contrast between the ideal and the real—therein lies the essence of the crisis that intervenes in the lives of the young as they pass from school and college into real life.

My task at this moment as I understand it, is to throw a little light on the nature of this crisis so that as you proceed from College to real life you may approach it with some appreciation of the problems you have to face. Youth is naturally inclined by its inner promptings to high idealism and there can be no greater ideal. More is not given to any one generation than to envisage the social good with courage, faith and wisdom and to help in the realisation of such good. Viewed in this light, the present generation has the greatest opportunity before it for it faces the most arduous tasks that any other generation in men's long history had ever to face. In addressing a batch of young men and women sallying fourth into the wide field of life it is very tempting for a man of my age to dwell on the virtues that should sustain them in the struggle that lies ahead. I realise, however, that the youth of to-day is no longer satisfied with mere advice or pious wishes That is as it should be I, too, confess to a feeling of the inadequacy of the sermons which were once considered good recipes for all the ills of life. At any rate, I feel certain that no one can claim, much less exercise, the right to indulge in sermonising, political or moral. The world we are handing over to the young is in a bad mess, rent asunder by disruptive forces and made sickening to sensitive minds by the colossal waste resulting from a world war But the young are in it and the question that confronts them is what they are going to make of it in the future.

If you, my young friends, will give a moment's thought to the problems that will assail you as you step out of this hall in academic robes with diplomas in hand, you will realise that these problems form, in a sense, a hierarchy of values and at the same time involve a wide range of tasks of varying urgency with which your cultured minds with their warm human interest will have to deal, though always starting even like charity, with your own personal selves. As you step into a bleak competitive, almost inhospitable world the most immediate problem you face is that of personal survival. To put it bluntly, at the start you will have to look for a job that will enable you to keep the wolf at bay, even if not far from your door Refine it, you call it a career. Import an element of idealism into it, it is an avenue of social and national service And from love of social service, it is only a step to the love of one's own country and an yearning to contribute to the nation's prosperity and security As our horizon expands, we find that the nation does not live in a vacuum. There are other nations besides ourselves and our political and economic relations with them bear directly on our daily lives. If you remember that the problem of providing satisfactory jobs or opportunities to all can be solved only when we are masters of our own household, and again that the freedom of our country, once it is won, will be bound up with a stable international or world order, you will realise that all these values are more or less equally endangered in this world crisis which, fortunately or unfortunately, coincides with this juncture in your own personal lives.

The problem of adjustment which confronts us to-day is to formulate the terms of adequate relationship between this trilogy : Man, Nation and World-Society. In our own youthful days, we too had our own battles to fight. They were hard and bitter battles no doubt ; but Society as a whole then moved in placid flow and we were free to engage in our private battles, undistracted by wider issues. But to-day in national and international spheres, in social, economic and political fields, new relationships are emerging. If you attempt to view the issues in compartmentalised isolation, you will fail to measure up the new forces that are heading upon the world and as a consequence fail to adjust yourselves to this complex and dynamic environment. This holds good both for the individual and the nation The individual has to take into account the setting of the community, the community that of the country and the country that of the world. Out of the common sense of the world submerged as it is by the anxieties and pre-occupations

of the war, there has arisen to-day into prominence a world which crystallises at once the immediate and the distant ideals of men, as an individual, as a national and as a member of a world order. Turn wherever you will, the world, you hear most, is security. It is natural that the tremendous insecurity of our times, the insecurity of individual life, of national survival, nay of civilisation itself, should focus human thought on security, the security of employment for earning one's livelihood, the security of national integrity, the security of world peace; in fact, the security which, unlike mere stability, can form the basis of progress, individual, national and international We must take a look round the world and proceed from the wider spheres of world economics and politics to that of our own national and individual problems. It is most remarkable that to-day the great powers talk more of post-war international reconstruction than of post-war international settlement in the old political sense of indemnities and political boundaries. Economic and social questions are in the forefront of war and peace aims. They realise that no political institution or machinery can work miracles without stable economic and social foundations, which will bring security to the great masses of people. President *Roosevelt's* list of the "four freedoms" or the Beveridge scheme of social security only dramatises this new orientation of thought.

The most acute forms in which socio-economic maladjustment reveals itself to-day are unemployment and poverty. Both these problems will have to be successfully tackled. The West now admits that a state of society in which vast quantities of food grains are destroyed while large sections of the population starve, must stand self-condemned. That the blight of unemployment should no longer be allowed to undermine social life is now generally recognised. Miss *Frances Perkins*, Secretary of Labour in the U. S. A. tersely put the problem of unemployment before the International Labour Conference in New York in the following words, "Every country at war now knows that unemployment is man-made and can be unmade by man. Faced by the necessity of mobilising all of our resources for purposes of destruction we have realised that man-power is among the scarcest of all resources. Man-made unemployment ought not to exist and need not exist in the post-war world."

The realisation that unemployment - can be eliminated is by no means enough. Ways and means have to be devised by which this objective can be achieved. And this is a very difficult problem. War-time demonstration of the effectiveness of governmental action in mobilising economic resources for a specific purpose may have strengthened the case for its continuance in peace in order to solve the immediate problems of readjustment to which the post-war transition to a peace economy is bound to give rise, as also the long-term problems of maintaining a high level of economic activity so as to ensure a progressive improvement in the standard of living. But believers in individualist economy, while they agree that Government should in War-time assume wide powers of control over industry, and increasingly concern itself with its operations are nevertheless against the perpetuation of such control as a permanent principle of our economic system.

In the field of international political relationship, too, we see the same clash going on between the new ideas which are emerging out of the sheer forces of events and conservative reaction which is still fighting back. The lessons of a quarter century of the experiment of the League of Nations are that no stable international society and consequently no ordered, social progress, would be possible without a steady erosion of some of the sovereign rights of nations. This does not mean that the "nation" idea should be completely eliminated. "Nation" does indeed perform a necessary function in that it breaks up the unwieldiness of world problems and assures each community that for its own interests, it will not have to look up to a distant and hazy world-authority. But no international peace is possible unless the "right" of nation-states are seen against the back ground of correlated obligations. Unless national interests harmonise and merge into a higher collective interest, there can be no peace or security. This idea does not seem to find favour with the London Chamber of Commerce. In its Report on the *General Principles of a Post-war Economy* it has clearly stated that it cannot support "any scheme which in the economic sphere, relies upon some supra-national authority (which in practice must mean the most powerful nation or nations) to dictate to the weaker nations what their internal economic policy shall be." The Chamber believes, on the contrary, that "the largest measures of co-operation between nations will be realised when fear of financial and economic domination from outside is removed, and each nation is left entirely free to co-operate or not according to its own wishes, the extent of that co-operation also

being within its control. The Chamber, however, offers no practical guidance as to how this co-operation can be assured and the resulting economic conflicts avoided, if each nation continues to act according to its own will.

Indeed, at this stage of the war, nobody can possibly be in a position to say how this co-operation is to be brought about. Surely there is a great danger that the so-called co-operation may in practice mean autonomy for the greater powers while involving coercion of varying degrees for the lesser ones. It follows from this that nations like India cannot solve the post-war problem either of themselves or of the world at large unless they acquire the capacity to resist coercion when it is attempted by others and to offer effective co-operation where it is genuinely solicited. Up till now Asia with the exception of Japan has played but a subordinate role in world problems. But it is as likely as it is desirable that the centre of gravity will gradually shift from the West to the East. We have grown so accustomed to Europe's dominance over the world that we may often be inclined to assume this as part of a natural order of things. Yet, if seen in the true historical perspective, this has probably been only a transitory phase the basis of which has been steadily undermined since the close of the last century. For more than a century Asia has been the unhappy hunting-ground of European imperialism, but lately she has been in a state of active ferment. Within a few decades, Japan was transformed from a feudal into an industrial country and she speedily acquired for herself the status of a Great Power. China, which was considered less than ten years ago as incapable of organising an orderly Government, has by five years of dauntless, if unequal, struggle for freedom, greatly improved her political status. Again, under our very eyes we have seen the astonishing experiment which has turned a backward, semi-oriental country like the Soviet Union into a first-class world power. India, too, has been pulsating with new ideas and waking up to the political issues, intensely conscious of her vast potentialities.

The contribution that Asia can make to any future world equilibrium is receiving increasing emphasis. In an interesting volume entitled *Problems of 1960* Mr. *Colin Clark* observes that it is evident that "the whole equilibrium depends on the economic development of the Asiatic countries, particularly India and China, and their emergence as consumers of foodstuffs and importers of capital." Mr. *Clark* is of the opinion that the Asiatic countries should be large importers of capital for undertaking their industrial development, and that this capital outflow will materially contribute towards the maintenance of equilibrium in Europe and America. Mr. *Clark* also realises that in order to allay the suspicion of a domination by big European and financial interests to which this influx of foreign capital into Asiatic countries may give rise, it is necessary that, Europe and America should concede to the Asiatic people the same political and economic rights which they claim for themselves, so that Asiatic nations may be left free to choose their own form of Government and mould their own social and economic life. This last point is very important : these Asiatic countries could offer their co-operation and make any real contribution only as equals. A good measure of equality in the political and economic spheres is really a condition precedent of the desired co-operation of Asia by which it is hoped to maintain equilibrium in the world.

I, for one, feel that in the peace settlement and reconstruction which will follow the cessation of the war, it would be practically impossible for Europe and America to withhold such rights from dependent Asiatic countries. This is not a pious hope, but a conviction based on the logic of circumstances as they are moving to-day. There is a significant difference between World War I and World War II, so far as the Asiatic dependencies are concerned, which must make a vital difference to the fate of these countries after this War as compared with the results of the last War. The geographical focus of the last War was in Western Europe and in the Atlantic. In World War II, on the other hand, the focus of action in Western Europe and the Atlantic and the Mediterranean does not dominate the War as a whole. Far from it. It is no doubt true that in the last War there was fighting in some of the colonies or dependencies ; but neither the course nor the outcome of World War I was determined by the colonial factor and even after the war, the world remained a world in which hundreds of millions of people continued to be collectively owned by the peoples of a few privileged countries. In the present war the Colonies or at any rate the so-called backward countries like Russia and China, which the "Superior" Western countries have so far been accustomed to look down upon or patronize, are not only fighting for democracy but they have with conspicuous success resisted carefully planned aggression directed by the most centralised governments, controlling the most highly mobilized

industrial system, in Europe and Asia respectively. In fact, two countries which the West had never accepted as democracies are now half of the Big Four of the democratic Cause and, in actual fighting, the decisive half. Nor can the intelligence and efficiency of the Chinese and the Russians be any longer questioned after the astonishing display they have given of their ability in fighting aggression. The implications of all this after the war are sure to be far-reaching and compelling for the "advanced" countries. Consider, again, the possibilities in respect of India. The enormous contributions that India is making in men and in material for the defence of the Near East, Egypt and of the soil of India must make a tremendous difference. Victory, in such a situation, would raise at once questions that cut to the heart of a war against aggression, a people's war. The question of India's freedom will have an irresistible moral force behind it. For nothing could be more anomalous than to suggest that a country like India would be fighting for no better cause than to avert the danger of a threatened submission to a newly born imperialism simply to remain in her present bondage. The democratic countries, professing to fight for the upholding and maintenance of democracy, can no longer justify the continuance of collective ownership of one people by another which would be a complete negation of democracy itself. The colonising countries would find themselves confronted with the same situation in which America found herself at the time of the American Civil War, namely, that a country could not remain half slave and half free. The question which for the society of Abraham Lincoln's America was one of individual slaves and individual slave-owners is to-day, for the society of the world, a question of the collective ownership and the collective bondage of the colonial order. India and China between them contain a population of nearly 850 million and if to this were added the populations of Burma, British Malaya, Thailand, French-Indo-China and other Asiatic dependencies, the total would be approximately one billion people, which is nearly half the total population of the world. These are the peoples who, although involved in a war "for the preservation of democracy", do not enjoy any democracy, or, at any rate, none of them, China not excepted, have full unimpaired sovereignty. Liberation from an undemocratic and anti-democratic Japan would mean little to these countries if the old and obsolete colonial system of ownership of men by men were to continue. But the circumstances, as I have tried to indicate, would be far too compelling for the Western democracies to retain these dependencies after the war and to look upon and treat one half of the world's population, as no more than valuable chattels recovered from the enemy.

The increasingly important role which India along with other Asiatic countries will play in the post-war reconstruction should make us conscious of the heavy responsibilities that we shall have to shoulder. We in India, stand on the threshold of great changes. Politically we are fast approaching a self-governing stage. I do not think the political goal we all have been striving for can be denied to us after the war. This means that in future refashioning of the world, we shall have to make our own contribution. At the same time we shall also have to bend our energies to an all-round development and rehabilitation of this great land of ours. India is a land of many paradoxes. The most tragic of them is that a land so richly endowed with natural resources should be stricken with such appalling poverty. A reconstruction of our socio-economic structure is urgently called for in harmony with the trend of developments in the rest of the world. In the economic sphere, we must work towards a more rational balance between our agriculture and industry. Agriculture will have to be placed on a scientific basis, and the industrial progress will have to be greatly accelerated so that we may ensure for our people a life free from want and fear and secure the necessary material basis for an adequate cultural life. As long as war cannot be ruled out, a highly developed industrial organisation is indispensable also to ensure national safety. Industrialisation is but a part of the more comprehensive task of re-vitalising our socio-economic structure. Side by side there must be a reorientation of our educational system so that we may be provided with that quality of personnel which alone can sustain this re-vitalised system. Whatever may be the actual form this work of reconstruction takes, there can be little doubt that it will be inspired by some of the new ideas in the economic sphere that are slowly but surely gaining ground. And the fundamental idea should be to gear our economic machine to the economics of plenty and the economics of leisure. The economics of plenty and of leisure can, however, be built only on the basis of well-thoughtout planning. Our objective should be to secure planned abundance.

Wise economic planning requires an atmosphere of political co-operation as

between the different nations. If our object is to secure work, food, leisure and the minimum of reasonable comforts of body and mind for every body, we must work for what is called welfare economics. Even before the war, people had become familiar with the idea of the economics of plenty. The great depression had robbed the old economics of scarcity of all its deceptive *rationale*. But thanks to the war-time experiments in economic organisation, the economics of plenty has now been shorn of its former Utopianism. If everybody can have a job in war even to the point of over-work and scarcity of labour why should it be otherwise in peace? That is the question that agitates every mind. It is now recognised that all that we now need to end poverty in the midst of plenty is organisation, planning and the energetic pursuit of well-defined task in an atmosphere of social goodwill and good understanding among all classes. Goodwill comes only of a clear understanding and acceptance of the ideal of social justice and of its practical deductions.

And here it is that, in this age of large-scale political and economic organisation, we stand in urgent need of re-defining some of our old concepts, *e. g.* the concept of liberty as the corner stone of our democratic faith. We cannot define liberty without reference to the positive conditions that nourish it. The negative concept of liberty as "*laissez-faire*" or "let me alone" is replaced by the positive concept of "give me a chance", a chance to all for self expression. The fact is that economic developments which could not possibly have been anticipated when our political forms took shape, have created confusion and uncertainty in the working of the agencies of popular government and thus have subjected democratic institutions to a basic strain. The most serious danger facing society to-day is that individualism, masquerading in the guise of the "rights of man", "liberty" etc., may be carried to a point fatal to social cohesion and to economic progress. We need to-day a new individual—an individual not in the pattern of the nineteenth century but an individual integral with the underlying social trends of a planned industrial civilisation

Our youngmen must thus shed false ideas and expectations. The social and economic order is so shaking under the influence of the growing political consciousness of the common mess of people that we would do well to anticipate in the future a considerable narrowing of the disparities in respect of opportunities and incomes. This will no doubt be a welcome development. But as a necessary corollary of this development, the opportunities for amassing huge wealth not to speak of amassing it quickly, will become fewer The material aspirations of our youngmen, however talented, should be somewhat tempered by the accepted standards in our country as also by the needs of a more planned economic development Great disparities of wealth would disappear as indeed they should. That will be the case as much for the great industrial and financial nations like Great Britain and the United States, as for poor undeveloped countries like China and India, though for different reasons. In the case of the former the heavy weight of war debts and the changes which the war is bringing about in their capital equipment together with the upsurge of democratic sentiment in their economic sphere will compel the state to direct its policies to the collective good of all rather than to the well-being of a particular class. Countries like India and China, however, have reached a position in which progress would be possible only if efforts are directed to the well being of large sections of the masses and not to the large profits of a few. You have only to take a broad view of our present economic position and the trends of industrial development during the last decade or so, to realise that the scope for industrialisation regarded merely as an avenue for investing surplus capital and as a source of profit for a small class of investors is extremely narrow, even if it is not altogether non-existent There can be no great increase in national wealth unless there is an all round increase in productive activity. And India has reached the stage when such increase can only result from large scale planning.

I trust you see the bearing of all this in your personal lives If there are no careers of the get-rich-quick millionaire open to you, if the ordinary jobs that will suffice to keep body and soul together are to flow only from the co-operative efforts of the entire nation, then does it not follow that success and happiness of your lives depend on the development of that capacity for intelligent, purposive co operation in the absence of which the nation has hitherto been languishing politically and economically? And what I want to stress most before you to-day in the present context is that the capacity for co-operation, of which I have been speaking, is as important for using the freedom once it is won, as for actually winning it. I do not want to dilate here on our special political problems.

Although, unfortunately, because of the failure to attain an agreement between the leaders of Indian opinion on one side, and the Whitehall, on the other, there is a stalemate in the political life of the country with the consequence that improvement in India's political status remains in abeyance during the war, I, for my part, am quite certain in my mind that the end of the war see India free and—yes—united too, and admitted to her legitimate place among the nations of the world. To deserve that freedom not in the sense of receiving appreciative notes from patronising foreigners but in the sense of being able to use it to the permanent advantage of our own people and of mankind in general, that is the problem to which the thoughts and attention of our youth should be increasingly devoted.

The successful working of the new democratic institutions which are growing up in our country will again make new demands on the qualities of our people. The virtues that will be needed most are tolerance and intellectual discipline. Unfortunately, our society is largely sectionalised and our civic life is vitiated by communalism and intolerance. In a country where 80 to 90% of the people are illiterate, demagogic politicians can easily play upon the masses and thus hamper the successful working of democratic institutions. But the most unfortunate part of it is that even educated people often allow themselves to be carried away on the crests of emotion. We are faced with the curious phenomenon that persons who can be rational in the highest degree with regard to what may be called neutral or passionless problems, are found to succumb to irrational sentimentalism in dealing with questions which impinge on their basic traditional or cultural outlook. Thus great masses of men may be moved by irrelevant emotions, dead political shibboleths or outmoded patterns of thought which are not in the least congruent with existing social and economic realities and thus create a problem of social and political maladjustment of the first magnitude.

To give a decent burial to old prejudices and sectional loyalties is, I want you to remember, the first task of youth. It is for the young to resist the discords that short-sighted persons of an earlier generation had been fomenting and to take a hand in the education of our illiterate masses to a new sense of their responsibilities as the demos of a newly-born nation and to a recognition of the party they must play in firmly cementing the bond of nationhood that holds together the diverse races and peoples of the vast sub-continent that is India. Unless we succeed in creating this feeling of oneness and a strong conviction and fervour about our fundamental unity in the midst of diversities, we cannot expect India to attain to the fulness of her stature or to achieve the all-round development and proper recognition of her place in the comity of nations.

There is one other point which I would like to emphasise in connection with our freedom and our future. I would like you all to realise that India's future hangs on an allied Victory. We stand or fall with the Allied Nations. Let there be no mistaking about this, no false notions or perverted thinking.

I hope, my young friends, I have been able to give you a fair picture of the great epoch of reconstruction and regeneration which is opening out before you. I have deliberately refrained from offering you any advice in the usual moralistic vein, but have endeavoured to give you an idea of the great tasks and the fundamental social problems which will confront your generation. We are turning over a new chapter in our national life; and our future, both in the national and international field, is charged with immense possibilities, if only we would face it with clear vision, intelligent planning and hard work. In this great task, the role of leadership will fall upon you. For it is for you, young men and women, to hold and shape the new world.

Graduates of the University, I think I have said enough about the general problems and questions which are exercising and will, in the near future, exercise your minds, and make large demands on your intelligence, efficiency, integrity and idealism. It now only remains for me to congratulate you very heartily, before I close, on your splendid achievements and on the degrees and distinctions awarded to you at this Convocation. I have no doubt that in the world that awaits you outside the portals of your University, you will by your work and service prove yourselves worthy of the high traditions of your Alma Mater and add to its good name and reputation. I wish each one of you a full measure of success in your respective spheres. Graduates, my sincere good wishes pursue you in the wider world into which you are just stepping.

Aligarh Muslim University Convocation

Syed Abdul Aziz's Address

The following is the text of the Convocation Address delivered at the *Aligarh Muslim University* by Syed Abdul Aziz Barrister-at-Law (Patna) on the 13th February. 1943.

I do not think I can do better than begin this address with an expression of my profound sense of gratitude to His Exalted Highness the Nizam and to the authorities of the University at whose initiative His Exalted Highness was pleased to ask me to deliver this Convocation Address. I accepted the gracious invitation somewhat hesitatingly owing to a protracted sciatic pain which had lately become intense and from which I have not yet fully recovered. In this afflicted and crippled condition I have cheerfully endured the sufferings of a long journey from Hyderabad to Aligarh as I could not suppress or restrain my desire to place my humble services at your disposal and enjoy the privilege and pleasure of participating in a great function of such educational importance. But for my general health being good I might not have been able to be present here to-day.

This illustrious and royal Ruler of the Premier State is one of the greatest supporters of the cause of good education. Apart from the interest and initiative taken by His Exalted Highness in promoting primary, secondary and technical education on a practicable and liberal scale, his solicitude for the welfare and advancement of higher education led to the establishment of the Osmania University with some special features which are already bearing ample fruits. No visitor to the area allotted to the Osmania University, detached from the capital city though not far from it, can fail to be struck by the harmonious combination of the most beautiful features of Hindu-Muslim architecture in some of the buildings already erected and by their magnificence. They represent the glory of the ancient art of Ajanta and Ellora and the simple grandeur of Saracenic and Qu'ub Shahi architecture. These buildings, replete with modern equipment, include hostels for Hindus and Muslims without distinction and are provided with comforts and conveniences conducive to healthy and decent living. They make a visitor sigh for his youthful days and fill him with the desire that it was possible for him to be transformed into his teens and be admitted to the Osmania University as a student. The plan for future development of this University which, under the fostering care of His Exalted Highness and the support of his enlightened Government, gets an annual grant of 22 lakhs within the resources of a State on which a multitude of demands is made from various quaters, augurs well for higher education and for other similar schemes which will soon find a home and flourish in Hyderabad. Its august Ruler received a tribute from the Rt. Hon'ble Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru who, apart from his eminence in Law and statesmanship, is himself a model of refinement, culture and catholicity. In the course of his Convocation Address to the Osmania University in 1939, he said :—

'Meanwhile, let me pay a respectful tribute to your august Sovereign who, realising that men live not by bread alone, has provided out of his generosity a centre for all young and old—where they can meet from day to day and have a perpetual feast to feed their minds and souls on all that is best and noblest in human thought and human culture Truly, therefore,, a Sovereign who does it is entitled to be called not only Sultan of his Mulk but also *Sultan-ul-Ulum*".

Thus also can the Aligarh University be justly proud of having such a Sovereign as its Chancellor. That is not all. Aligarh has enjoyed the benevolence bestowed upon it by two previous Rulers of the Asafia dynasty, Nizamul Mulk V and VI. It owes a great deal to the liberality and wide outlook of the late Nawab Sir *Salar Jang* the First and to the sympathy and help received from the late Nawab *Mohsinul Mulk*, Nawab *Viqarul Mulk* and Nawab *Imadul Mulk Syed Hosain Bilgrami* who, for long periods, held high and distinguished offices in Hyderabad. The forerunner of the Muslim University was a small school established in 1869, called the Madrasatul Ulum. This shool developed into a College and the College gave birth to the University which now occupies a unique position in India. The late Sir *Syed Ahmad Khan* of revered memory, tormented perhaps by the feeling of humiliation, grief and horror caused by the decadence, degeneration, wretchedness and helplessness of Indians in general and Muslims in particular, who had not only lost their country and were sunk in slavery but were

forlorn and friendless, realised the need for modern education to meet the requirements of the times and the transcendent importance of cultivating a superior intellect and high character which would enable his countrymen to recover the lost ground and lead a decent, useful and an honourable life. A country can be conquered but its culture and character, if saved from subjugation and cultivated further, can do more than make up for the deficiency and can one day reassert themselves.

Sir Syed perhaps aimed at or dreamt of the day when Muslims and Hindus would produce fine and sufficient materials for a man of extraordinary personality, soundness, sobriety, foresight, courage and independence like Mr. Jinnah, to lead and guide the Muslims, and a man of saintly simplicity, high ideals, shrewdness and proverbial patriotism, like Mr. Gandhi, to lead and guide the Hindus. It must also have been hoped that such two leaders would not vanish from the scene before effecting a union for common purposes between their respective communities which have, by their very magnitude, importance and other characteristics, acquired the status, notions and ambition of a nation conceived in a right spirit. Sir Syed's dream of producing such materials is about to be translated into a reality mainly by the plan he promulgated. In the execution of that plan, intended for the light and learning of youth, the contribution made by Hyderabad was of immense value

Though, between 1875 and 1917, this Aligarh Muslim institution was honoured by the visits of their Royal Highnesses the Prince and Princess of Wales, several Indian Princes, many Viceroys and Governors, many notables and His Majesty the King of Afghanistan, yet the authorities, the staff, and the students of the Aligarh College longed for a visit by the Nizam. His Exalted Highness Nawab Mir Osman Ali Khan Bahadur, Nizam of Hyderabad and Berar, first honoured the College by his visit in 1918 and all those connected with this national institution felt happy and proud on that occasion. With this increased interest in the Aligarh College and later in the University, His Exalted Highness's patronage knew no bounds. He continually enhanced his contributions till the non-recurring grants, made from time to time, amounted to over 20 lakhs and the permanent recurring grant to 61,000 a year. Only a few weeks ago, he was pleased to sanction a grant of a lumpsum of 15,000 for air and technical training and of 10,000 for the current year towards its recurring expenses as part of his vast contributions to the successful prosecution of the war. Being deeply concerned in the welfare of the students and believing in the necessity and value of cultivating a proper sense of proportion, balanced judgment and discipline, His Exalted Highness sent recently, in a letter to your Vice-Chancellor, a gracious Message to the students of this University in appreciation of their conduct during the rebellious and repulsive outbursts of August last when some impulsive, misguided and short-sighted youth sullied their own names by acts of folly and crime at the expense of their own country. The Message went on to say :—

"I ask you to let the students know what I have written to you in this connection and say that I have every hope that they will continue to show good conduct in future as well, specially at a time when India is passing through troublous times, and that perseverance and manly character are the chief necessary factors to combat the evil forces that are unfortunately rampant in the country; so it is all the more necessary that we should overcome them by our sagacity or prudence at all costs.

"I trust the students will listen to my advice given in their own interests."

Your worthy Vice-Chancellor, Dr Sir Ziauddin Ahmed, the staff and the students, all deserve to be congratulated on this achievement. The Muslim students have, in the matter of their attitude towards the war, given a similar lead to the student community just as their elders, under the guidance of Mr. Jinnah, have given a lead to the masses and all classes of Muslims who, in spite of whatever grievances they may have against the British Government, have not only refrained from doing anything which might embarrass them in the prosecution of the war but have also, both directly and indirectly, made immense contributions to its successful prosecution. If the Muslim League has not officially announced its whole-hearted support of the war effort it is perhaps for the fear, so it appears, that it may be misunderstood as being satisfied with the policy and declarations of the British Government in respect of the future of the Muslims of India. All the same, Muslims are doing all they can within their means and power to save India from the Japanese and the Germans, not for British Imperialism but for Hindus and Muslims themselves and for all the other inhabitants of this vast sub-continent. They can, provided they unite, secure power and independence and yet arrange to remain in the British Commonwealth of Nations with the important advantage

which they could continue to enjoy of proper defence against foreign aggression as India cannot possess an efficient and sufficient Army, Navy and Air Force for a long time to come

This leads me to review very briefly the present situation, both internal and external. Twelve months have rolled by since this University held its last Convocation—twelve months of the cataclysmic conflict which threatened to destroy all that the Universities of the world have stood for since the days when Muslim learning kept alive the flickering emblems of European civilisation. Think of the early days of 1942 when the barbarous Nazi hordes were forging their way to the Caucasus, threatening India's frontiers from the north, when Rommel's forces, then so invincible, were knocking at the gates of Alexandria and when the Japanese, possessing all the advantages of years of preparation, were menacing the eastern coast of India. Think how, during these twelve months, the tide has turned, how the smiter has been smitten in the Caucasus, how Rommel has sought safety in flight from Libya, surrendering men, munitions and territories, how the Japanese have been repulsed in New Guinea and forced to remain on the defensive in Burma and on other fronts, how Stalin's 'City of Steel,' melted by the fire and fury of ruthless Fascist forces and consecrated by the blood of the Red Army, has already begun to see new buildings and works on the site of the old to commemorate the heroism valour, sacrifice and patriotism of the Russians who cleared Stalingrad inch by inch of the invading hordes. There is much beneath the cryptic announcement made the other day from Berlin that the battle of Stalingrad is over ! The rising sun of victory of the United Nations can now be seen clearly above the horizon and I am particularly thankful that I am able to address you to-day when this great struggle for freedom and civilisation has, at last, entered upon its final and victorious stage

It is a far cry from the days when a handful of eager students of the art of healing gathered round a bubbling spring in the south of Italy and made the University of Salerno and when another batch of enthusiastic students of the Roman Law congregated in Bologna—a far cry even from the days of the foundation of the Universities of Oxford, Cambridge, Edinburgh, Paris, Berlin and Vienna—to the establishment of the University of Aligarh which has not completed even a century of its existence. Nay, no sister University in India has yet attained that age. Nevertheless, our Universities may well teach what the fundamental ideals of a University should be to the older Universities in the totalitarian States where the humanistic ideals of old have been superseded by anti-social ideals, where Universities are mere tools in the hands of the Dictators of the hour, where teachers and pupils are but pawns in the hands of educational and propaganda ministries aiming at control of thought and regulation of reason by the regimentation of studies and the suppression of free opinion. For us, happily, the University is still as in Great Britain and in the United States of America, except perhaps for occasional and brief lapses, the citadel of Truth, the bulwark of civilisation, the home of that freedom of the spirit which is true liberty—liberty to think, liberty to speak and liberty to teach—and which recognises only one limitation, namely, that even the fullest independence has its honest and becoming limits, limits placed by commonsense, right feeling and respect for the sentiments and opinions of others The end of all service according to Hindu philosophy if I have understood it rightly, is the realisation of the unity of all things that exist and the highest ideal of culture is self-discipline and self-realisation, enabling one to further the universal life of which one is an integral part. The Islamic conception of man's mission is also the same The brotherhood of man and the realisation of unity in diversity are the cardinal principles of our faith as preached by our Prophet (Peace be on him !) and taught by Islamic saints, mystics, poets and philosophers. Islam insists on and emphasises the Unity of God and the service of mankind.

To this doctrine of Unity and to the efforts hitherto made towards its realisation, the greatest harm has been done by the gospel of Nationalism as preached in Europe since the end of the last Great War. Many have indeed a horror of that word. It has been so overworked, so abused and exploited that one wishes it could be expunged from the dictionary of all who have at heart the cause of universal brotherhood and the progress of humanity. Indeed, almost all the political and economic ills that the world has suffered and is suffering from, ills that have culminated in the devastating struggle now shaking the very foundations of civilization, can be traced to that perverted view of nationalism which has vitiated international relationship for the last two decades. One of the most

deplorable consequences of such nationalism has been the gospel of race arrogance. In Europe, it has shattered the fundamental doctrine of humanity. It will, I fear, have the same disastrous results in India unless we resolve to do everything in our power to remain true to our high traditions, to hold fast to the true ideals and purpose of a University, to show liberty at work under the restraint imposed by self-discipline and to ensure that the students who have passed out and will pass out from this University and other Universities in this country will demonstrate to the world that, while demanding and finding a happy home for Muslims and leaving a happy home to Hindus and while claiming that each portion should be governed according to each community's ideas, both can live in abiding bonds of brotherhood.

This brings us to the political differences which now divide the two communities, differences which have, during recent years, taken such a serious turn that it is feared that the union of the two under an agreed constitution and particularly under one prepared by a Constituent Assembly such as is envisaged in certain quarters is practically impossible On the one hand, Hindus demand independence—independence which will, so Muslims suspect or rather believe, not be real but will place Hindus in a position of domination over the Muslims and other minority communities with the help or connivance of the British who would be kept in India particularly for this purpose. On the other hand, Muslims demand a division of India into Hindu India and Muslim India. The Muslim point of view, as repeatedly put forward, is that any declaration transferring power to an oligarchy whose authority is fundamentally challenged cannot be maintained even with the help of British bayonets. Irrespective of the consideration that the Indian States will not recognise a devolution of Paramountcy to other hands or suffer a diminution instead of enhancement of their status and power, the opposition of so large a minority as a hundred million Musalmans must rule out any purely Hindu variety of independence As regards the Muslim demand for Pakistan, this is not the place to examine it in detail. I should, however, like to point out that the proposal appears to be opposed by people who do not appear or care to understand or discuss its nature and implications. The Muslims assert that the solidarity and integrity of India will become certain and real more by facing facts and admitting truths than by mere sentimental slogans such as 'No vivisection." The demand has been put forward by a great and important community, a community which, to say the least, cannot be ignored. So, let it be discussed dispassionately in all its important bearings by representatives of its supporters and of its opponents in a friendly conference. If they get together in the right spirit they may come to the conclusion that real unity, strength and solidarity depend on an allocation of areas on some such lines. It might appear strange to some that I should expect strength and solidarity resulting from division and separation. But a little reflection will show that the relationship of Hindus and Muslims in India is like that of two brothers who, living under one roof, find themselves at variance in regard to different matters and on the verge of hostility, but who, once they have independent establishments of their own, find their relationship more cordial as a result of which they unite together in the common bond of affection for their parents and other members of the family. From what I can see, Muslims appear to have crossed the Rubicon and burnt their boat; their aim appears fixed, their course marked out, they mean to proceed according to their plans, not to encroach upon the rights of others but to secure their own to live their own lives. Is it wise, is it practical politics to shout "Quit India" or "Akhand Hindustan," and fritter away energies in the pursuit of a will o'-the-wisp instead of concentrating on settlement with the Muslims and taking concerted and sustained action to achieve it? No compromise can be made with truth but political adjustments can be made and the longer this is delayed the greater will be the loss and embarrassment to the country in general and to the majority in particular

I am afraid we have drifted into the dense forest of politics. Whether University students should plunge into that forest during their scholastic period is a question on which there exists considerable difference of opinion. I have always held the view that active participation by students in any political programme is harmful to them and to their country by excesses they may commit in excited passion and by distraction from their studies which it is their first duty to attend to exclusively and laboriously. But in a national crisis like the present and in the difficult times through which we are passing, even students, grown up students, may have to do more than what they did ordinarily. It is only right that you

should interest yourselves in problems affecting the entire well-being of society.

May I address a few words particularly to the lady students ? Muslim women can do a lot, specially in the social, educational, religious and domestic spheres. Think of the legal position and status secured by Islamic laws and injunctions in the Holy Quran to women. The rights of women, protected and recognised over thirteen centuries ago, are yet denied to women in other countries, in all other religions and by many Governments. Muslim women are equal even superior in many respects, to men. They are in no way inferior. Fields of activities have, of course, to be divided according to suitability, character of work and the natural advantages and disadvantages of the sex. Among the learned and talented ladies of Mecca and Medina in the time of our Prophet (Peace be on him !), let me mention only a few, who provide shining examples, some of whom were members of the Prophet's own family, like Hazrat Fatima, the daughter of the Prophet and the wife of Hazrat Ali. She was renowned for her saintliness and high intellectual attainments. Hazrat Zainab, the grand-daughter of our Prophet and a sister of Hazrat Husain, the martyr of Kerbala, was a most courageous and cultured lady. Hazrat Ayesha, the daughter of Hazrat Abu Bakr and the wife of our Prophet, once led an army into battle.

In the heyday of Muslim rule, there were no fewer than six thousand lady Doctors in Spain. Think of the ladies of your own country ; Gulbadan Bano Begum, one of the most erudite scholars, who was the daughter of the Emperor Babur , Salima Sultana, an accomplished and scholarly princess, closely related to the Emperor Humayun , Nur Jahan, the celebrated wife of the Emperor Jehangir, possessing not only the charms of beauty but a high cultural influence due to her talents and her knowledge of Arabic and Persian literature. Think also of Mumtaz Mahal, the beloved wife of Shah Jahan and the lady of the Taj, renowned not only for her beauty but also for her literary attainments. Zaibun Nisa the Emperor Aurangzeb's cultured, scholarly and accomplished daughter was the authoress of interesting books and no mean poet. All the daughters of the Emperor Aurangzeb were highly educated. In our own days we have the modern counterparts of these distinguished women of Muslim India and it befits the occasion that we should at this moment recall the revered memory of your first Chancellor Her Highness the late Begum of Bhopal. There are also the Princess Abida Sultan, the Heir-Apparent of Bhopal, Her Highness the Begum of Rampur, Her Highness the Princess of Berar and the Princess Niloufer of Hyderabad who, not to mention other noble and notable ladies in our community, have by their high education, culture and ability been the source of great strength and service to our society.

Permit me to repeat here what I said at the conference of the All-India Muslim Students Federation at Calcutta in December, 1937 —' Many problems are crying for solution. If your elders and old men have not been able to achieve much, it is expected that Muslim youths will soon be able to remedy the backwardness of their community and co-operate with others in all matters calculated to advance the prosperity and happiness of the people generally. But if old men are too slow and cautious, young men are too rash and headstrong. If the former have achieved little and have been dilatory, the latter, unless properly guided and checked, may, by a revolutionary method ruin even that little which has been achieved. A happy medium must therefore be looked for if rapid progress without much risk is to be made."

"There are two methods which can be employed in seeking solution of various evils. The one is called direct, the other indirect. The direct method rushes with blind fury at the obstacle and usually fails. The indirect method considers ways and means, limitations, and takes the shortest path by going the longest way round. The indirect method ought to appeal to Muslim students who possess a high order of intellect and would leave nothing to chance and ferocity."

I had on that occasion further mentioned the following few things which I thought Muslim students should do : "Firstly, rise early and begin the day with a prayer to Providence as Muslims. Secondly, never retire for the night without saying your prayers. The beauties of these two prayers, apart from the importance of others can be most fully realised by listening to or remembering the joyful song sung in chorus by birds who rise before the Sun and begin to sing and do the same when they retire for the night as if they offered their anthem of gratitude to the Creator for what they have had and for what they were going to get. Thirdly, learn and practise plain and simple principles of religion, freeing it from, invented rituals, undergrowths, and superstitious beliefs and ceremonials. Fourthly

make a list of the existing social and religious customs and wipe out the useless and harmful and retain the useful ones. Fifthly, take a vow or make a solemn resolution that after completing your education those of you who fail to get into service or enter immediately any profession or business will set apart a period of two years for exclusive service to some public cause affecting the interests of the Muslims and will always prefer honorary and voluntary work to idleness if remunerative occupation could not be found. Out of two years so set apart six months should be devoted to the acquisition of training in some work of public utility according to one's taste and capacity and six months should be devoted exclusively to the work of organising the Muslim students in convenient localities. The remaining one year should be given to some other public cause.'

You will pass out into the world from the portals of the University when India has arrived at the most critical stage in her political evolution We would surely look to you to give a lead to your fellow citizens and to facilitate the transition to the new order To that momentous issue the best minds in the world will have to be applied as soon as the present struggle ends—indeed, they should be applied from now onwards as everywhere people are longing for a new and happier order But are they prepared for it, prepared to think it out and prepared to shoulder the task and carry its burden? The graduates and undergraduates of this and other Universities should form study circles and take up different problems of this future reconstruction according to their tastes, leanings, inclinations and knowledge, study them intensively, and strive to examine them in all their bearings in order to arrive at useful conclusions.

If we wish to profit by the experience of the past let us not forget that the essential condition for the building up of a new and better order is the realisation of what constitutes right relationship between man and man, class and class, nation and nation. In their struggle for existence people forget that not all the wealth and economic resources of the world would enable a nation to live in comfort unless it learns how to live in harmony with its neighbours. This is the lesson taught by the experience of the past. Will the people in all parts of the world profit by it? Will there be peace in the world after the aggressors of the present day are laid low? Who can say?

So much for the perpetual strife between people and people. What about the perpetual struggle that goes on within the heart of every individual—the struggle against one's lower self which our Prophet (Peace be on him!) has called the greatest crusade. The problem of problems for each one of us is to turn inward and to conquer the baser instincts which appear to persist despite our present day knowledge of science and the comparative diffusion of culture. Indeed. we find to-day that the worst aggressors are those who have been foremost in their mastery of knowledge and the sciences. Their minds are polished but not their hearts. They conquer dominions but they have not conquered themselves. You, my young friends, will not, I trust, fail to wage the great crusade enjoined by the Prohet, and possess a polished heart as well as a polished mind Nothing will help you to overcome the evil in you as much as belief in religion and performance of the duties enjoined by it, provided rituals and superstitious practice are not made a substitute for real religion. This University will continue to be a coveted cradle of culture and knowledge, but higher education in this age and particularly in this country is not imparted or received as an end in itself, but is a means to an end, the end being to earn at least a competence if not a large income. The problem of increasing unemployment of the educated classes cannot be brought nearer to any solution unless graduates and undergraduates turn seriously to vocational and technical training and then to agriculture and industry. This brings me to the question of proficiency in the sciences. May I remind you how backward the Muslim community still is in the study of science and in trade and industry? During recent years its pace has been somewhat quickened. The statistics for the whole of India indicate a steady increase in the number of students but, as against a hundred students taking their degrees in arts, not even perhaps twenty take their degrees in any of the sciences. During his investigations, Sir Phillip Hortog was astonished to find that such a relatively small number of Muslim youths devoted themselves to the study of the physical and natural sciences. Contrast this with what happened during the glorious era of Islamic culture in the schools of Baghdad, Damascus, Cordova, Grenada, Cairo, Salerno, Andalusia. In those seats of learning every branch of science, astronomy, geography, chemistry, physics, mathematics, medicine, engineering, architecture, was eagerly studied by Muslim youths. Till lately there was little incentive to the youths of Indian Universities to take up the study of the

sciences in preference to the arts. But with the rapid industrialisation of India during this war and the opening of prospects for the future, the scientist has come into his own, and I trust the students of this University will eagerly equip themselves with knowledge of the sciences and emulate the achievements of Muslim scientists of old whose names are inscribed in letters of gold on the pages of our history.

Seeing, however, how certain powers have applied their knowledge of the sciences to the task of destruction, it may well be asked: To what end do we want to promote education and training in the physical and natural sciences? To increase man's capacity for evil, to out-do the brute in brutality? Has not the knowledge of science brought strife and ruin and destruction in its wake? It has to be admitted that scientific knowledge and research have been woefully abused. But merely because an instrument is misused by some, it cannot be withheld from use for beneficial purposes. True, we have had distressing examples of the barbarous use of force, reinforced by the discoveries of scientific research. But Might will rule the world only so long as Right is not ready. It is the mission of our Universities to make the rising generations so enlightened and self-disciplined as to make the world under their influence ready and willing for the rule of Right. It is its mission to call upon its teachers and students alike to cultivate reasonableness, open-mindedness, kindliness of feeling and gentleness, such as would make one shirk from the adoration of physical force. Allow me to tell you, in the words of one of the most famous scholars, M. Renan, to what good purpose the Muslims in the heyday of their prosperity applied their learning and knowledge of science.

"The taste for science and literature had, by the tenth century, established in this privileged corner of the world (Spain) a toleration of which modern times hardly offer us an example. Christians, Jews, and Mussalmans spoke the same tongue, sang the same songs, participated in the same literary and scientific studies. All the barriers which separated the various peoples were effaced; all worked with one accord in the work of a common civilisation."

I have no doubt that the same spirit of Islam inspires the followers of the faith to live in cordial cultural co-operation and comity with their neighbours and with the peoples of the world, and will enable them to serve the people committed to their care, irrespective of caste and creed, in any administration for which Muslims may be responsible. I pray that this great University of India, this precious possession and pride not only of Aligarh but of the entire Muslim community in India, may continue to flourish and that its authorities, teachers and pupils alike, may at all times be able justifiably to claim that within its precincts the minds as well as the hearts of youth are so disciplined and illumined as to enable them to achieve the highest mission of life by fulfilling the trust and discharging the duties which men owe to God for their actions and conduct, in short, the "Khilafat" of God on earth.

The Bombay University Convocation

Mr. B. J. Wadia's Address

The following is the text of the Address delivered by Mr *B. J. Wadia*, M.A., LL.B., Bar-at-Law, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Bombay, before the Adjourned Annual Convocation of the University on the **10th. February, 1943**

As one who has been educated exclusively in the University of Bombay I deem it a great privilege to hold my present office and to address you this evening. I am fully conscious of the responsibilities of my position, and in the performance of my duty today I crave your indulgence and goodwill. In the month of August last we would have offered you, Sir, our best wishes on the extension of your term of office. Today in February 1943, we feel sorry to bid farewell to Lady Lumley and to you. We wish both of you health and happiness, and hope that Bombay and its University will be in your minds whenever memory gilds the past.

Since the Convocation last met in this hall in August 1941 the hand of death has removed several old friends from our midst. Sir Akbar Hydari was a

statesman and an educationist, and the Osmania University of Hyderabad will remain an eloquent testimony to his interest in education. Khan Bahadur Fardunji Dastur was the University Registrar for twenty-eight years from 1902 to 1930, and even after his retirement he was connected with our Foreign Universities Information Bureau till the date of his death. He was a man of high principles and rendered great service to the University and the students, for which he will always be remembered with gratitude and respect. Dr. Anandshanker Dhruv was another great educationist and a Sanskrit Scholar who was held in high esteem throughout the land. Sir Ibrahim Rahimtulla was an ardent advocate of free and compulsory primary education, and it was due to his untiring efforts that the cause advocated by him was ultimately accepted by the Legislature. Another veteran educationist was Mr. M R Paranjpe who took considerable interest in the work of the University, and kept it undiminished till the end. Rao Bahadur D. G Padhye was an Ordinary Fellow from 1898 to 1919, and thereafter an Honorary Fellow till his death. He was also elected a representative of this University to the Bombay Municipal Corporation. Dr. V. S. Sukthankar was an Ordinary Fellow from 1928 to 1929, and in his death Oriental Scholarship has sustained a great loss. We mourn the loss of all these comrades of bygone days ; the memory of their work and their service will abide with us.

The last academic year was, like its predecessor, overshadowed by the war. During the three years and more that have elapsed since September 1939 the entire world has been drawn into a conflict which has been, and still is, waged on land, sea and in the air at the same time. What those years have meant, and what the days to come will mean in accumulated agony, loss and suffering to mankind, the future historian alone will tell. Great issues are at stake They touch the very roots of the great principles on which the fabric of civilization has been built after years of trial and struggle. We are going through anxious times. The air is thick with "the troubles of our proud and angry dust". Goodwill is paralysed, and hope itself is driven back upon the resources of man's courage and upon recollections that hours as dark have been confronted and overcome in the past. It is at such junctures that men have to summon all the power that ideals possess of altering and moulding reality. Our country has also not escaped the grim consequences of war. In the fellowship of a common service and sacrifice India has taken a large share It has made large contributions to the strength of the Allied forces, and to the output of the factories and workshops of the United Nations. We have not sought to shut the heart upon suffering, nor to wave aside the trials of this testing time ; and we share in the hope for victory. Vast changes, political, social, and industrial will take place in the reconstruction that will come as the aftermath of the war They will affect the future course of education in which we are deeply interested, as they will also affect our whole outlook upon life. The Universities have received a noble heritage of culture from the past, and the defence of that heritage, for which humanity is even now engaged in a deadly and world-wide conflict, must always be our chief concern.

Education is bound to be a very important and effective link with the future of a troubled world. In India University education is hardly a century old. Our own University, the second Indian University in point of time, was incorporated in July 1857. It came into existence as an affiliating and examining body after the model of the old London University, and continued as such till the beginning of this century when the Act of 1904 was passed. Post graduate teaching in a limited number of subjects for the M A. degree course began some time about 1914, and the University School of Economics and Sociology was opened, the Department of Sociology in 1918 and that of Economics in 1921. We hope to expand the scope of these Departments by the appointment of additional staff for teaching special branches of Economics and Sociology. The present Act came into force in 1928, and the Department of Chemical Technology was opened about 1934. It was instituted to form a link between science and industry, and in order to enable graduates in pure science intending to adopt an industrial career to obtain the necessary technical training. The Department has added greatly to the reputation of the University, and the credit for it is due to my predecessors in office, to the Rev. Dr John McKenzie who was associated with it in its initial stages, to Sir Vithal Chandavarkar who put it on a sound working basis, and to Sir Rustom Masani who zealously carried on the work of his predecessors. To all of them, and to the two Heads of the Department who have guided its work, the University is deeply indebted. We hope that the new building of the Department at Matunga of which the foundation was laid by you, Sir, as Chancellor early in 1941 will soon be ready for use and occupation.

The Department gives all facilities for carrying on the work of research to which we attach the highest value and importance. Our University is also expanding its new directions. We recently decided to institute a Department of Military Studies, and hope to make it a success with the co-operation of the Government and the Military authorities. The establishment of a Department of Psychology and Education and a department of Mathematics is also under contemplation I have no doubt that before the University celebrates its centenary it will have fulfilled a very substantial part of the new programme of post-graduate study and research which has been placed in the forefront by the Act of 19'8.

The Universities of India have not been spared by critics, some of whom are even prepared to ascribe every fault and defect in our social and economic system to University education. We are told that we take in too many of that class of students who are called "misfits", that higher education has led to unemployment, that it has not contributed anything of practical utility to the industrial life of the country, and that it has even tended to produce what is called a "slave mentality". I do not for one moment wish to suggest that our system of education is faultless. Our Universities, like all other human institutions, have their defects. But I do wish to suggest that, though some part of the criticism is justified, much of it is exaggerated too. If our critics mean to convey that higher education does not ensure jobs for our graduates, they are stating a fact, but that is different from saying that it is altogether useless. Whatever may be the controversies regarding education as a means to an end, it will be a sad day for our Universities when learning for its own sake ceases to be held in high honour Education must be considered on its own terms and not in terms of economic utility. When we take stock of the results and bring to bear on the question our dispassionate judgment, shall we not say that higher education has been a great nation-building activity in the past? If it has done nothing more than to liberalize our views and to give us a all-India outlook, it will still have deserved well of our country and our people. Its main objectives are intellectual and moral culture and the moulding of charactar and personality. It is not enough to say that education should only aim at producing a "gentleman". The final bloom should be a gentleman-scholar but we cannot produce that bloom unless it is rooted in free and fearless minds, and unless the educational work of our schools and colleges runs its normal course This is not the time nor the occasion to enter into controversial questions We wish our students well. We ask them only to realize that the University has no other purpose than the promotion of their true interests, to steer them securely along the course of hard and silent work, and to prepare them for the various tasks of life they will ultimately have to perform.

We all believe in the high value and importance of vocational education, but there will always be need for education in the higher sense of the term which Newman described as 'liberal". Let us not look upon knowledge as useless unless it can be immediately turned into cash. To teach the youth of any country to snatch greedily at mental improvement with the sole purpose of disposing of it at a profit is really to narrow and injure education. Its true purport and mission must have been in the minds of those who conferred upon learning the name of "the humanities", based on the broad conception of universal sympathy and brotherhood. This indeed should be our highest ideal. Even if there are many creeds and communities in India, the spirit of true culture is one and indivisible, and Universities are the soil in which the seeds of unity can best germinate and bear fruit The point at which education kindles and ennobles the best in us is when it takes us into the atmosphere of great men great ideas, and great deeds. We have that atmosphere in our midst, and however much we may disagree in details, we can always go forward, still nourishing the sacred fire of learning, still cherishing our great ideas, ever hoping for perfection.

In thus emphasizing the cultural value of higher education I do not wish to under-estimate its utilitarian value It is true that man does not live by bread alone, but it is also true that he cannot live without it. We think it is possible for our schools and colleges to adjust their teaching not only to the requirements of the professions and the services but of industry as well Industry has a great future in India and it is necessary that our University education should be in living contact with the practical problems of the country. It is equally necessary that our Universities should be in some kind of intimate touch with civic life and opinion We would welcome more co-operation between the University and well-established commercial houses and institutions. University education cannot by itself be a guarantee for ready employment, though it is our desire that our graduates may soon after their

graduation be independent and self-supporting. From that point of view vocational training is of the utmost importance. We hope to give diplomas in a large number of subjects besides teaching. Many of our secondary schools can be turned into semi-vocational institutions for imparting vocational training side by side with general education. Some of our schools have already been turned into institutions for training in subjects of a specialized vocational character. Even in the Colleges part-time training in such subjects could be given. The improvement of industrial and technological training in our schools and colleges will go a long way towards solving the problem of unemployment.

That problem has assumed a grave aspect at the present day, but it is a wrong notion to look upon the University as an employment bureau. On the other hand the problem cannot be solved by artificially restricting higher education and reducing the number of students. The mere increase in the number of graduates who depend on education for their livelihood is no proof of the statement that many of them are not fit to receive University education ; nor will the simple elimination of the so-called "Misfits" be in itself a reform of our educational system. Education has a cultural value for every one apart from its mere economic returns. The reward of a life devoted to culture is the privilege of dedicating it to the service of one's fellow men and women. India needs the services of her cultured men and women in millions of homes, more especially in the villages. It is really sad to see so many of our youth, well equipped, able-bodied, willing to work, and yet unable to secure a decent living for themselves and those dependent upon them. It is equally sad to realize that after years of experimenting with different courses of study we should still be almost helpless watchers of the spectacle of workless young men and women. They should not, however, look down upon manual labour, nor look askance at small beginnings, nor should they be slow to take advantage of opportunities that come their way This problem has given rise to anxious thought, but *never has there been a stronger desire than at present* to extend the advantages of education. Of that desire no man living can complain. The real cause of unemployment is the absence of suitable avenues of employment for our youth. The development of our national and potential resources and the establishment of industrial schools and technological institutions will certainly help to lessen the evil. The proper thing to do is not to condemn the so-called "misfits" as unfit, but to give them facilities for the training for which they are really fit. The underlying principle of every educational system should be the ever-open door. What we want is not only more industrial schools but also more industries and more openings in our mills, factories and workshops, and in leading commercial houses and public offices. The opening of schools and institutions cannot of itself provide more employment, and specialized education without the existence of the demand for it may make the problem even more acute. It may add to the number of the unemployed by creating a class of men with vocational training but no work to engage in.

A question which has been before the Government and the University for a long time is the establishment and recognition of separate Universities for certain well defined areas in the Province of Bombay. There are differences of opinion on the question, but there is no reason why separate Universities with their jurisdiction properly defined should not be encouraged. They would to some extent at least lessen the congestion and relieve the burden lying on our University. Once again a Committee is deliberating over the question of separate University for Maharashtra, and the outcome of its deliberations will soon be before us. It is not quite clear whether there is enough general enthusiasm to support the project. Questions of detail will, I am sure, be carefully considered, of which the most important is that of finance.

The Matriculation Examination is, and I hope always will be, under the control of the University. The numbers appearing for it every year have been increasing. The first examination was held in 1859 when 132 appeared and 22 passed. Over 39,000 appeared in March last, but perhaps the number may fall this year owing to the disturbances in our student world. Although the Government have now resolved to institute a School Leaving Certificate Examination at the end of the secondary school course, particularly with regard to students going in for vocational and practical courses, the matriculation will, I believe, continue to draw large numbers, and it is our desire that the control of the University over it should in no way be relaxed. This examination is entirely the affair of the University as it is an examination giving entrance to our higher courses of study. It has no doubt grown to vast proportions, and complaints are heard about the

vagaries of examiners and disparity of standards. We are doing our best to minimize these defects as much as possible. It is also necessary that we should try to lessen the burden of class-room work and home-work on the pupils in our schools. Our present system of school education is more directed to the overcharging of the memory than to the true cultivation and discipline of the mind. It is also unfortunate that undue importance is attached to examinations though there are certain qualities of the mind which can be tested by examinations much more simply and more effectively than in any other way.

Closely connected with questions appertaining to higher education is that of the place of English in our courses of study. In recent times there has been a tendency to deprecate its use as a medium of instruction. There are, however, many educationists who stand out for the claims of English, and personally I believe that the abolition of English or giving it a secondary place in our educational system will be a grave error and a retrograde step. I am aware that in saying this I am treading on delicate ground. No one denies that many of our modern Indian languages are rich in literature. It is also true that, as education is a nationalizing agency, a cultivation of the Indian languages is essential for establishing close contact with the masses in order to liquidate their illiteracy. On the other hand the English language is both rich in its literature and rich in the vocabulary of political and civic freedom. It is indeed ironical that the country as it progresses on the road to complete freedom should attempt to belittle the very agency which has in large measure made our progress approach reality. English has largely contributed to the unifying processes apparent in India today, and apart from sentiment there is as yet no suitable alternative to take its place.

The scenes are shifting in the great theatre of the world. The conditions in India are also rapidly changing. The percentage of literacy in the land is still very low, though the number of schools and colleges has increased and woman's education to which this University attaches great importance is making good progress especially in the large cities and towns of the country. Education deals with life, and the conditions of life are so different from what they used to be only a generation ago. We live in a more complex world than our fathers did before us, and in a still more complex world than did our grandfathers. New problems arise on all sides, and the old ways no longer hold. A sense of the higher values, however, is the surest safeguard against the fancies of the passing hour. The modern trend is not towards an easier and more comfortable life, but towards a higher purpose in which the larger cultural issues of the spirit and the intellect are bound to play an increasingly important part. While remaining true to the land of our birth we do not wish to repudiate whatever we can learn from other places and other lands. We want a synthesis of the highest ideals of the East and the West, combining all that is valuable in our ancient civilization with the progressive elements of western culture which help to modernize the outlook on life.

Before I resume my seat I wish to the young ladies and gentlemen who have taken their degrees my warm congratulations on their success. You have to-day received gifts of great value in life, and I am sure you will make the best use of them. It is our earnest wish that you will carry from your Colleges to the larger world outside the great ideals of human brotherhood and of service to your fellowmen and women, which it is for our Universities to foster and to promote. Do not feel disappointed from the start, nor let your lives be overwhelmed by the bitterness of temporary failure. Be true to yourselves and to the best in you. Be patient and persevere, and you will succeed in the end. Above all, let a deep and all-pervading sense of responsibility to the great Creator which has ever been the distinguishing trait of our Indian character always accompany you through life. In it you will find a comfort and an encouragement which the applause of the crowd can never bring.

The Gurukul University Convocation

Dr. Syama Prasad Mukherjee's Address

The following is the text of the Convocation Address delivered by Dr. *Syama Prasad Mookherjee* at the Gurukul Viswavidyalaya Convocation held at Kangri, Hardwar on the **25th April 1943** :—

I am deeply grateful to you for the honour you have done me in asking me to address your Annual Convocation. This is my first visit to this great seat of learning which we feel proud to regard as a national asset Let me pay my tribute of respect to the memory of your illustrious founder and his renowned successors, who had not only the courage and vision to propound new educational ideals but also the capacity and determination to translate them into practice by the establishment and development of institutions dedicated to the cause they held so dear and sacred. To-day we stand at the cross-roads of history. Our beloved motherland, rich with an ancient heritage, struggles, for the attainment of that free status which is her birth-right. It is through education that the ultimate battle of Indian freedom will be won. The gigantic task of reconstruction, cultural social, economic and political can be rendered possible through the co-ordinated efforts of bands of trained and disciplined Indians Armed with the knowledge of India's past glory and greatness, her strength and weakness, it is they who can place before their country a programme of work, which while loyal to the fundamental traditions of Indian civilisation will be adapted to the changing conditions of the modern world.

If the history of education in British India is traced by an impartial historian, the record will be hardly creditable to our ruling class. We have suffered not for want of zeal and devotion for the cause of education on the part of the children of the soil, but on account of the colossal blunder made by our rulers while formulating their educational policy a little over a century ago. That policy determined in the days of Bentinck and Macaulay, was influenced not by considerations of the welfare of the Indian people but of the advancement of the interests of the ruling class. In no country has education properly developed unless it has drawn its inspiration from the fountain of its own national life Education with its roots cut off and superimposed by the edicts of an alien power is doomed to ultimate failure. Applied to a subject-race which has not entirely lost its intellectual curiosity and virility, such a system may for some generations foster an artificial growth ; it may even produce a race of able imitators but it can never inspire or elevate the people as a whole, far less advance their permanent welfare

When Bentinck decided to concentrate State aid and support on European education alone, he started an era of cultural conquest of the Indian people. Afraid of the possible dangerous results of the spread of knowledge among the masses of the people Macaulay and his co-workers chose to favour a select class of Indians and train them on Western ideas not with a view to help them develop into self-reliant and patriotic Indians, but as Macaulay himself said, to form a class of persons, Indian in blood and colour but English in taste, in opinions, in morals and in intellect. Contemporaneous records of those days disclose a lamentable lack of knowledge of our masters of the greatness of India's past civilisation. They indeed portrary a remarkable over-emphasis on *the so-called virtues of Western culture and an unconcealed contempt for everything* Indian. What we deplore is not that the gate of Western knowledge was thrown open to Indians, but that such knowledge was imported to India at the sacrifice of our own cultural heritage. What was needed was a proper synthesis between the two systems and not neglect, far less destruction of the Indian base. India's chequered history amply demonstrates that during a period when many of the European countries remained steeped in ignorance and barbarity, our great seers, savants and sages, backed by royal support, had attained an intellectual eminence which might well be the envy of any highly civilised nation. In this country was developed a state of society which encouraged not merely scholastic learning, philosophy and religion, but also art, architecture, medicine. science, astronomy and engineering. Education must be nourished by ideas and thoughts consistent with the traditions of the country which it claims to serve. The sustaining force of Western education in India was chiefly the glamour of State service. Education

was encouraged not for its own sake but for opening avenues of employment essential for the successful functioning of a bureaucratic machinery.

I have no desire to trace here the growth of the educational system in India in detail. Macaulay's prophecy was partially falsified by the results that followed its adoption. The national consciousness of educated Indians could not be suppressed and far from being blind supporters of alien rule, they themselves became the torch-bearers of revolt. The education of the masses was neglected in a manner unprecedented in the history of any civilised administration. The educational system failed to serve the real needs of India and its defects were soon manifest to patriotic Indians. Attempts have no doubt been made from time to time to introduce far-reaching changes into the educational system in accordance with the needs and aspirations of the people. In the field of higher teaching and research, in arts and science, it has been demonstrated that the power of original thinking of Indian scholars has not been extinguished and they are capable of holding their own against any foreigner. Partial success has been achieved in some spheres of thought and activity but a general dissatisfaction is evident suggesting a thorough over-hauling of the entire system.

The problem of education can never be fully solved in a manner acceptable to self respecting Indians until and unless it is left in the hands of a government representing the national will and freed from foreign domination. We move indeed in a vicious circle. Without education properly outlined and directed we cannot attain our freedom. Without freedom and full control over our own destinies, we cannot reshape our educational policy entirely according to our will and requirements. So long as the present situation continues, however, it is obvious we have to make the best use of the existing machinery and by constant efforts and agitation secure changes and improvements which will bring us as near our goal as possible. Acceptance of our national languages as the media of instruction and examination up to the highest standard is a fundamental condition which has yet to be fulfilled. You have rightly adopted this course in developing your activities. Each province has its own major language and this should be accepted in its own educational sphere. If there is another language which has a substantial number of adherents, this may also receive recognition under suitable conditions, although the multiplicity of languages within the same provincial zone may lead to obvious complications. A bureau should be set up in each province under the supervision of well trained scholars and working in close co-operation with Government and Universities, it should undertake the preparation of books in all subjects of study in the provincial language. A working knowledge of English at the post-elementary stage is sufficient for our ordinary purposes except in the case of that limited number of scholars who may choose to study the English language and literature as part of their academic training. Similarly a working knowledge of Hindi is essential so that direct contact among peoples of different provinces may be maintained. The study of different subjects has to be re-organised in a manner suited to the conditions of our country. Subjects like History, Economics and Social Science have to be dealt with in relation to Indian environments. With regard to Science which knows no geographical boundaries, the nomenclature should not be divorced from what is in use in other parts of the world, for only thus can we keep ourselves in touch with world progress, and retain contact with co-workers outside our own sphere of activity.

While we cannot but emphasise the well-equipped libraries and laboratories, seminars and museums in any system of national education, we have to keep down unnecessary expenditure on buildings and hostels. In a poor country such as ours we should aim at minimising expenditure in every possible manner so that money thus released may be utilised for the progressive expansion of education. The conditions of living and training of our alumni should be such as to render it possible for them on the termination of their studies to identify themselves without any pang with the environments amidst which they had been previously accustomed to live. Nothing is more ruinous to the cause of our country's progress than to create a separate class of so-called educated Indians, entirely out of touch in outlook and mode of living with the vast millions of their less fortunate fellow-countrymen to whose service they must dedicate their lives.

Education can hardly be separated from the social and economic surroundings of the people. While those responsible for imparting education cannot guarantee employment to all students, the system should be so regulated that the training given is a help and not a hindrance to them in their struggle for existence. For this reason education must be many-sided and institutions of various types must

grow up so as to train people in manifold directions suited to the economic and industrial progress of the country. It is in this sphere that a National Government will deem it a supreme duty to co-ordinate effectively the activities of academic institutions with trade, commerce, agriculture and industry. There can be no clash of interests among these agencies only if all strive to achieve one ultimate end—the service of the nation as a whole.

Relation between teacher and student must be such as between father and son. It is only by the fulfilment of this condition that a correct standard of education can be maintained and its objects properly fulfilled. Obedience that grows out of spontaneous loyalty and affection is permanent; enforced discipline born of the fear of rules or rods fails to mould the character of the students. Your basic concept of Gurukula—the home of the teacher—is a gift of the ancient Indian mind and has seldom penetrated into the artificial atmosphere of residential schools, copied from the Western pattern in many parts of India. An Indian Gurukula cannot separate education from the mainsprings of Indian *Dharma*, interpreted in its broadest sense. The heritage that belongs to an Indian youth must be clearly and boldly held before his mind's eye. The eternal value of the teachings of the ancient seers must be explained to him—not for lowering his vision or choking his spirit of inquisitiveness, but for making him judge for himself their fundamental values. Civilisation in our society meant progressive socialisation of our lives by developing all the finer feeling which helped us to realise our own selves in others and other in our own selves. This is why our social life had been dominated more by moral consciousness rather than political. If to-day we suffer from divisions and distruptions, the fault lies with those interpreters who for historical reasons clung to forms and practices and narrowed the base of the original structure of our society striking at the root of service and equality, so manifest in the teachings of our ancient seers. Pride in one's national heritage such as ours which transcends all barriers of race and creed must be implanted in the heart of our youth, for by this alone will he shake off an inferiority complex and lack of self-confidence, fatal to the cause of our progress. We claim that instead of turning westwards we can rebuild our society fundamentally on our own model. In a country such as ours with people following different religions and faiths, we must so adjust our movements as to permit full scope for intellectual and cultural development to all essential units, each remaining loyal to its creed helpful and trustful of each other, and all owing allegiance to the imperishable spirit of the Indian unity.

To-day the world is faced with a crisis unknown in the history of human civilisation. Western civilisation has failed to give the world peace and freedom. Inspite of material advancement and scientific and industrial progress, the ruling classes in Europe were dominated by the triple forces of power, prestige and possession. The future happiness of the world will depend on the outlook of the men who control the destinies of the stronger and the more powerful nations. Whatever lip sympathy they may pay to the doctrine of equality, democracy and freedom, if in their actions they allow themselves to be dominated by a policy of aggression and exploitation of weaker or less fortunate countries they can never hope for the inauguration of a better world-order. The future of the world lies in a federation of free countries where each will have the scope of developing its national life in accordance with its best ideals and traditions. If this goal is acceptable to all, the educational system in all parts of the world must be so moulded as to encourage the growth of correct international behaviour and understanding. Among the fundamental moral qualities, man must have a deep concern for the good life of his fellows. Every person should be given a fair chance of growing up in mind and body and making the best of his natural faculties. He must have a sense of social responsibility and the will to sink his personal interests and that of his class in the common good. He must be a man of independent judgment, respect the individualities of others and be tolerant to opinions in conflict with his own. He should realise that he has responsibility not only as a citizen of his own country but also as a citizen of the world, that there must be equal justice for all, that Government should be based on general good-will and support rather than on brute force.

One of the urgent problems confronting us is replanning of a system of national education suited to our needs and aspirations. We do not yet know when political conditions will permit us to give effect to such a reformed scheme. But this must form a major part of post-war reconstruction. We should lose no time in setting up a competent machinery, fully representative of all interests, which

should explore the lines of our future educational programme. The matter will not be an easy one. Problems relating to languages, traditions, needs of different communities, and employment will require the closest examination. The aim of education has to be defined with clearness and precision Briefly put, our object should be to develop every Indian child as completely as possible so that he may feel himself consciously at one with his community, share in its traditions of the past, its life and action in the present and its aspirations and responsibility for the future. A vast country like India will present problems peculiar to particular provinces. Our aim should be to inculcate in the mind of every child a passionate loyalty to the spirit of Indian unity and so to regulate his daily work that he may become aware that what he is doing is for the advancement of his nation and through his nation of humanity at large.

Your great institution will contribute in no small degree to the solution of the Indian educational problem. Regimentation of rules and adoption of a rigid pattern in the sphere of education virtually give it a death blow. They strike at the root of its life and lead to deadly stagnation. You have demonstrated that education in this country can be organised by a correct synthesis between the fundamental aspects of Indian civilisation and the true requirements of a scientific age. The influences for the good which alone can save human civilisation from the destructive forces of an arrogant and selfish materialism have been steadily nurtured by you inspite of grave obstacls. In the task of reconstruction of Indian society you are bound to play a dominant part and your experiences will influence in no small measure the future course of educational policy and administration in this country India amidst all her diversities present a unity of thought and action which is indeed remarkable Inspite of political bondage we have been able to keep our heads erect because of the inherent power of assimilation that the Indian mind has shown itself capable of. The aim of our culture has been the complete realisation of life. Nature, man and God make for life entire knowledge; and service and love are the materials which go to the making of man complete. In the firm belief that the cause of Indian advancement is just and righteous, and standing at the foot of the Himalayas and near the Holy River that have from time immemorial witnessed the mighty career of Indian civilisation, which no alien Power can crush, let us draw inspiration from the Glorious Past, sustain fortitude and strength to face the trials and tribulations of the Present and fearlessly contribute our humble share in the re-building of a free and united India of the Future. Let us gather in our own the voices of India's oppressed millions and proclaim in the words of our beloved Poet our determination to march along the path of truth and justice and to consider no sacrifice, no preparation too great for the emancipation of our Motherland

"Where the mind is without fear and the head is held high
Where knowledge is free;
Where the world has not been broken up into fragments by narrow domestic walls:
Where words come out from the depth of truth
Where tireless striving stretches its arms towards perfection ·
Where the clear stream of reason has not lost its way into the dreary desert sand of dead habit;
Where the mind is led forward by Thee into ever-widening thought and action—
Into that heaven of freedom, my father, let my country awake!"

The Osmania University Convocation

Sir Ardeshir Dalal's Address

The following is the text of the Convocation Address delivered by Sir *Ardeshir Rustomji Dalal*, KT., I C S (Retd) at the Osmania University Convocation held at Hyderabad (Deccan) on the **19th. March 1943 :—**

May I begin by expressing my keen appreciation of the great honour His Exalted Highness and the authorities of the University have done me by inviting me to deliver the Convocation Address this year. I do not claim to have made any special study of educational problems or to have achieved any such distinction in

the realms of science, literature or politics as to entitle me to the compliment you have paid me. I would request you therefore to bear my limitations in mind and extend your indulgence to me if my address does not come up to the very high standard which my distinguished predecessors have set.

In the Osmania University you set out to do, and have already succeeded in doing something that is unique in the educational annals of this country Appreciating the defects inseparable from a system of education through the medium of a foreign language, such as the strain on the students' memory, the stifling of originality and the unbridgeable gulf created between the educated classes and the mass of the population, you have with a vision and a courage worthy of admiration, founded a University imparting education through the medium of Urdu. At the same time, through your Bureau of Translation with its large staff of highly qualified translators, you have succeeded in translating the greater part of the books embracing practically the whole range of university studies and have thus not only freed the students from the shackles of a foreign language but have contributed a great deal to the advancement of Urdu language and literature.

His Exalted Highness, whose name this University bears and who through the foundation of this University has rendered a unique service to the cause of education not only in his own State but throughout India, has affirmed in the charter founding the University that his purpose was "the inauguration of a University in the State in which the knowledge and culture of ancient and modern times may be blended so harmoniously as to remove the defects created by the present system of education and full advantage may be taken of all that is best in the ancient and modern systems of physical, intellectual and spiritual culture. In addition to its primary object to diffuse knowledge, it should aim at the moral training of students and give an impetus to research in all scientific subjects." The progress of the University since its foundation indicates that this purpose is being fulfilled.

To the late Nawab Hydar Nawaz Jung Bahadur, known to his friends in British India as Sir Akbar Hydari, whose death we so deeply mourn, this University owes a great and abiding debt. It was his vision, courage and foresight which enabled the Osmania University to be founded on the present lines and to reach the stature to which it has arrived today. When as Secretary in the Education Department in 1917, Sir Akbar Hydari submitted the memorandum to His Exalted Highness which led to the inauguration of the University, he took the first step on the path which will enable this country to find its true place in the commonwealth of culture. You have not only made the attainment of culture easy and pleasant for the student but have put him in a position of vantage to disseminate it among the mass of the population in their own mother-tongue through adult education classes, popular lectures and the like.

Another feature of your University which, though not unique, is almost equally important, is that it is a residential and teaching as well as an examining body. With reference to this I cannot do better than quote the following words of Cardinal Newman, written nearly a century ago: "I protest to you, gentlemen, that if I had to choose between a so-called university which dispensed with residence and tutorial superintendence and gave its degrees to any person who passed an examination in a wide range of subjects and a university which had no professors and examinations at all but merely brought a number of young men together for three or four years and then sent them away, if I were asked which of these two methods was a better discipline of the intellect, which of the two courses was the more successful in training, moulding and enlarging the mind, which sent out men the more fitted for secular duties, which produced better public men, men of the world, men whose names would descend to posterity, I have no hesitation in giving the preference to that university which did nothing, over that which exacted of its members an acquaintance with every science under the sun." Your University combines the advantages of a residential and teaching as well as an examining university and there can be no question to my mind that it is the best type of university suited to your local conditions. The insistence on compulsory residence which enables the full advantages of a corporate life, of the contact of mind with mind both of students as well as teachers to be attained, is another gratifying feature. I also note that special provision is made for the education of women in the University up to the Masters Degree in Arts, Science and Education and that facilities are provided for their corporate residence.

It redounds greatly to the credit and honour of your gracious sovereign that he transcended the narrow conception of a sectarian university and founded an institution which throws open its portals to all the youth of Hyderabad irrespective of

caste or creed in accordance with the catholic ideals of a true university. This principle of toleration, this synthesis of cultures, is expressed even in the architecture of your stately buildings, which are the realisations in stone of the inspirations of your gifted architect, Nawab Zain Yar Jung Bahadur and of M. Jasper. The harmonious fusion of the Ajanta and the Moghul styles in the design of your buildings is a symbol and an object-lesson. It is a symbol of the mutual love and goodwill of the two great communities, Hindus and Muslims, who compose the population of the State, and of the tradition of tolerance established and cherished by the Rulers of the Asaf Jahi dynasty. It is an object lesson of permanent value to all those who enter its portals to enrich those traditions and to foster those feelings of love and brotherhood among all communities.

I must congratulate the authorities of the University on the scheme of extension and extra-mural lectures which they have organized. Among those who have delivered the extension lectures, I find the distinguished names of philosophers, poets, scientists and statesman. To have listened to Rabindranath Tagore, Muhammad Iqbal or C. V. Raman is in itself a liberal education.

Your extra-mural activities enable you to carry the light of learning to the forum and the market-place and to share with your less fortunate brothers some of the benefits of higher education.

In pursuance of the aim of the founder to achieve a harmonious blend of ancient and modern culture, you are actively promoting studies and research in oriental languages, Sanskrit as well as Arabic. The Dairat-ul-Maarif which carries on the work of editing and publishing rare Arabic manuscripts has won international reputation for itself. It is this harmonious blend, this happy synthesis not only of ancient and modern culture but of Hindu and Muslim thought and spirit, the achievement of which should be the principal aim and crowning glory of your University.

Synthesis in the spheres of literature, philosophy and science has always formed the hall-mark of Islamic culture. On the one hand, we have a chain of venerable universities which have carried out this task through the ages, thus the University of Cordova combined the thought of Islam, of Spain and of Palestine. The El Azhar University of Cairo united the cultures of Egypt, Greece and Arabia. The famous Nizamia University of Baghdad had perhaps the largest number of students devoted to researches in Greek philosophy. Plato and Aristotle Galen and Hippocrates were household words in Baghdad. The number of commentaries on Aristotle and Plato written by the alumni of the Nizamia could be counted by thousands.

Another aspect of the gathering of these scattered seeds of knowledge is the way in which cultures and languages are formed. Thus it was the union of the spirit and philosophy of Iran and Arabia that has given us the glorious Persian language and literature. Similarly, the development of Urdu itself required the synthesis of Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian. That wellknown epoch of Persian literature which distinguished the Moghul dynasty was due to the co-operation of foreign emigrants and local scholars both Muslim and Hindu. Thus a liberal prince like Dara Shikhoh could write a book on the harmony of Indian and Sufi philosophy and entitle it significantly enough the Majmu'ul Bahrain. Just as in the Dark Ages Islamic scholars kept alive the torch of learning and spread the wisdom of the East, enriched by their own original contributions, to all the countries of Europe where their arms led them until it was taken over and rekindled by the universities of the Renaissance, so let me hope that the torch of indigenous Indian culture, not Muslim nor Hindu but a true fusion of both, kindled at this University may spread light and lustre throughout the length and breadth of India.

No education can be universal in the real sense of the word which neglects the physical development of the students. From that point of view I cannot commend too highly the policy adopted by you of making some kind of physical activity compulsory for all students of the Intermediate, B A. and B.Sc. classes as well as those of the professional colleges. The most important of such activities is that provided by the University Training Corps. The sad lessons of the present war have taught us, if any lesson were needed, the great value of physical training not merely as an end in itself but as a vital necessity for the defence of the country. Your U.T.C. consists today of more than three hundred students. I should like to see this number increased until not a single student physically capable of training is left out. Heaven forbid that we should follow the aims and ideals of the Fascist countries, but there is no reason why we should not learn

some salutary lessons from them and one of the greatest of those lessons is the importance of the physical training of youth from the earliest age. The Youth Movement not only in Germany and Italy but also in Russia is the source and fountainhead of their physical might. If this country wishes to attain its rightful place in the comity of nations, it has to begin with the physical as well as mental education of its youth. May I with that end suggest the starting of Labour Corps in schools as a preliminary training ground for the University Training Corps?

Speaking to an audience such as this, and on an occasion so important as a Convocation for the conferment of Degrees, I may be permitted to discuss briefly the aims of higher education in India today. Sir S. Radhakrishnan says somewhere that, during the last war, a Professor at one of the Universities of Great Britain was asked *what* he was doing while the great fight for preserving civilization was going on, and he replied, "*I* am the civilization you are fighting for!" He was right; for the universities and the men of light and leading at the universities are the repositories and custodians of the civilization and culture not only of a nation but that of all humanity. The universities jealously guard and devoutly cherish all that is highest and noblest in the achievements of the human spirit in its unending quest after truth, beauty and righteousness.

"An intelligent man", says Plato, "will prize those studies which result in his soul getting soberness, righteousness and wisdom" At no other time in the history of the world was the need for these values greater than now. In these days of storm and stress, when the foundations of society are shaken and the very fabric of our civilization seems to be crumbling, it more than ever behoves the youth of every nation to cultivate these values The pursuit of knowledge with singleness and devotion, the discipline of the intellect, and the cultivation of higher moral standards ought to give to the students what has been aptly called 'the balanced mind.'

'The Dedicated Life' of which Lord Haldane speaks in his admirable book on universities and national life, not only requires that the student should scorn delight and live laborious days but also that, living as he does within the cloistered seclusion of a university, he should avoid entering into the heat and strife of the market-place There is no question on which more divergent opinions have been expressed by responsible men in the public life of the country than this—if, and to what extent, students while they are at the university should play an active part in politics. Speaking as one who is neither a politician nor an educationist but simply as one interested in the welfare and progress of the youth of our country, I would ask you to remember that the period of your stay at the university is one of preparation for life. When the preparation is ended and you have passed out of the university, it will not only be your right and privilege but also your duty to take an active part in all movements for the welfare and advancement of your country, and when that time comes I know you will not be found wanting. But during the period of preparation, before your mind has acquired the balance and the sense of proportion that would enable you to judge right from wrong and to distinguish mere catchwords and shibboleths from true political wisdom, to rush into the active political arena would be injurious to yourself as well to the cause of your country. One of the virtues you acquire in the university is the virtue of restraint. The soberness, righteousness and wisdom, of which Plato speaks is incompatible with violence, prejudice and intolerance You should cultivate a freedom from these passions as well as from petty jealousies and party rancour, so that, in the fullness of time, when you step out into the world, you can utilize the knowledge and culture, wisdom and virtue acquired during your years of preparation at the university for the service of your motherland.

If in India today our political and social problems have become more difficult of solution, if the ugly spirit of communalism is eating into the vitals of our nationa life, I believe it is partly because the universities of India have in some measure failed to achieve their object of promoting culture, and dispelling not only ignorance but passion and prejudice. It is from the universities of the nation that we have a right to expect the promotion of feelings of toleration, mutual understanding and sympathy between the various elements that compose the national life And it is from the young men who leave these universities that we may demand a sane and balanced judgment, a just sense of higher values, a broad mental outlook and a universal sympathy. But "if the salt have lost its savour, wherewith shall it be salted?" A university will ultimately be judged by its success or failure in enlarging and liberating the mind of its students and developing in them an outlook that transcends the narrow barriers of race, caste and creed.

One of the aims of the University, as laid down in the charter of His Exalted Highness, is to give an impetus to research in all scientific subjects. As an industrialist connected with the management of a large Steel Works and brought into constant touch with men of science, I am naturally more interested in the scientific aspects of a university's activities than in the literary ones, without in any way minimizing the value and importance of the latter. The progress of science during the last one hundred years or so has proceeded at an amazing, and to some minds, an alarming pace. During that period, means of communication have improved at a faster rate than during all the centuries preceding it from the dawn of history. It has been stated that there is more power in a single modern tank than there was in the whole army of William the Conqueror; that more metal has been consumed in the world since 1914 than in all the years preceding it. These rapid strides in scientific development have brought with them complicated problems in the social, economic and political spheres which the world has been trying to solve with such tragic lack of success so far. Science has been blamed for war and inventing the horrible instruments of war. It is not science but the purposes to which science has been perverted by those in power which has led to the ills of humanity. If science can invent instruments of destruction, it can also invent those for the preservation of mankind and the alleviation and cure of human ills and suffering.

So highly have the potential energies of science been developed that it is within its power to repair all the havoc caused by the present war and within a few years to bring the world to a pitch of prosperity never experienced before provided—and this is a very big proviso—the political and economic systems do not hamper its progress as they have hitherto done and the jealousies and greed of men do not lead them again to another orgy of bloodshed and devastation. The fact is that while in the realm of material science, mankind has progressed at such an amazing pace, morally and spiritually it has made very small progress during the last two thousand years. The development of the physical sciences has thus outstripped the development of the moral and social sciences and the conscience of men. The horrors and atrocities perpetrated during the present war might excite the envy of Chengiz Khan and leave the primitive savage aghast with horror. It is this one sided development of human progress which has led some thinkers seriously to advocate a temporary halt in the further progress of physical science. While totally disagreeing with such a suggestion, I think that our universities ought to devote a larger measure of attention to the moral and sociological sciences, to a truer interpretation of political economy and political science and to a closer study of such subjects as mass psychology.

Your University has instituted the Ph. D. Degree in various subjects including Mathematics, Zoology and Chemistry, to qualify for which research for not less than three years under the supervision of University Professors is necessary. You have a galaxy of research talent on the teaching staff of your University. In view of the vastly increased importance of the subjects, may I suggest that the Ph. D. Degree may be given in Applied Physics and that a Faculty of Technology may be added to the existing Faculties of the University?

Rightly or wrongly, for good or evil, this is the age of the machine and the history of the war has proved and is proving every day that it is only the scientifically developed countries which have highly organised industries which can hope to survive in the struggle for existence. The wonderful resistance of Russia which has evoked the admiration of the whole world has only been rendered possible through its extraordinary scientific and technological development since 1928. Even before the war, one per cent of the national income of Russia was spent on scientific research as compared with one third of one per cent by the United States of America and one-tenth of one per cent, by Great Britain. There were ten thousand Geologists in the country exploring every inch of its soil for minerals. Their labour has led to the vast development of the mining and metallurgical resources of Russia which has enabled it to survive such mighty blows to its heavy industries as the capture of the Don basin by the Germans in the war. The lesson for India is plain. It must embark upon an intensive programme of scientific and industrial development if it is to attain the position of a great independent country and to maintain it. It will be the duty and the privilege of the young scientists who are being trained in your University to help their country to achieve this position. There is a tremendous leeway to make up. India is primarily an agricultural country with sixty-seven per cent of its population engaged in agriculture and a bare ten per cent in industries. Though a certain amount of industrial develop-

ment has taken place under the impetus of the war, it is small compared to the industrial development of countries like Canada and Australia since the war. The whole economy of a country which depends to such a preponderating extent on agriculture is unbalanced and unsound. Such a country can never achieve a high standard of living. It lacks the amenities of civilization enjoyed by advanced industrial countries and, what is more important, renders itself incapable of self-defence in modern warfare. The average annual income per head of population in India as estimated in 1931 is Rs 65 as compared with Rs. 980 of the United Kingdom and Rs 1,387 of the United States of America. The absolute figures of income may have altered since then, but the disproportion is still as glaring as ever. Even in the field of agriculture which is the primary industry of India, due to the lack of scientific methods and the poverty of the cultivator, the yield of the principal crops is appallingly low, as compared with the yield in other countries. The yield of rice is 0'39 ton per acre as compared with 1'01 in the U.S.A. and 1'61 in Japan ; the yield of sugar-cane is 12 66 tons per acre as compared with 20 06 in the U.S.A., and 54'91 in Java ; the yield of cotton is 04 ton per acre as compared with '11 in the U S.A , and '23 in Egypt Even for an advanced country like Great Britain it was estimated before the war that the application of scientific methods and research could nearly double the produce of the land. Under the pressure of the economic blockade a great deal of progress has been made during the war in the application of scientific methods to British agriculture. If that is the position in a scientifically advanced country like Great Britain, imagine the scope for improvement in a country like India where scientific methods have barely been applied to agriculture in spite of the efforts of Government and of the Imperial Agricultural Research Institute, and where the yields are so poor Here is a vast field for the student of scientific agriculture animated by a desire to improve the economic condition of the rural population.

I understand that the geological survey of this State has not yet been completed. A thorough geological survey of the resources of a country is the very basis of its industrial development and such a survey, which might provide a useful field of occupation for the geological students of this University, might be undertaken.

The basic and key industries are the foundation upon which the industrial development of a country must be based. The first requisite, as I have observed before, must be a thorough geological survey for exploring the mineral resources of a region. This must be accompanied by an investigation of the power resources, thermal and hydraulic, as they provide the motive power for the running of other industries. Communications require to be developed and the mining and metallurgical and engineering industries, according to the resources available, must be inaugurated. I may be pardoned for my presumption in touching upon these matters with regard to a State about whose resources I know so little. You have a Department of Technical and Vocational Education, a Technical College a College of Arts and Crafts and an Industrial Research Laboratory devoted to these ends. I was shown a building nearing completion which is to accommodate a Polytechnic Institute. All these developments show that you have the industrial development of the State prominently in your mind. The provision of the sum of one crores of Rupees as an Industrial Trust Fund out of which industrial enterprise may be encouraged, is a wise and thoughtful measure on which I must tender my respectful congratulations to His Exalted Highness and his advisers. You have already helped in this way to start a number of industries in the State. In the Singareni Coalfields you have a valuable source of power and in the Nizam's State Railways you not only possess a good means of communication but also a large industrial undertaking which could well be the source of a number of engineering industries and the means of training engineers and technicians to staff them. From this point of view may I emphasize the need of devoting the utmost attention to the subject of mechanical and electrical engineering in your Engineering College, so as to equip your students as thoroughly as is done in any other university in India.

Regarding the consumption industries as distinguished from the capital goods industries, you have already a number of textile mills, sugar mills, paper mills, pharmaceutical works, etc. I have no doubt that under the guidance of your Government, these industries would be extended and new industries such as artificial silk, hosiery, leather and oil would be established in the near future. Looking to the resources of the State in raw materials, there appears to me to be a good scope for the establishment of the two latter industries. You have a large

number of flourishing cottage industries, arts and crafts. I should very much like to see a system adopted on the Japanese model by which cottage industries could be integrated to the large industries, so that some of the components of a large industry may be made in the villages and assembled in central towns. For this purpose an extension of communication and of cheap electrical power to the villages would be necessary.

With your permission I will turn now to a different topic which is uppermost in men's minds and hearts to-day. The world is passing through a crisis which is perhaps unprecedented in its history. It is said that we are witnessing the end of one epoch and the beginning of another. Many of us have passed not through one but two world wars. Well may some of us cry out against the hard fate of this generation as compared with the even tenor of the days of our fathers and yet to the strong of heart and spirit there is an inspiration and a stimulus to live in these days which our forefathers lacked. I am tempted to say to those who complain,

"Rejoice whatever anguish rend your heart
That God has given you for a priceless dower
To live in these great times and have your part
In freedom's crowning hour."

To us in India, there is superposed upon the world problem, our own internal problems which are no less difficult and distressing. Of the many lessons which the world conflict teaches us, I would select the following three :—

(i) That unity is essential for safety ;
(ii) That the day of the small states is passed ,
(iii) That a narrow nationalism is a curse rather than a blessing.

Taking them up one by one, the whole history of the hectic period between the first world war and the second impresses upon us the need for unity in the interests of our own safety and happiness. The noble concept of a League of Nations was torpedoed almost as soon as it arose by the very nation in the mind of whose President it originated, because his country thought itself safe in its own isolation. Then followed the futile Kellog Pact, the Locarno Pact, endless conferences regarding disarmament and the rising tide of encroachment by the Axis Powers culminating in the surrender of Munich and the crowning tragedy of the present war. At every stage it was clear that if the Powers had presented a united front to the aggressor, instead of each looking to its own fancied security and its own narrow interests, the whole course of history would have been changed.

One has only to look around and see the fate that has befallen Belgium, Holland, Poland Czecho-Slovakia, Greece, Albania and others, to be satisfied not only that these small states have ceased to exist but that in the future they cannot be resuscitated as completely independent sovereign states, because the technique of modern warfare requires a degree of scientific and industrial development which only a few large countries can possess. The small states can therefore exist only by entering into a federation with others and by surrendering a part of their sovereignty for the sake of their safety.

A narrow nationalism looking to its own interest regardless of the common welfare of the rest of the world led to tariff barriers, unilateral trade agreements, managed currencies, frozen credits and the numerous devices of international trade warfare which ultimately resulted in open armed conflict. Such nationalisms as well as the imperialisms which thrive upon the exploitation of weaker and less developed nations must give place to the larger concept of a world federation.

When we turn to India today, what do we find ? Have we learned the lessons which the tragedy of the world war is impressing upon us ? Are we united in resistance to the Axis aggressor ? Have we laid aside our petty jealousies and narrow sectarian interests for the common good ? Far from doing so, India today presents a spectacle of discord, disunity and frustration such as it has not done within the memory of any living man. To young men like you on the threshold of your careers in life, the problems that have to be faced, the future that is in store must present a spectacle at once terrifying and inspiring. Democracy or autocracy, capitalism or socialism, disruption or federation, unity or discord, strife or peace, these are great and fateful issues, and these issues are before you demanding solution with an insistence and urgency which was not before the young men of my generation. Upon the courage, wisdom, foresight and toleration, with which you tackle these problems, will depend the advancement and happiness of your country for countless generations to come.

A last and very pleasant duty still remains before me, and that is to offer

my congratulations to the Graduates of the year. You have obtained the hall-mark of the University, but may I remind you that you have made certain promises to-day to the Chancellor in open Convocation. You have promised to pursue truth, to cherish virtue and to disseminate the knowledge you have acquired among those who have not had the same opportunities as you have. In all your future progress through life, whatever befalls you, remember that the honour and fair name of your University are in your keeping. See that the honour is never strained, that the name is never tarnished. In life, the academic degree you obtain today may or may not be of value to you, but the culture you have acquired and the character you have developed will go with you through life. It is not the certificate that will gain you the respect and confidence of your fellowmen, but it is by your conduct and character that you will secure them

The Osmania University will shortly be celebrating its Silver Jubilee. May I conclude by wishing it a long successful career of service to the State and to the cause of civilization and progress.

The Calcutta University Convocation

Dr. B C Roy's Address

"One of the main functions of the University is to produce leaders of thought and action, workers dedicated to the service of the Nation. The University is justly regarded as the citadel of Truth, the home of that freedom of the spirit which is True Liberty, Liberty to think, Liberty to speak, Liberty to teach." This remarkable observation was made by Dr. *Bidhan Chandra Roy*, Vice-Chancellor, in the course of the forty five-minute address he delivered at the Convocation of the Calcutta University held on the 13th. March 1943.

In the course of his address Dr *Roy* observed :

While I have alluded to the achievements of the different teaching departments of the University with some amount of justifiable pride, I am not unmindful of the fact that even well-intentioned critics have repeatedly pointed out our defects. Self-complacency should not blind us to our own faults, neither should we suffer from that ignorance which consists less in not knowing things than in ignoring things already known. The first defect pointed out by our critics is that the standard of our examinations is low and continues to be low and that our Graduates fare badly in any All-India competition. Let us pursue this point of view and find out if the University is directly or indirectly responsible for this state of affairs. If the percentage of passes in any group of examinations is any criterion of the standard of teaching given by the University to our students, I need only point out that during the year under review four of them obtained their Ph. D., five were admitted to the D Sc. and two obtained the M. D degree. Most of the examiners for these examinations were experts belonging to other provinces or countries and no question of favouritism could arise.

But our friends then argue somewhat as follows : The Calcutta University has become huge and unwieldy, and it admits thousands of students for the different University examinations, the standard of which, on account of the large numbers appearing at them, naturally has fallen low. Mr. *O'Malley*, in his latest book, "Modern India and the West," has returned to this charge in the following words, "Funds required by the Calcutta University, for teaching and research work, in so far as they are not supplied by private benefactors or by the grants grudgingly given by a Government which the University did little to conciliate, could only be provided by the success of the University as a business concern, the presentation of a large number at its examinations and the ultimate emergence of a large number of them for Post-Graduate study. The implications are obvious. But is the charge of admitting an unusually large number of candidates to the examination sustainable? Is the number inordinately high compared with that found in other countries? My friend and predecessor in office, Dr. *Syamaprasad Mookherji*, quoted some significant figures in this connection a few years ago. Calcutta University serves an area covering Bengal and Assam except an area served by Dacca University. The total population of the two provinces is over 65 millions. In this area 5½ lakh pupils study in the Secondary schools, 36,000 read in colleges, a

proportion of 1:17, the corresponding figures for England were 1:12, Canada 1:3, Germany 1:9, Italy and Japan 1:10. Compared with these figures the number of candidates reading in colleges in the Calcutta University is not disproportionately high. If the larger numbers in other countries do not indicate a low standard of education in them why should it be otherwise in Bengal? On the other hand, within the last 30 years although the numbers appearing at each examination have gone up 6 times, the average percentage of passes has remained the same What remains then of Mr. *O'Malley*'s assertion that this University works like a business concern, anxious to secure quantity at the sacrifice of quality? But yet the critics persist and point out the significant fact that in any All-India competition, Bengal students fare very badly, which shows that our boys are poorly equipped and badly trained. Either the institutions are inadequately provided and their teachers are incompetent, or the pupils of these 1,600 schools come to them so deficient in their training in the Primary stages, that they are incapable of benefiting by the instructions given to them. Let us concede for a moment the correctness of both propositions; personally I feel that our boys to-day show poor competitive merit and that both the factors are responsible for it to a certain extent But if the boys receive defective training in their Primary classes, is the University responsible for this? Whose duty is to ensure suitable and sufficient Primary education for our children? On the other hand, if the Secondary institutions are not able to employ properly trained teachers it is because most of the 1600 schools recognised by the University exist mainly on their fee income, State aid, when available, is very meagre Most of these institutions are started and conducted with non-official efforts and enthusiasm, and the vastness of the number is itself an indication of the insatiable public demand for Secondary education The arrangements for training teachers are meagre, there is no planned scheme for providing commercial, industrial or agricultural education, with the result that every boy has to prepare for University education whether he is suited for it or not. What is really wanted, to remedy this defect, is not the sudden curtailment of the number of institutions, so as to reduce the totality of pupils attending them --a retrograde measure quite unsuited to meet the public demand, but to improve them by more liberal grants from the State on the one hand and to switch on a large bulk of pupils to others types of studies more suited to them The problem of education should be approached as a whole, from the Primary to the Post-Graduate stages, adequate funds provided for them and a complete planned programme be adopted and followed for a large number of years And this problem is not peculiar to this country and province. Speaking of the schools of England 15 years ago, Mr *Fisher*, the then Minister of Education, said, "The wrong things are being taught in the wrong way by the wrong people. But if so who is responsible? The culprit is the nation" I am sure, as soon as the Nation in this country has an effective and conclusive voice in the matter, it will demand and secure a more effective form of Primary education, a well planned Secondary education sufficiently diversified to meet all tastes and talents, and a liberally endowed and co ordinated University education.

This brings me to the next subject for discussion. We are repeatedly told that this University, although its activities have multiplied and expanded beyond recognition, such as would demand the full attention of the authorities, are loath to part with power and desire to keep control over secondary schools, a control which they exercise very perfunctorily. But who, may I ask, gave this authority to the University? The Act of Incorporation and the subsequent Statutes enjoined this duty on the University. This control, to my mind, was given in pursuance of the policy laid down by Macaulay, in his famous Despatch, that the Act "was to create a body of highly educated men, from which education will filter downwards ultimately to the masses." Be that as it may, the fact remains that the University have always declared that they would gladly hand over the duty of looking after schools to a properly constituted Board Barring my revered friend Sir *C. N. Brahmachari*, who is present here, I happen to be the seniormost Fellow present in the hall to-day. I have seen the working of the University in all its branches during the last thirty years and no one is more conscious than I am of the fact that the Syndicate, with its present duties and responsibilities, cannot do justice to the task of properly directing the School education particularly when the responsibilities are divided; practically, the whole inspection is done by the Governmental agencies and the books are prescribed partly by the Government and partly by the University. In 1926, Sir *Ewart Greaves*, the then Vice-Chancellor, urged that, both in the interests of the University and in the interests of the Schools, a

Secondary Education Board should be established at an early date. Since then and even from before that date, many fruitless attempts have been made for the establishment of a Board of Secondary Education. I understand that a new Bill was introduced in the present Assembly and is now being considered by a Select Committee. The University have not been consulted on this occasion regarding the terms of the Bill. But now, as always, the attitude of the University has been that a properly constituted Board should be established at an early date which should be an independent body, on which and on whose effective executive committees, the University should have adequate representation, so that there may be continuity of educational policy and objective in the School and Collegiate stages. The Board should have sufficient funds to open up new branches of study, particularly in the vocational line, which would relieve the congestion of the colleges. Lastly, if and when the Board takes over the conduct of the Matriculation examination full compensation should be paid to the University for the financial loss sustained by it I am afraid that so long as an educational measure continues to be a game of bagatelle of the prevailing political bodies, there is little chance of an effective or early result.

The next defect that our well-meaning critics point out is that while our students get their distinctions in different branches of study, while the bounds of their investigation extend even beyond the geographical limits of Asia, while their enquiries are extended to whatever is performed by man and produced by Nature, they have not established that contact with the masses which was aimed at by those who introduced University Education in this country. Sir *Asutosh*, a few months before his death, observed, as a result of mature judgment and close observation, "The Indian Universities have not been able to take root in the life of the Nation because they have been exotics." One great drawback in our education had been that it was, and has been until recent years, given through the medium of English. Macaulay, who was the author of the scheme, aimed "at creating a body of Indians who would, among other things, refine the vernacular dialects of the country and by enriching them with the terms of science, borrowed from the nomenclature of the West, render them, by degrees, fit vehicles for carrying knowledge to the great mass of the population." Sir *James William Colville*, who was appointed the first Vice-Chancellor to give effect to this scheme, thus further expounded this point of view. "Those who first undertook the task of transferring the treasure of Western learning and Western science into the Oriental mind, had to choose between conveying instructions through the medium of the English language or through the medium of vernacular. They chose the first method which unlocks the whole treasure house but we must not neglect the other method ; on the contrary, use it more and more as occasion offers if we wish the education which we give to strike deep root or to extend over a wide surface." One of the main functions of the University is to produce leaders of thought and action, workers dedicated to the service of the Nation

The University is justly regarded as the citadel of Truth, the home of that freedom of the spirit which is True Liberty. Liberty to think, Liberty to speak, Liberty to teach. No votary in this temple, no alumnus of the University could take his due share in shaping the New World to be, unless he receives the benefits of a well-planned moral instruction. It is unfortunate that in this country, a University teacher may be severed from the religious sympathies of the taught and must either be silent on the relations of man to a higher world or, if he discusses them, be suspiciously heard or imperfectly understood. And yet how otherwise could a young man get that discipline which would make him a self-governing Being, not a being governed by others. If young men cannot govern themselves, what effective share can they take in the New Reconstruction of the world where there will be—

Freedom from Fear
Freedom from Want
Freedom of Speech
Freedom of Religion.

We hear now-a-days a great deal about Democracy. It is not merely a form of government or a system of holding elections. It is defined as the principle of Freedom of respect for and assurance of human rights. The future leaders of the country will be able to appreciate and respect this principle to the extent they are disciplined, self-governed, self-restrained and self-reliant.